EDWARD VI. acceded to the throne on January 28th, 1546-7, being then nine years of age, and it is an interesting question how far, if at all, he was responsible for the currency measures which were adopted during the earlier years of his reign. In 1551, however, we shall find him taking an active part in arranging the details of the new proposals then made. Before proceeding to describe the written evidence, a short introductory statement may be useful in order to show the circumstances under which the striking of money was carried on between 1546 and 1553.

The mints which existed at the death of Henry VIII. continued to work, namely, the Tower, with three distinct organizations, Southwark, Canterbury, York, and Bristol. To these must be added Durham House, in the Strand, which mint was first set up during the month of December, 1548, as I have proved in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xiv, p. 138. The constitution of the respective mints, as settled by Henry VIII. in 1544, remained unchanged, the under-treasurer being the chief responsible official in each establishment.

Perhaps the main difference, from the historical point of view, between the coinages of Edward VI. and those of his father, lies in the fact that when Henry VIII. debased his currency he did it by regular stages and never once looked back, so that it is comparatively easy to trace the sequence of events. Edward, on the other hand, continued to issue base money, but made spasmodic efforts from time to time to retrace his steps in the direction of higher standards, with the result that the mints were not infrequently striking coins of the same denomination and face value, but of different intrinsic values. In the first and second years, respectively, two groups of indentures embodying identical standards of fineness and weight were executed by the King and the
chief officers of all the mints, but the provisions of the agreements were afterwards qualified or varied by commissions directed to one or other of the under-treasurers. These subsequent orders created in effect new issues, which have to be distinguished from the coins struck according to the general standards laid down by the indentures. Thus, uniformity became impossible. In the latter part of Henry's reign, bad as the coinage then was, we know that in a given year the Tower mints and those in the provinces were regulated by identical orders as regards the quality and weight of the money, whereas under Edward the contrary obtained, and nearly every mint received instructions which differed in some respect from other contemporary documents. I think that the numismatic history of the six and a half years now under review may be fairly summarized by saying that it consisted for the most part of experiments tempered by vacillation. Although the object aimed at was most praiseworthy, the resulting confusion brought serious losses upon the community, and it became increasingly difficult to supervise the operations of the eight English mints. The trials of the pyx by an independent authority were explicitly abandoned, conceivably by reason of the numerous changes of standard which occurred in and after the King's second year. The effect of this lax and fluctuating policy upon the discipline of the mint officers was disastrous, if I read the signs aright. Practically all those who occupied high positions in the several establishments at the time of Edward's accession, with the honourable exception of George Gale and his two colleagues in the city of York, had been dismissed, or had retired more or less compulsorily, before the end of 1552. It would appear that nearly everyone was in arrear with his accounts, but there was a liberal distribution of pardons, and the defaulting officers, with the exception of Sir William Sharington, are not known to have suffered materially beyond the loss of their fees; indeed, some of them were afterwards appointed to other positions. Sir Edmund Peckham, the high treasurer, who had no direct control of the processes of coining, survived the storms and filled the same office under Mary and under Elizabeth.

The difficulty of reconciling the diverse orders, and of identifying
Confusion in the Mint Orders.

the coins which were their fruits, is much increased by the practice, now recognized on all hands, of using the portrait and titles of Henry VIII. for a portion of the money struck during the reign of his son. This custom was in vogue, as will presently be seen, so late as the month of February, 1549-50, and there is no reason for thinking that it was not subsequently continued. The position of affairs was rendered still more complex by the attempts to convert all the testons of Henry VIII. into pieces of smaller denominations. These "conversions" will not be treated in the following pages as distinct issues, but rather as supplementary work to the principal coinages.

Edward VI. and his advisers were singularly unfortunate with regard to the two earlier types of silver coins which were intended to pass for twelve pence. The documents to be cited later will show that the teston of Henry VIII., 120 grs., having been widely counterfeited, was annulled by a series of three proclamations, and then melted down. That coin was replaced by Edward's profile shilling, 80 grs., with a few exceptions of lighter weight, which was a further source of trouble, and was eventually reduced in face value by a second series of three proclamations. Hence it was not until the fine silver issue of 1551 that the country possessed a reliable coin of this denomination.

The cumulative effect of all these embarrassments, to which must be added a general scarcity of bullion, may be seen, I think, in the suppression of the greater number of the mints. One by one they were extinguished, and the beginning of the last year of the king's reign saw only two survivals, namely, a single organization at the Tower and the mint in the city of York.

**The First Coinage, 1547.**

One of the earliest instructions to a mint officer after Edward's accession is an order dated March 16th, 1546-7, and mentioned in an account by Thomas Knight, then under-treasurer of one of the three establishments at the Tower. He was directed to continue the use of 20-c. fine gold and 4-oz. fine silver, as ordained by Henry VIII., and it seems a reasonable assumption that during the interval before the
date of Edward's first indenture this officer was still coining Henry's moneys without any change of type. At all events, Knight's first account extends unbroken until March 31st, 1547, on which day it closes. Exchequer Account 302/29.

The next incident in chronological order is a commission to Sir Edmund Peckham, the high treasurer, authorizing him, in consideration of his long approved fidelity, to buy bullion of gold and silver, coined or not coined, for the "better furniture" of the mints, to be "eftsones" converted into current moneys; that the prices so paid should not exceed 58s. for the oz. of fine gold, 24 c., and 5s. 4d. for the oz. of fine silver, 12 ozs.; and in order that Peckham might the better attend to the said charge he was granted 10s. the day "in the name of your diet" from March 2nd then last past, while the commission remained in force. Dated March 16th, 1546-7. Patent Roll, 1 Edward VI., Part 4, m. 24 dors.

We now reach a group of indentures which governed the first coinage. In not a single instance has an enrolment been made, and therefore it is the more fortunate that three of the original deeds have been preserved. These agreements were executed on April 5th, 1 Edward VI., 1547, and relate to the mints at the Tower, Southwark, and Canterbury respectively. Consequently two cities, York and Bristol, lack any direct record of instructions at this period.

