A REMARKABLE GOLD COIN OF HENRY VIII.

By L. A. Lawrence, F.R.S.A. (Ireland), Director.

A NEW type of coin in the English series is of such rarity and interest nowadays that it is a source of much satisfaction to be privileged to publish such an one. The piece newly brought to light is a gold coin of Henry VIII., which may be described as follows: Obverse, a shield bearing the arms of England and France quarterly, above it a crown, all within two inner circles, the innermost linear, the outer slightly dotted, which are pierced above by the ball and cross surmounting the crown. The mint-mark is a rose. Legend: RENRIC'8: DEI: GRA': REX: AGL': Z: FRA'C'. The stops are crosses and there are two of these after each word of the legend except RENRIC, where there is only one, and FRAC, where there is no stop. There are marks of contraction after RENRIC, GRA, AGL, FRAC and also after the A of the last word. The numeral is of the Arabic form 8. Reverse, a full-blown single rose of five petals, surrounding it four fleurs de lis arranged crosswise; between these a lion passant guardant, and the letter R crowned alternately, all within inner circles as on the obverse. The mint-mark is a rose and the legend RENRIC' × RVTILANS: ROSA: SINE: SPINA. One cross and a mark of contraction after RENRIC, no stop after SPINA, and two crosses after each other word. The weight of the coin is 51 grains.

Beyond the type of the reverse, which is quite new to us, notice must be taken of the alphabet used. The R is Gothic or Lombardic, the S is slightly ornamental, as are the S's to a still slighter degree. All the other letters are Roman. There is a coin of this type pictured in Snelling in the plate of gold coins of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., No. 14. The same coin is given in Folkes's table of gold coins, Plate V, No. 9, which plate is incorporated in its entirety in Ruding, vol. iv.
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of which Folkes's plates formed the corpus. The coin itself will be described a little further on, but here Snelling's footnote may be transcribed. In speaking of this coin he says:

"We constantly meet with this coin in all the placarts published in the Low Countries between anno 1546 and 1560, and yet we esteem it the rarest piece minted by this king, nor have we ever had the pleasure of seeing one of them; it has a mint-mark peculiar to itself and not to be met with on any other money of this king; whereas all the others have those common to this reign, as the bolt, rose, fleur-de-lis, wy, etc."

Snelling's work was published in 1763.

The coin figured in Ruding, vol. iii, gold coins Plate V, No. 9, is of precisely the same type as the coin shown at the meeting and now figured in the Plate, No. 1, but there is no mint-mark on the obverse, and that of the reverse is a lion. The legends are entirely in Gothic or Lombardic characters and the crosses used as stops vary in number and position from those on the coin figured. Moreover the numeral VIII appears after the king's name on the reverse. For the sake of completeness I have transcribed these legends.

Obverse.—HENRIG' 8 * DEI * GRAT * REX * ANGL * Z * RAT *
Reverse.—HENRIC' VIII' RVTLANS * ROSA * SIGNE * SPIN.

In the description of the plate in vol. ii, a note by the editor is given to the effect that no coin of this description is now known in any collection. No weight is given. The appearance of such a coin coupled with the engraving in Ruding, naturally gives ample reason for a thorough search into its existence and the causes thereof, and it is most satisfactory that the search was followed by the discovery in the indenture of an order for the coin to be made.

In Ruding, vol. i, p. 303, under date 1526, it is stated:

"A writ was issued to Thomas, cardinal-archbishop of York, legate de latere of the see apostolique, primate of England and Chancellor of the same, on the 24th of July, A.D. 1526, commanding him to carry into effect the King's design of reducing his money to the standard of foreign coins, and to determine the rate, value, fineness, lay, standard, and print, as by him and the Council should be thought requisite. This was become necessary because the King had made

1 Pat. 18, H. VIII. m 27, Dors."
requisition to several foreign princes for reformation of their coins, but
without effect; and in fact they had become worse instead of better.
The writ was to be sufficient warrant to the said cardinal. At the
same time a warrant passed the great seal, to the master, warden, and
other officers of the mint, which recited the above, and commanded
them to carry into execution the determination of the cardinal and the
Council, as well in fineness, value, and goodness, as in standard print
and fashion. The warrant to be a sufficient authority and discharge,
any act, statute, law, ordinance or other thing to the contrary
notwithstanding.