1. The Tower indenture was with Sir Martin Bowes, Stephen Vaughan, and Thomas Knight, the three under-treasurers, and other officers, who covenanted with the King to make four moneys of gold—

The sovereign, "after the proclamation," running for 20s., of which 30 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The half-sovereign, crown, and half-crown in like proportions of value and weight.

There shall be 20 c. of fine gold and 4 c. of alloy in each lb. Troy, which shall contain £30 in coined moneys by tale.

And six moneys of silver, viz.,

The teston, running for 12d., of which 48 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The groat, half-groat, penny, halfpenny, and farthing in like proportions of value and weight.
The First Coinage.

There shall be 4 ozs. of fine silver, and 8 ozs. of alloy in each lb. Troy, which shall contain 48s. in coined moneys by tale.

A privy mark to be made on all coins. There shall be placed in the pyx 1 os. of every 40 lbs. of gold and 2s. of every 100 lbs. of silver moneys; the pyx shall be tried in the mint twice in each year. Standard trial pieces shall be made in triplicate. Two good touches and needles marked with a rose crowned shall be provided. The chief graver and the yeoman—that is, deputy—graver are mentioned, but not by name. Dated April 5th, 1 Edward VI., 1547. Exchequer Account 306/3.

The mints within the Tower were evidently still three in number, and the chief officers were those who had controlled the fifth and later coinages of Henry VIII.

Lowndes, in his Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins, 1695, pp. 23 and 44–5, says that Edward's first indenture was similar in terms to the latest order of Henry VIII., and although the latter document is now missing we may, I think, accept the writer's statement as being correct.

No sovereigns are known which can be attributed to the indenture of April 5th in the first year. Nevertheless, gold coins of the 20 c. standard were undoubtedly struck in Sir Martin Bowes's mint between May and September in that year to the extent of 3,573 lbs. weight Troy, Exchequer Account 302/27, and it is not improbable that these pieces included the "young portrait" half-sovereigns with the titles of the King's father, described by Mr. R. Ll. Kenyon on pp. 98–9 of his work.

The account last quoted shows that the coining of silver was also being carried on between April 1st and September 30th, 1547, when 11,613 lbs. Troy were struck. The text-books generally assume that Edward's profile groat, half-groat, and penny were products of the first coinage, but it seems doubtful whether a change of portrait was made at so early a period of the reign. Seeing that the indenture provides for the teston of 120 grs., which is unknown in the series of Edward's own coins, I think it is more likely that the first issue of silver was a reproduction of Henry's moneys. There is the further
point that the large quantity of 4-oz. silver coins made in 1547 is rather incompatible with the very small number of Edward's profile groats, etc., which have survived.

Another Exchequer Account, 303/5, beginning on October 1st, 1547, indicates that Martin Bowes continued to strike 20-c. gold and 4-oz. silver under the provisions of the first indenture. No accounts from Stephen Vaughan are known to exist, so I cannot throw any light upon the proceedings of this under-treasurer, beyond a mention of the fact that he paid various sums to Sir E. Peckham in respect of the King's profits.

Thomas Knight drew up an account which covers nine months from April 1st to December 31st, 1547, and proves that he coined at the Tower within that period 625 lbs. Troy of 20-c. gold and 8,086 lbs. Troy of 4-oz. silver. Exchequer Account 302/29.

There are one or two features in the indenture of April, 1547, which deserve a word of comment. The designation "yeoman graver" is quite new to me; presumably it is a synonym for "under-graver." The omission of the usual injunction to test the pyx moneys in the presence of the King's Council at the Star Chamber is a sign of the times. It will be noticed that the trials were to take place in the mint, where the examination would be conducted by the officials themselves, who had always been accustomed to make a preliminary assay before taking the boxes to Westminster.

2. The indenture with the officers at Southwark is now reached.

On April 5th, 1 Edward VI. [1547], John Yorke, esquire, under-treasurer at the manor of Suffolk House in Southwark, "next London," Robert Brocke, comptroller, and William Knight, general assayer, covenanted with the King to make four manner of moneys of gold of the same denominations, weight, and fineness as were ordained in the Tower agreement of parallel date which has been already cited. In each pound Troy of gold 30s. was to be taken up to the King's use. And six manner of moneys of silver, also identical in all essential respects with the Tower coins.\(^1\) Fine silver might be bought at 5s.

\(^1\) The mint-mark might of course be expected to differ,
The Coinage.

The oz. There is, however, one clause which belongs exclusively to the Suffolk House document, namely, a proviso that the gravers of irons should not grave elsewhere, but only in one house within the said manor, assigned for that purpose by John Yorke. These words appear to indicate pretty clearly the novel fact that this mint was empowered, as was Bristol, to engage the services of a graver and to prepare its own dies, but at present I have been unable to trace the appointment of such an official at Southwark. On the seal of the document is a device, not heraldic, which includes the letters I. Y.

What coins were struck in pursuance of the agreement with John Yorke? The question cannot, I fear, be answered until we are in a position to say which of the marks as yet unassigned to any mint belong to Southwark. There are no accounts of the work done at Suffolk House, and I had to express a similar regret when dealing with the reign of Henry VIII. The written evidence of activity is confined to sundry payments of profits by the under-treasurer to his chief.

Pipe Office Account 2077.

3. The last of the three original indentures relates to Canterbury, and was executed on the same day, April 5th, 1547.

William Tillesworth, goldsmith of London and under-treasurer of the King's mint in Canterbury, John Busshe, comptroller, and Lawrence Warrye, assaymaster, covenanted to make four moneys of silver, namely, the half-groat, penny, halfpenny, and farthing of the same weights and fineness as were prescribed for the mints at the Tower and Southwark. The general provisos also correspond with those in the other contracts of even date, so far as they are applicable, with the addition of an injunction that the mint should be "kept in the place of old time accustomed" or elsewhere within the city of Canterbury, as the King might appoint. There is, moreover, no reference to a local graver.

Tillesworth's account proves that work was done in conformity with his indenture to the extent of 5,688 lbs. Troy of 4-oz. silver between April 1st and September 30th, 1547, the King's profit being 28s. on each pound. Here again it would seem that Henry's types were used, as the quantity of bullion struck into print was very considerable, and Edward's Canterbury coins are quite uncommon.
Account 302/25. The groat with Edward’s portrait and titles, which is assigned to the first issue, must have been struck at a later date, as this denomination was not included in the first contract with Tillesworth.