"The reason for this alteration of the standard is fully stated in a
proclamation of the 22nd of August following, from which it appears
that the price of gold in Flanders and France was rated so high, that
all the coins of the realm were transported thither by merchants, both
denizens and aliens, on account of the great profit to be made thereby.
That although the King had commanded the statutes in that case made
to be put into execution, yet, nevertheless, the money was still secretly
exported. And whereas the King had required, by his ambassadors,
that his coins should not be permitted to be current there at so high a
rate, yet on account of the scarcity of gold in those parts no remedy
could be obtained. Therefore that the gold and coin might remain
and be plenteously brought into the realm, it was necessary that all
gold then current within the realm should be made of like price as it
was valued at in foreign countries. It was accordingly ordained,
that all persons should in future receive the crown of gold of the sun,
and all other crowns of the same weight and fineness, for four shillings
and sixpence sterling, being of full weight, etc. And whereas the
crown of the sun was a strange coin, the King with the advice of his
Council, thought fit that there should be a piece of gold of his own coin
of like fineness, weight and goodness as the said crown of the sun, to
be called the crown of the rose, and to be current in like manner for
four shillings and sixpence; the single ducat large, of fine gold and
due weight at four shillings and eightpence sterling, and the double
ducat in proportion. And every person who should bring gold to the
mint of the fineness of the sovereign, should receive for it at the rate
of forty-four shillings the ounce. At which rate the following coins
were to be current at these several values, viz.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The sovereign</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riall</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The noble</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forty-penny piece</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"From the enforcing of these provisions it was supposed that the coins then within the realm would be kept there, and those which had been exported would be brought back.

"The silver coins were commanded to be received at the value which had been affixed to them in the proclamation of the 22nd of May, 1522.

"These provisions being found insufficient to check the exportation of the money (which, on the contrary, rather increased), it became necessary to put an additional value upon the coins then current, which was accordingly done by proclamation upon the 5th of November following, when they were commanded to be taken at the following rates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The sovereign</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Half and quarter in proportion.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The angel noble</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-angel</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The crown of the sun of due weight and fineness, and all other crowns of the like weight and fineness not notably broken, were to continue to be current for four shillings and sixpence.

"And to the intent that there might be a sufficiency of coins for receipts and payments, it was ordained that besides the angel noble thus enhanced in value, there should be made another noble, to be called the George noble, of as fine gold as the angel, but wanting in weight tenpence sterling, to be current at six shillings and eightpence, the old value of the angel. Also a half George noble of proportionate value.

"And whereas the crowns of the sun, etc., not being aliquot parts of a pound, were inconvenient for calculation, it was ordained that another crown should be made, to be called the crown of the double rose; so much in weight above the crown of the sun as to be current for five shillings; and also its half for two shillings and sixpence.

"And to make the silver coins correspondent with the gold it was ordained that those already current should continue at the same rate; that twenty groats of such coins should be current for the George noble, as they were heretofore for the angel, and fifteen for the crown of the double rose.

"Also that new coins of silver should be made, sterling like the others, but differing in weight, correspondent to the gold, so that every ounce troy of bullion should make eleven groats and one penny, of which the merchant should pay for coinage one penny, and so receive,
either at the mint or at the exchange (after it should be molten) clearly	hree shillings and eightpence in money current.

"But if any person having white money of the former coins of the
realm should think the same of more value than after the rate of the
said new money which was intended to be struck, it should be lawful
for him, at his pleasure and liberty, to bring it unto the King's mint or
exchange, where he should receive for every ounce of the same, groats
or other money of the realm (after the same should have been molten),
eleven groats over and above the odd penny deducted for the coinage
thereof as aforesaid. And in like manner for all bullion of silver of
the fineness of sterling; and if it should be better than sterling, then
to receive according to the fineness thereof. The carolus placks of the
old coin of the Duke of Burgundy not being in fineness equal to sterling
by twenty pence in the pound troy, it was ordained that they, not being
clipped or notably broken, should still be current at fourpence sterling,
but all persons who should think it more advantageous to convert them
into new coin, might do so, and should receive for every ounce troy,
when molten, forty-three shillings and fourpence, deducting from the
same for the coinage of every ounce troy one penny sterling.

"And whereas heretofore every person who brought bullion to the
King's mint to be coined, paid two shillings and sixpence for the
coinage of every pound tower weight; which differed from the pound
troy three-quarters of an ounce in the pound weight; it was determined
that the pound tower should be no more used, but that all gold and
silver should be weighed by the pound troy, being of twelve ounces,
and heavier than the pound tower by three-quarters of an ounce.

"In consequence of this regulation there were to be paid for the
coinage of every pound troy of fine gold two shillings and ninpence;
and for the coinage of every pound of gold into crowns of the double
rose, etc., three shillings sterling.

"And on account of the various weights and fineness of the ducats,
it was ordained that they should not be current at any fixed value but
as the payer and receiver should agree; and in like manner all other
foreign coins of gold and silver not mentioned above. But all persons
who should think it advantageous to bring them to the mint to be
coined or to receive other money for them, might do so, on paying for
the coinage as above."

The passages following in Ruding refer to the value of wares and
the alteration in prices, due to the enhancing of the coinage. He then
continues:

"This is the first notice which is extant of an enhancement of the
money in this reign, and it is, therefore, highly probable that Lowndes
was mistaken in the appropriation of the indenture which he has placed in the first year of this monarch, and that, for the following reasons, it ought to be placed in this his eighteenth year.

"In the first place, the George noble and the crown of the double rose were first ordained to be made by the proclamation just now recited, of the 5th of November in this year, as were also the silver coins of the weight specified by that indenture.

"Secondly, the pound troy was first introduced into the mint and the use of the pound tower abolished by the same proclamation.

"Thirdly, the Lord Mountjoy (and not Ralph Rowlet and Martin Bowes) was master of the mint in the first year of this reign and fourteen years afterward; and lastly, an indenture of that year with the Lord Mountjoy is still extant on the rolls."

"From these considerations I have removed this indenture to the present year. By its provisions the money of gold and silver was thus reduced in weight. A pound troy of gold of the old standard was to be coined into twenty-seven pounds by tale; that is, into twenty-four sovereigns, at twenty-two shillings and sixpence apiece, or forty-eight rials, at eleven shillings and threepence each; or seventy-two angels, at seven shillings and sixpence apiece, or eighty-one George nobles, at six shillings and eightpence each; or one hundred and forty-four half-angels, at three shillings and ninepence each; or one hundred and sixty-two forty-penny pieces, at three shillings and fourpence apiece.

"A pound weight troy of gold of the fineness of twenty-two carats only, was to be coined into one hundred crowns and a half of the double rose, or two hundred and one half-crowns, making, by tale, twenty-five pounds two shillings and sixpence.

"A pound weight troy of silver of the old sterling was coined into one hundred and thirty-five groats, or two hundred and seventy half-groats, or a proportional number of sterlings, halfpennies or farthings; and so every pound weight made forty-five shillings by tale."

One further quotation from Ruding, which is to be found on p. 306, under the year 1529:

"The earliest complaint of the depreciation of the money which I have met with occurs about this time.

"The author says, 'But yet ye must note that xls. in those days (i.e., temp. R. II.) was better than xls. is at the present day, which is now the xxı yere of Kynge Henry the VIII., for at those dayes v grotes made an ounce and nowe xi grotes maketh an ounce.'"