4. The mint in the city of York at this date stands apart from the other establishments in a somewhat material respect. No original indenture, nor any enrolment thereof, is to be found, and George Gale’s account makes it sufficiently clear that the northern city did not receive any instructions in April, 1547. The under-treasurer was, however, striking silver coins of the 4-oz. standard during five months, May to September, in that year, presumably in accordance with his indenture of 37 Henry VIII. He coined 10,440 lbs. Troy, on which the King’s gain was 26s. 8d. in each lb. Exchequer Account 296/18.

5. Bristol remains to be considered. The indenture with William Sharington was in all probability dated April 5th, 1547, but it has not survived in any form. Its terms may be assumed to have been identical with those of the Southwark contract in the same month, as both mints were authorized to issue 20-c. gold coins in addition to the silver currency. Sharington’s account states that during the period April 1st to September 30th, 1547, he had struck in Bristol Castle 204 lbs. Troy of gold coins of the 20-c. standard, and 6,838 lbs. Troy of silver coins of the 4-oz. standard. In this case, also, we may believe that the under-treasurer continued to use Henry’s dies with the customary W. S. mint-mark. Indeed, no Bristol gold coins of Edward’s types are known to exist, and the silver pieces of those types are referable to a later date. Exchequer Account 302/30. A more detailed history of this mint in Tudor days can be found in Numismatic Chronicle, 4th Series, vol. xi, p. 346.

In or about June, 1547, occurred the earliest of the many experiments devised for the improvement of the standards of fineness. An order was given to the Tower authorities to mix bullion of 23-c. fine gold and 10-oz. fine silver, respectively, but no money was wrought therefrom “by reason of the King’s urgent affairs.” The consequent waste in remelting the metals and converting them into lower standards cost the Exchequer £73. About the same time Martin Bowes had
been careless in the supervision of the operations at his mint in the Tower, and he was surcharged with £2,372, because his account was less favourable than that of Thomas Knight, and because the actual loss by waste was not so high as Bowes had stated it to be. *Exchequer Account* 302/27.

**THE SECOND COINAGE, 1547–8.**

Ten months after the first issue of Edward's coins, if such they were, another group of mint indentures was sealed on February 16th, 2 Edward VI., 1547–8. The original deeds for Southwark, Canterbury, and York are still in existence, but those for the Tower and Bristol are missing. As the contents of the two latter documents were not enrolled, I am obliged to rely upon sparse recitals in the titles of *Exchequer Accounts* for evidence that the agreements were duly executed and became operative. The changes effected by the new contracts with the mint officers mainly relate to the denominations; the standards of fineness in both metals and the weights of the coins remaining unaltered. We shall see that these new contracts in the form of indentures were often followed by supplementary commissions directing the conversion of testons into other denominations. The mint accounts generally distinguish between the two classes of operations by describing the indenture coins as “standard moneys.” Sometimes the striking of the latter was held up for months by reason of the influx of testons.

1. With regard to the Tower, I learn from the *Pipe Office Account* 2078 that an indenture was made between the King and Sir Martin Bowes and Stephen Vaughan, on February 16th, 1547–8, whereby the officers agreed to strike gold of 20 c. fine and silver of 4 ozs. fine. If I may draw an analogy from the first coinage I would suggest that this Tower contract tallied with that for Southwark, which has survived and will presently be cited. I also infer from the absence of the name of Thomas Knight, the third under-treasurer in the indenture of April 5th, 1547, that the Tower was thenceforth to be worked as two mints only. It is not possible to state the quantities of
gold and silver attributable to the second indenture, as the accounts run on without any break through the first and second years.

I can, however, supply the amounts coined by Martin Bowes, from bullion of both metals between October 1st, 1547, and September 30th, 1548, namely, of 20-c. gold, 3,826 lbs. Troy, and of 4-oz. silver, 36,402 lbs. Troy. Between October 1st, 1548, and December 31st then next he struck 5,844 lbs. Troy of 4-oz. silver; but after the latter date he coined no more "standard monies" of 4-oz. silver until June 30th, 1550, when his account ended [303/5]. It seems desirable, even if wearisome, to cite the quantities struck in the various mints, as Ruding omits this reign from the table of such statistics.

In addition to the Tower indenture regulating the general coinage, there was a commission of even date, February 16th, 1547-8, directed to Sir E. Peckham, Sir M. Bowes, and S. Vaughan, requiring them to melt down and convert testons into the standard of 4-oz. fine silver. This commission, mentioned in Pipe Office Account 2078 and in the Durham House commission, appears to be the earliest official reference to the trouble which was then gathering in respect of the testons of Henry VIII. Martin Bowes converted in his mint 14,600 lbs. Troy of these pieces into 4-oz. moneys during three months in 1548-9. They were valued at 48s. the pound [303/5].

2. Then as to the missing Bristol agreement. The evidence here is derived from Exchequer Account 303/6, which records that Sir Thomas Chamberlain had struck groats, half-groats, pence and halfpence agreeably to the terms of an indenture with Sir William Sharington, of February 16th, 1547-8, thus proving that Bristol was brought into line with the other mints at that date. The circumstances under which Chamberlain succeeded Sharington as under-treasurer were set out by me in Numismatic Chronicle, 4th Series, vol. xi, p. 346. There is a doubt as to whether the Bristol indenture of 1547-8 provided for the striking of gold coins. The first agreement of 1547 certainly did so, and probably the second was on all fours with it, but if a gold coinage was ordered, Chamberlain did not act upon the instructions, as his accounts tell us that silver alone was wrought during his period of office. If the mint-mark T.C. in monogram form, on
Bristol silver coins of Henry VIII., is correctly attributed to Thomas Chamberlain, and I feel no hesitation on the point, it affords conclusive proof that they were struck in the time of Edward VI., as Chamberlain was not associated with this mint until January, 1548-9.