The documents here quoted contain the solution of the problem to which this most interesting coin gives rise. There can be no doubt whatever that the coin under discussion is the crown of the rose which was ordered on August 22nd, and was current till November, and was then withdrawn or ceased to be coined owing to the fact that it was an awkward coin to calculate with. It was immediately replaced by the crown of the double rose more conveniently current for five shillings. The coin agrees in all particulars with what the crown of the rose should be in weight. In type also it most prominently exhibits a single rose. This is the more remarkable when it is considered that, both before and after, the double rose was constantly in use as an important part of the design on English coins. One notable example is to be found on the very rare rial of Henry VII., where the rose is of the same character as on the later crown of the double rose. The single rose, therefore, as shown on the crown of the rose, is there doubtless by intention. As the coin was meant to replace the French crown of the sun and to rank with it in standard and weight, it is interesting to note that the general arrangement of the reverse type retains a great likeness to the French coin. The design has, owing to the position of the four fleurs de lis, a close resemblance to the cross found on the French coin, and the symbols between the fleurs further carry out the likeness, as will be seen by a comparison of the two coins shown together in the Plate; No. 1 is the crown of the rose, No. 4 the crown of the sun.

This surprising piece must now be left individually in order to consider the whole coinage of which it is, perhaps, the most important member, viz., that which bears Roman letters. It may be as well to remark at once that this Roman letter coinage can be shown to have nothing whatever to do with the later base coinages also bearing Roman letters. The general style of the alphabets used, the stops and the whole workmanship support this. The later coins are in strict accord with characteristics found on the early and base coinages of Edward VI. If more is wanted to settle this point it is only necessary to remember that the first full-faced coinages of Henry VIII. all bear Gothic letters, and as these are of much better silver than the coins
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bearing Roman letters with the full face, they must have precedence in point of time. Henry VIII.'s coins of the second issue bearing the legend in chiefly Roman letters are: in gold, the crown of the rose and the half George noble; in silver, the groat and the half-groat. It is possible that there may be other denominations. The rose mint-mark appears to be the only one upon these pieces. They are all of the greatest rarity. Two varieties of the groat exist. One with Roman letters on both sides in which case the ends of the reverse cross are filled in with florets. Of this I only know of three examples (two in the National Collection and one in Mr. Roth's cabinet). Plate, No. 7. The second variety is probably a mule and bears the Roman letters on the obverse only. The reverse is the ordinary one of the second coinage and has Gothic letters. Plate, No. 10. Four half-groats are known, two of which are in Mr. Roth's collection. One of these, Plate, No. 13, is a mule, as it corresponds in all particulars with the second variety of the groat. The only remaining coin is the still unique half George noble, of which an illustration is given in the Plate, No. 3. The legends are:

Obverse.—RENRI'G'  D'  G'  R'  AGL'  Z  FRA  DNS'  RYBE.
Reverse.—TALI  DICA'  SIG'  MES'  FLVCTVARI  NEQT.

Crosses are used as stops.

The George noble in the collection at the Royal Mint may, in a way, be a member of this group, as some of the letters nearly approach the Roman type. It has also the rose mint-mark. My friend Mr. Hocking kindly allowed me to have a cast of the coin for representation here. Plate, No. 2.

The crown of the double rose mentioned in the Montagu catalogue, second portion of Lot 732, is there stated to have borne Roman letters on the reverse. It had also a rose mint-mark.

Another coin of the same description in the National Collection is figured in the Plate, No. 5.

Lastly, the half-crown closely corresponding to the crown is figured as No. 6. It will be noticed that nearly all the letters are of the Roman form on both sides.

Some remarks about the whole of the second coinage might
suitably conclude this paper, as the present views about it to my mind seem to stand in need of correction. According to Ruding the coinage was the result of the documents quoted before as being made in 1526, Henry's eighteenth year. If that be the case the first coinage endured for eighteen years. Now the first coinage simply continued Henry VII.'s latest issue. The only alteration that was made was the addition to the die of an extra I after the VII and a change in the mint-mark. The groats bear the pheon mark also present on the father's coin. This was replaced by the portcullis crowned and again by the castle. The London half-groats, according to Hawkins, bear the portcullis mint-mark only, so that they correspond only with the groats bearing the same mark. The London pence of the first coinage are not with certainty to be distinguished from those of Henry VII. except by the mint-mark, as no numerals are placed after the king's name. The case is the same with the halfpence, but as the type reverted to the old full face of a conventional king nothing can be gleaned from the matter of portraiture.

The indenture weight of the penny of the first coinage was twelve grains, the other pieces in proportion.

The second coinage consisted of groats, half-groats, pence, halfpence and farthings in silver and the various gold coins mentioned before.