3. I will next consider the indenture for Southwark, one of three original writings of February 16th, 1547-8, which are preserved in the Public Record Office. This agreement was with John Yorke, Thomas Fletewood, in substitution for "Parson" Brocke of the first indenture, and William Knight, who undertook to strike gold coins of precisely the same denominations, weights and fineness as were ordered in the previously quoted indenture of April, 1547. Only 20s. was to be taken up for the King's use in each pound Troy of gold. The officers also undertook to make silver coins of the same weights and fineness as before, but of four denominations only, namely, the groat to the half-penny inclusive, the teston and the farthing being now omitted. In each pound Troy of silver 26s. 8d. might be taken up for the King, and fine, that is, pure, silver might be bought at 5s. 4d. the ounce, an increase of 4d. And they might, with the consent of the high treasurer, take gravers to aid the chief and the yeoman gravers. [This confirms the earlier permission to Suffolk House to make its own dies.]

4. The mint officers at Canterbury who were parties to the second indenture of February 16th, 1547-8, were those who had superintended the first issue of coins. They bound themselves to strike silver coins of the previous weights and fineness, but the denominations were varied by the addition of the groat and the omission of the farthing. The general terms follow those of the Southwark deed of even date, except that a graver is no sanctioned.

Between February, 1547-8, and October 1st, 1548, 26,613 lbs. Troy of silver of the 4-oz. standard were coined, on which the King's gain was 26s. 8d. in each pound. The mint at Canterbury obtained a further portion of its bullion from the spoils of the cathedral church, as is revealed by an entry in the Acts of the Privy Council, on January 29th, 1547, under which the Treasurer was to receive of the Chapter of Christ Church all such jewels and plate of gold and silver as they were
permitted by the late King to retain for their own use, and to deliver the same to the officers of the mint there.

By a commission signed on the same day as the second indenture, Tillesworth was authorized to melt down and convert testons into other coins of the 4-oz. standard of silver. This was done at Canterbury to the extent of 16,764 lbs. Troy, valued at 48s. the pound. *Exchequer Account 302/25.*

5. The Indenture for York was sealed by George Gale, alderman of that city and under-treasurer of the King's mint, John Wynde, comptroller, and Richard Lee, assaymaster, on February 16th, 1547–8. They covenanted to make four coins of silver, viz., the groat to the halfpenny inclusive, of a quality and weight which harmonized with the other orders of the same date. The mint was to be kept in the place of old time accustomed, and there is no mention of a graver.

On the day upon which this indenture was executed, a commission was issued to Sir E. Peckham and G. Gale, directing them to convert testons into smaller silver moneys of the 4-oz. standard. This order is known only by means of *Exchequer Account 296/18,* which also includes a note that Gale converted, at York, 37,576 lbs. Troy of the large pieces, valued at 48s. the pound, during the second and third years of the reign. No shillings of any standard were struck in this city.

The working expenses of the earlier years of the account had been too heavy, but as the under-treasurer had used greater diligence during the later years, the commissioners thought it reasonable to surcharge him with 200 marks only.

Another account from York, 302/28, shows that a payment of £23 16s. to Robert Pitt, graver at the Tower, was disallowed because the fee in his Letters Patent covered all such duties. He had supplied 68 dozen of coining irons to York.

Next in chronological sequence is the first of the proclamations dealing with the constantly recurring subject of the ill-starred teston. On April 10th, 1548, the Government announced that fraud and corruption had led to the falsifying of coins then current, especially pieces of 12d., commonly named testons on account of their greatness, by stamping or casting them in great multitude. To prevent this
The Third Coinage.

practice it was ordered that the said coins should not be current after December 31st then next, but should be taken only as bullion. Nevertheless, when they were of the just standard they might be taken to any of the mints, where the just value in groats or other current coins would be given in exchange. [Library, Society of Antiquaries.]

On August 1st, 1548, Sir John Godsalve was appointed by Letters Patent to be comptroller of the Tower mints.

On November 17th, 1548, Lord St. John, President of the Council, and Sir E. Peckham were empowered to give due allowances and discharges to seven under-treasurers for bullion brought into the mints, after the rates following: for gold of 24-c. fine, £3 the oz. Troy and for less fine gold in like proportions, and for silver of 12-oz. fine, £3 8s. the lb. Troy, that is, 5s. 8d. for each ounce. And such prices were not to be exceeded in England or elsewhere. Patent Roll, 2 Edward VI., Part 3, m. 26 dors.

The mint at Durham House, in the Strand, was first set up on December 2nd, 1548, as will be made clear by a document to be subsequently quoted in the section dealing with the third coinage, but neither the indenture itself nor any enrolment is now forthcoming.

The pages of Ruding give us very few details as to the earlier coinages of Edward VI. We are briefly told, on the authority of Lowndes, p. 45, that the instructions of the second year were in accordance with those put forth at the beginning of the reign. This statement, however, does not accurately represent the position, as there were some not unimportant differences between the two sets of indentures.

It will be noticed that none of the foregoing records encourages the suggestion that Edward's sovereigns of abnormal weights were intended for circulation as pieces of treble or double value. I think that they were piedforts, and not current coins.

The Third Coinage, 1548–9.

We now reach the period when the mints no longer received instructions which for the most part were of a uniform character and common to them all, as in the case of the first and second issues. In
order to classify these deviations it will be preferable to enlarge the basis of arrangement usually adopted by the text-books, that is, four issues of gold and three of silver. I shall propose six coinages of each metal.

The first of the several attempts partially to restore the currency to the standards of pre-Tudor days was communicated to the people by a proclamation dated January 24th, 1548-9, stating that the pieces of 12d. called testons had been recently withdrawn, and that the King, to the intent that money might be more plentiful and richly made, had caused certain new coins to be struck, namely, the 20s., 10s., or "Edward royal," 5s., and 2s. 6d. in gold, and shillings and half-shillings in silver. And it was ordered that all groats and smaller pieces, not being clipped or full broken, should be received without refusal. Harley MSS., 38.

It would appear from the accounts and other documents that this proclamation gave rise to new instructions at four of the mints, namely, Sir Martin Bowes's portion of the Tower, Durham House, Bristol, and Canterbury.

1. The order to Martin Bowes has not survived, but he mentions in his account that a commission was directed to Sir E. Peckham and himself on January 24th, 1548-9, authorizing them to strike into print gold of 22 c. fine and silver of 8 ozs. fine. Metals of both the named standards were undoubtedly used in his mint. In various months between the date of this commission and June 30th, 1550, an aggregate of 1,287 lbs. Troy of 22-c. gold was coined, and in February, 1548-9, 1,949 lbs. Troy of 8-oz. silver, valued at 96s. the pound, were coined. This standard of silver was derived solely from testons and was not used by Martin Bowes in any other month. Pipe Office Account 2078 or Exchequer Account 303/5. As to the denominations then ordered, I would suggest the probability that they were identical in all respects with those prescribed five days later for the mint in the Strand, the particulars of which are given in the following extract:—

2. On January 29th, 3 Edward VI., 1548-9, a commission was directed to John Bowes, esquire, treasurer of the mint within the King's manor of Dureham Place, Robert Recorde, comptroller, and
John Maire, assayer, ordering them to strike four coins of 22-c. gold according to the proclamation, viz., the sovereign, for 20s., of which 34 were to weigh 1 lb. Troy, the half-sovereign, "our Edward royall," 67 in the 1 lb. Troy, and the crown and half-crown, 136 and 272 respectively. Also the officers were to make two coins of 8-oz. silver, namely, the shilling, for 12d., of which 96 were to weigh 1 lb. Troy, that is, 60 grs. each, and the half-shilling at the rate of 187 in the lb. Troy. They were to continue to strike groats, half-groats, pence, half-pence and farthings of 4-oz. silver in conformity with the limitations of an indenture, dated December 2nd, 1548, with certain other officers, unnamed, at Durham House. And, further, they were to continue the conversion of testons in accordance with a commission directed to the Tower mints on February 16th, 1547–8. Patent Rolls, 3 Edward VI., part 3, m. 22 dors.

As I have discussed at some length the history of Durham House in Numismatic Chronicle, 4th Series, vol. 14, p. 138, it will now be sufficient to say that although the fineness of both metals was increased, the weights of all the coins were reduced, as will be seen by a comparison with the details of the Tower indenture of 1547.

In the same article I ventured to express the opinion that coins marked with either the bow or the grappling-iron should be assigned to the workshops established in the Strand palace of the Bishops of Durham. It should be observed that the "shilling" and its half were ordered for the first time as current coins in January, 1548–9.

3. The Bristol commission, which is now lost, was directed to Sir Thomas Chamberlain, Robert Recorde and others on January 24th, 1548–9. They were therein told to strike shillings and half-shillings of 8-oz. silver, to continue the making of groats, half-groats, pence and half-pence of 4-oz. silver, by virtue of an indenture of February 16th, 1547–8, with Sharington, and to continue the conversion of testons under a commission of the last-named date. These particulars are derived from recitals in Chamberlain's account, which runs from January, 2 Edward VI., to March in the fourth year, Exchequer Account 303/6, and proves that 8-oz. fine shillings and sixpences were not struck in this mint.
I should, perhaps, recall the fact that the staff at Bristol Castle included a graver, Giles Evenet by name.

4. The Canterbury commission to William Tilleshworth is likewise missing, but an outline of its provisions is obtainable from his official reckoning, which ends at Lady Day, 1550. The under-treasurer states that he was instructed on January 24th, 1548–9, to strike “moneys called shillings and half-shillings” of 8-oz. fine silver, and that in February, 1548–9, he coined 1,880 lbs. Troy of this standard, but he does not tell us whether both of the denominations were struck. In the same month he converted sundry testons into other coins also of the 8-oz. standard, amounting to 1,540 lbs. Troy and valued at 96s. the lb. I assume that the latter quantity is in addition to the former, and represents a separate transaction, Exchequer Account 302/25. It is not easy to decide which of Edward’s profile shillings ought to be assigned to the issue of February, 1548–9. The coins marked with the lower-case t or with the heraldic Cross Tau, St. Anthony’s cross, are dated 1549 and therefore cannot be ascribed to this coinage of 8-oz. fine silver, although the two varieties of the letter T may be reasonably thought to be Tilleshworth’s marks. There were pyx assays within this mint, before the high treasurer, of the 4-oz. and 6-oz. standards only. Details are not given.

The coins of 22-c. gold and 8-oz. silver, respectively, which were sanctioned for the coinage which I have described as the third, may be recognized in some cases by their mint-marks and weight. When these clues fail we may expect to identify the coins by an assay, or by determining the specific gravity, or by the less exact test of the touchstone and needles.

A second proclamation concerning the testons of 120 grs. was put forth on January 31st, 1548–9, extending the period during which they were to be current to May 1st then next, in consequence of their great number. And it was further ordered that persons who bought the coins from the poor should not exact more than 2d. in every 20s. for exchanging such testons. [Library, Society of Antiquaries.]
The Fourth Coinage, 1549.

This coinage seems to have been even more limited in extent than the preceding issue. Three of the mints, Martin Bowes’s at the Tower, Bristol, and Canterbury were chosen for this experiment, which was a retrograde step as regards the quality of the silver coins. There is no trace in the documentary evidence of similar orders being given to the other mints, which presumably continued to work under the provisoes of the second coinage.

1. In default of an original document or an enrolment, I will again quote from Exchequer Account 303/5, which recites the issue of a commission to Peckham and Martin Bowes on April 12th, 3 Edward VI., 1549, whereby the latter was authorized to strike into print gold coins, unnamed, of 22 c. and “silver moneys called shillings” of 6 oz. fine. The same account states that gold coins were struck in various months, the quantity of 22-c. gold then used being included in the aggregate amount mentioned above under the third coinage, and that silver of the 6-oz. standard was coined to the extent of 41,604 lbs. Troy between April, 1549, and June, 1550. At this point Lansdowne MS. 706 adds some information as to the denominations ordered by this commission. We are told that they consisted of the sovereign and its half, and the crown and its half, the first-named piece weighing after the rate of 34 in the lb. Troy. The shilling was to weigh 72 in the lb. Troy, or 80 grains each, and was to be of 6-oz. fine silver.