The groats and half-groats had a new portrait of the king. There are more mint-marks to be found on the second coinage of groats than on the first, thus the rose, lis, pheon, arrow, and sun and cloud, appear as distinctive marks. The lis mint-mark is found on coins bearing on one side or the other the pheon or rose. Thus, coins bearing the marks obverse rose, reverse lis, or vice versa, are known. Likewise coins bearing the lis and pheon mint-marks in the same way also exist. It seems clear, therefore, that the lis mark came into use after the rose and before the pheon. The rose and pheon seem never to appear on the same coin. The sequence of the three marks must therefore be rose, lis, pheon, or the reverse. The coins themselves clearly show which way these marks were issued, as there is a pheon marked groat, on which the legend is HENRIC' 8' × D' × C' × ANG' × FRAT' × Z' × RIB' × REX.
The corresponding half-groat with the Arabic 8 and the title of King of Ireland is also known.

Henry did not become King of Ireland until 1542, so that clearly this pheon marked piece must be the latest of the second coinage. The rose, therefore, is the earliest, and this is again borne out by the gold coins, as both the crown of the rose and the George noble and half George noble bear the rose mint-mark. The only unsatisfactory feature in this classification is the position which should be assigned to the coins bearing the rare sun and cloud mint-mark and the arrow. There is nothing except the mint-mark to distinguish them from coins bearing the other marks, no alteration of legends or Roman letters or ornaments. It seems clear that the rose is the first mark and the pheon the last, the relationship moreover of the rose and lis on the one hand, and the lis and pheon on the other are so intimate that they must be placed in apposition. It is just possible, though not probable, that the sun and cloud coins were being issued concurrently with the other coins from the London Mint. A supposition with perhaps more probability, though quite without proof, is that the coins marked with the sun and cloud and arrow were issued from a provincial mint, possibly Southwark or Bristol.
THE CROWN OF THE ROSE AND CONTEMPORARY COINS, ILLUSTRATING
ITS ISSUE AND WITHDRAWAL.
1. The crown of the rose.
2. The George noble.
3. The half George noble.
4. The French crown of the sun.
5. The crown of the double rose.
7. Groat, obverse king’s profile bust slightly varied from the ordinary second coinage bust, one inner circle of dots. Mint-mark a rose.
   Legend: \textit{\textsc{henric}\textsuperscript{\textsc{vii}} \textsc{di} \textsc{gra} \textsc{rex} \textsc{agl} \textsc{z \textsc{f}ra}.}
   Reverse, shield of arms upon a cross fleury, the ends of the Cross filled in with florets, two inner circles, the outer one of dots, the inner linear. Mint-mark a rose, legend \textit{\textsc{posvi \textsc{dev} \textsc{aditor} \textsc{e \textsc{mev}}} There is a cross after and above \textsc{R} of \textit{\textsc{adivtor}} which seems to be an ornament rather than an intentional stop, the \textsc{R} and \textsc{E} being divided by the end of the cross, weight 37 grains. Mr. Roth’s Cabinet.
8. Groat precisely similar, British Museum.
9. Groat of the same style, but the alphabet is Gothic and the obverse legend ends \textit{\textsc{ftrd}}.
10. Groat of the same style of work and the same mint-mark.
    \textit{Legend: \textsc{henric}\textsuperscript{\textsc{vii}} \textsc{di} \textsc{gra} \textsc{rex} \textsc{agl} \textsc{z \textsc{f}r}.}
    Reverse, the ordinary one of the second coinage with Gothic letters, mint-mark a rose, weight 34.5 grains.
11. Half-groat, the same types and workmanship as the groats, mint-mark a rose, \textit{\textsc{henric}\textsuperscript{\textsc{vii}} \textsc{di} \textsc{g} \textsc{r} \textsc{agl} \textsc{z \textsc{f}ra}} Reverse no linear inner circle, mint-mark a rose, \textit{\textsc{posvi \textsc{dev} \textsc{adivtor} \textsc{mev}}.}
12. Another coin of precisely the same description, but the obverse is from a different die, weight 20 grains.
13. A third half-groat, which has an ordinary reverse with Gothic letters.