Martin Bowes also converted testons into other coins of 6-oz. fine, amounting to 21,855 lbs. Troy between May and October, 1549. They were valued at 72s. the lb.

A supplementary account from Martin Bowes deals with four months between July 1st, 1550, and October 31st in the same year. Within this period and by virtue of the above-mentioned order of April 12th, 1549, he had coined at the Tower 131 lbs. Troy of 22-c. gold, and 27,360 lbs. Troy in shillings of 6-oz. silver. Included in the latter quantity were 1,695 lbs. wrought in July, 1550, by the “moneyers of Bristol,” who were paid only 6d. the lb. weight for workmanship, as

1 The same weight as the Durham House sovereign.
against 8d. paid to their brethren of the Tower. This unusual entry appears to show that after the dissolution of the mint in Bristol Castle the moneyers were brought to London, where they received the country rate of pay. It may be surmised that irritation ensued, seeing that the moneyers were a close corporation who stood very much on their dignity. At all events, the Bristol men worked in one month only. *Declared Accounts*, Audit Office, 1670/496.

I caused an assay to be made of a profile shilling dated 1549, with the *Timor* legend and marked with a swan. The report was "6 oz. 1 dwt. of fine silver in the lb. Troy." Another shilling of the same type and year, but marked with a y, yielded silver at the rate of 6 ozs. 6 dwts. in the lb. weight. The former coin may be regarded as the fruit of this commission to Martin Bowes, and the latter may be attributed to a similar commission to John Yorke, of which we have no other knowledge.

2. Then as regards Bristol, the *Exchequer Account* 303/6, which describes in great detail the under-treasurer's transactions, states that Peckham and Thomas Chamberlain were ordered by a commission of April 12th, 1549, to strike shillings of 6-oz. fine silver. No gold coins are mentioned. Later in the same document I read that 306 lbs. Troy of the prescribed standard of silver were coined in May and June, 1549, and that in the same two months certain testons were converted into other coins, unnamed, of 6-oz. fine silver, amounting to 538 lbs. Troy and valued at 72s. the lb. A profile shilling dated 1549 is known with the mint-mark T C in monogram.

3. Canterbury received a similar order on April 12th, 1549, by which the officers were directed to strike "certain moneys called shillings current for 12d.," of 6-oz. fine silver. This commission is not to be found, but the facts here quoted are contained in the title of Tillesworth's *Account* 302/25, and in the body of that document. Between July and December, 1549, 12,035 lbs. Troy of 6-oz. silver were coined, on which the King's gain was 38s. the lb., and between May and August in the same year testons were converted into 8,515 lbs. Troy of a similar degree of fineness, and were valued at 72s. the lb. I think that some, at all events, of these coins are
Canterbury Mint closed.

represented to-day by the shillings of 1549 bearing the mint-marks t and T.

I can now adduce some definite evidence as to the closing of the mint at Canterbury. Tillesworth credits himself with £49 18s. 3d., the amount of charges incurred by Sir Reynold Scott and three mint officials from London, who, with their servants and horses, lay at Canterbury for thirteen days in February, 1549-50, for the dissolving of the mint there. The expenses also included the conveyance to London of such ready money, bullion and plate as remained. This precise statement is very welcome amid so much that is confused and indefinite.

The addition of Sir E. Peckham's name to nearly all the mint commissions of this period is rather inexplicable as he had no direct concern, as high treasurer, with the operations of coining. I will hazard a guess that he was put in as watchman. Sometimes he slept, I fear.

The teston was the subject of yet another proclamation on May 22nd, 1549, wherein it was recited that such pieces, "coyled with the face and stamp of his Highnes most dear father," should have been brought into the mints to be exchanged for shillings or groats or other kinds of money; and that, owing to the number of testons made in the time of the late King and also counterfeited abroad, the date of their withdrawal had been enlarged until May 1st then last, but that only a few had been so brought in. The earlier proclamation was to remain in force, nevertheless sums due to the King might be paid in good testons, at the rate of 12d., until June 1st then next, and lawful pieces would also be received in the mints as bullion, at the same rate, until July 31st. The subjects might buy them, if made in any of the mints within the realm of England, at not less than 11½d. the piece, and bring them in for exchange. After July 31st testons would be received as bullion only, according to fineness. [Library, Society of Antiquaries.]

A month afterwards, on June 22nd, Sir Edmund Peckham sent to Sir Thomas Smith, the King's secretary, a certificate as to the quantity of testons received at the mints in London, from June 1st to the 22nd,
1549, to be converted or exchanged into current moneys. The figures are as follows—

Payments made for exchange, £20,288.
Testons received but not paid for, £15,150. *State Papers Domestic, Edward VI., vol. vii.*

These amounts, covering three weeks only, show that it was a very considerable task to hunt down and remelt this distressful coin of the previous reign.

The aggregate amount of all the convertible operations in London, when stated in pounds sterling, is £123,000, approximately.

In the Acts of the Privy Council there is a note of an order to John Yorke at Southwark, on July 31st, 1549, for the delivery of £250 in "demi-sovereigns," and a gold chain. In default of any evidence that Suffolk House took part in carrying out the third or fourth coinages, according to the classification in these pages, the half-sovereigns may have been of the second issue and therefore of the 20-c. standard. At all events we now know that gold was being coined there in 1549.

Active work in Bristol ceased at the end of October, 1549, *Exchequer Account 303/6,* and I have reason to believe that Durham House closed its doors about the same date, *Numismatic Chronicle,* 4th Series, vol. xiv, p. 145, after a short career of some eleven months.

The *Patent Rolls* of the third year prove that Nicholas Throgmorton was appointed on January 1st, 1549–50, to be one of the under-treasurers of the mints in the Tower, presumably to replace Stephen Vaughan, who, it will be remembered, was one of the parties to the second indenture in 1547–8. In the meantime Vaughan had died, and his executor was told, in June, 1551, to make a final payment to the King.

I must now revert to Southwark for the purpose of quoting one of the "conversion" commissions, which is of peculiar interest to a student of Tudor numismatics, and for two reasons. First because it is the sole surviving document of its class, and, secondly, because it authorizes the use of the portrait and titles of Henry VIII.

Commission to Sir John Yorke, under-treasurer of the mint within the manor of Suffolk House, in the borough of Southwark,
Order to use the Portrait, etc., of Henry VIII.

Thomas Fletewood, comptroller, and William Knight, assay-master, there. The King being informed that divers of his subjects, since the time limited by the proclamation for the annulling of testons, had daily brought in such coins to his said mint, and having considered the losses thus suffered by them, authorizes the officers to receive by tale as many testons, not being counterfeit, as shall be brought in to the mint, to the value of four thousand pounds. And the same shall be melted and recoined into groats, half-groats, pence and half-pence of the standard of 4 oz. of fine silver and 8 oz. of alloy in each lb. Troy, and shall "be made and printed with the hole face and inscription of our most deare late Father." The groats and half-groats shall not pass out if above the remedy of 3 dwts. at the assay and 6 dwts. at the shear. Twelve pence of recoined money so made shall be paid for each teston brought in. The high treasurer of the mints is to allow to the under-treasurer, upon a vouched account, the cost of converting the coins, and any over-plus shall be paid to the King’s use. Dated February 1st, 1549-50. Patent Roll, 4 Edward VI., Part 6, m. 17 dors.

At this period of the reign it is manifest that the Privy Council had become restive as to the conduct of affairs relating to the currency, and they took certain far-reaching steps on February 3rd, 1549-50, which doubtless led to the eventual suppression of the majority of the remaining mints.

A commission was issued to the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, and Sir Walter Mildmay, appointing them examiners of the accounts of Sir Martin Bowes and the heirs of Raffe Rowlit, who had been mint masters and also deputies to Lord Mountjoy in the reign of Henry VIII. The three commissioners were further empowered to call before them the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company who were alleged to have misused the standards. 1 A second commission of even date to the same three persons appointed them to be

1 The accounts prepared by Martin Bowes and other mint officers, in obedience to this edict, have been frequently quoted by me in this and in earlier papers.
surveyors and comptrollers of all the mints, with power to change the officers, reform the ordinances and reduce the officers of the mint to one office only, it having come to the knowledge of the King that certain practices and uses within the mints in England and elsewhere required to be reformed and altered. Dated February 3rd, 1549-50. Patent Rolls, 4 Edward VI., Part 2.

The commissioners appointed by these two decrees took up their duties without delay, and one of the first results of their investigations was the closing of the mint at Canterbury, as already related on a previous page.

THE FIFTH COINAGE, 1550.

This coinage also was very restricted in its scope and was confined to two mints. Gold was ordered to be struck at Southwark, and debased silver at the Tower, as I believe, but there are no original documents relative to the latter issue.

The gold coins now ordered were restored to the old standard of fineness, viz., 23 c. 3 1/2 grs. in the lb. Troy, which had been abandoned by Henry VIII. in 1542.

On December 18th, 4 Edward VI., 1550, a commission was directed to Sir E. Peckham, Sir J. Yorke, Thomas Fletewood, William Knight, and John Germyn, all of Suffolk House in Southwark, authorizing them to make certain new moneys of gold, to be current according to a proclamation set forth in 36 Henry VIII., and to be of the standard of 23 c. 3 1/2 grs. fine gold and 1/2 gr. alloy in each lb. Troy, namely—

The sovereign, running for 24s., of which 24 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.
The riall, running for 12s., of which 48 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.
The angel, running for 8s., of which 72 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.
The half-angel in like proportions.
For each oz. of 24-c. gold the officers may give 1 oz. of the new moneys aforesaid, by weight and not by tale. Patent Rolls, 4 Edward VI., Part 6, m. 13 dors.

The fulfilment of these instructions, if indeed they were fulfilled, must have been the expiring effort of the moneyers at Southwark.
The Fifth Coinage.

Such evidence as is available, indirect though it is, clearly points to the fact that the mint in Suffolk House was dissolved in December, 1550, or in the following month, when the under-treasurer was heavily indebted to the Crown in the sum of £9,523. This latter circumstance, however, did not prevent the transfer of Sir John Yorke to another office of the same kind, as will presently appear.

The "riall," or half-sovereign, which finds a place in this commission, is now unknown, but the other denominations are represented by existing coins. There is also a so-called double sovereign, which may, as previously remarked, be regarded merely as a piedfort. I feel some hesitation as to whether these coins of the 23 c. 3½ grs. standard are correctly attributed to the order of December, 1550, and I purpose to return to the subject when the sixth coinage, 1551, is reached.

The coinage of debased shillings, which shows a further diminution in the fineness of the metal, must now be noticed. I am unable to produce any documentary authority for the issue of these coins, neither the commission itself nor the subsequent accounts. The shillings are dated 1550 and 1551, and are marked with the lion, or the rose, or the lys; and occasionally the last-named mark is found in conjunction with Y on the reverse of the coin. It is apparent from entries in the King's Journal during the years 1550 and 1551 that coins of 3-oz. fine silver had been ordered and were being struck. We also have the statement in Lansdowne MS. 706, written shortly after 1611, which tells us that in Edward's fifth year a commission ordered shillings of 3-oz. fine silver. They were to weigh after the rate of 72 in the lb. Troy, that is, 80 grs. each, which corresponds approximately with the weight of the coins marked with the lion, etc. These "most base" shillings are specifically mentioned in a proclamation issued by Elizabeth in her second year, and were estimated to be not more than one-sixth part of the total number then in circulation.

At this point I have to chronicle the exit of Sir Martin Bowes, certainly the most prominent mint official of the sixteenth century, who began his career at the Tower about 1526 as deputy to the master-worker of that day. On January 24th, 1550-51, a pardon under the great seal was granted to Martin Bowes, Kt., alderman and goldsmith,
and one of the under-treasurers at the Tower, for all offences committed at the mint under his control. He then retired into private life, and subsequently gave bonds for £6,000, the amount of his arrears. Here again we may trace the reforming zeal of Lord Warwick and his colleagues. I am a little uncertain as to who filled the office vacated by Martin Bowes. There are several references in the Exchequer Accounts to one Christopher Levens, an under-treasurer at the Tower, and in the records of the Privy Council for January 2nd, 1551–52, I find that a man of the same names had been "committed to ward." Apparently no formal appointment was made in Levens's case, nor are there any accounts from him, and I can only take note of the occurrence of his name during the years 1551 and 1552.

Although the shilling with the profile portrait had now taken the place of the demonetized teston, the trouble was by no means at an end. The substituted coin having been proved to be almost equally unsatisfactory, it was cried down, together with two classes of groats, by a proclamation dated April 30th, 1551, which was to the following effect:—That testons, and groats of like baseness, which were set forth by the late King Henry VIII., had been counterfeited; that the King had consequently devised and made "other pieces of money called shillings at 12d. and groats at 4d. under another stamp," but these also had been counterfeited within and without the realm; that the coinage was to be reformed and brought to such a fineness as would make the same certain. Therefore shillings coined by the King and groats coined by the King and by his father must be rated more nearly according to their fineness, and after August 31st then next the shilling coined by the King would be current for 9d., and the groat for 3d., and no more, within the realm of England and in Calais. [Library, Society of Antiquaries.]

The economic situation in 1551 changed for the worse so rapidly that the Privy Council were unable to await the arrival of the appointed day. An amending proclamation was issued at the beginning of July, having been printed in June in anticipation of the formal order, which ran as follows:—
Reduced Rating of Silver Coins.

July 8th, 5 Edward VI., and 1551 of Christ. Whereas very lately the King had ordained that after August 31st then next the shilling should be current for 9d. and the groat for 3d., and as the covetousness of certain people had raised the price of victuals and had made it needful to shorten the former day, therefore the King ordained that immediately after the publishing of the present proclamation the two coins should be paid and received at the rates aforesaid. *Chancery Warrants*, 2nd S., 935.

But this measure was also insufficient, and during the next month, August, 1551, a third proclamation was circulated. This is without a date, but the day on which it was to become operative is stated in the text of the warrant. It recites that the king had previously reduced the values of the shilling and groat, and that he had been minded to amend the fineness of his coin; that the prices of victuals had increased and waxed excessive, the remedy whereof was the speedy reducing of the coin more near to its just fineness. Wherefore it was ordained that from the 17th day of that present month of August the shilling should be current for sixpence sterling, the groat for two pence, and the half-groat, penny and halfpenny in like proportions, within the realm of England and in Calais. *Chancery Warrants*, 2nd S., 935.

The Acts of the Privy Council under the date of July 17th, 1551, record a letter to Peckham instructing him to receive all the moneys in the mints, and to stay all the mints from coining any more until further orders. At this time the only surviving establishment outside the boundaries of the Tower was that in the city of York.

In the following month the Privy Council again exercised their authority. They ordered Peckham and John Yorke, by a letter dated August 2nd, 1551, to cleanse and repair the house of Southwark Place and to leave it in as good a state as they found it. This incident terminated the six years' occupancy of Suffolk House as a mint, and it will now be convenient to explain the position of Sir John Yorke after his withdrawal or dismissal. He had been created a knight during the year of his shrievalty, and I have satisfied myself that the
late under-treasurer of the Surrey mint was transferred to the Tower, where he filled a similar position. This change affects the interpretation of the mint-mark Y, which is usually regarded as a Southwark emblem. All the coins of 1551 when marked with Y should, I believe, be placed among the products of the central institution, and I shall be able to prove that John Yorke was actively engaged at the Tower in making the full-faced silver coinage of 1551, and also, presumably, the gold coinage of that year.

Although the mint at Southwark had ceased to exist, its site continued to be known as The Mint, and was afterwards the resort of lawless and disorderly persons, who alleged that it was a privileged locality and that the King's writs did not run there. Two Acts of Parliament, 8 and 9 William III. and 9 George I., were required for the abolition of the evil.

On August 10th, 1551, the Privy Council issued a warrant to John Yorke to deliver £16,000 of the new coinage in shillings. If this order refers to the "fine silver" coins it could only be of an anticipatory character, because the type of the full-faced shilling had not been settled at this date, as a subsequent document will show. It is more probable that the Council meant the debased profile shilling of 3-oz. fine silver.

THE SIXTH COINAGE, 1551.

At the beginning of this paper I said that the King personally concerned himself with mint affairs during the later years of his reign, in proof of which I can offer some evidence hitherto unprinted. Among the Domestic State Papers of Edward VI. is the draft of a letter, with many interlineations, from the Privy Council to Sir Edmund Peckham, dated September 25th, 1551. This communication sheds a welcome light upon the discussions with the King which preceded the instructions to begin the new coinage in the following month. That such a letter was in fact sent is attested by a memorandum in the books of the Privy Council on the same day.

The letter begins by expressing the determination of the King and his Council to amend the coinage and establish the same in fineness, and then proceeds to make known the King's pleasure:
"As to the patterns of the coins, his Majesty liketh best those of the XIId. and VId. which have their figures not in arithmetic ciphers but in this manner, XII and VI, and the parliament robe with the collar of the order, and in the style of the pattern of VI. The word Hibern is written Hiben which must be amended, making the N a R. The king and we also think that his Majesty's face will not be well expressed wholly and totally on the coin, and therefore ye shall do well to express on the coin three parts of the face. The agreement to have the standard of XI oz. fine for the XIId. and VId. pleaseth his Majesty very well, and of the same standard his Majesty's pleasure is to have two other coins, one of 5s. and one other of 2s. 6d., of the which coins his Majesty wills that ye shall, when ye shall begin, coin a small number to see a proof thereof; the pattern whereof we send you here-with noted with his Majesty's own hand with the cipher of 5, being the lowest pattern [patrone] of IIIJ on a card of IIIJ of ye spades, and on the other side of the 5s. to put the cross which shall be upon the XIId. and upon the 2s. 6d. the cross which shall be on the 6d. The other standard also for the small money, viz., 1d. and ½d. to be of 4 oz. fine, his Majesty well liketh, and will have also of the same standard a coin of a farthing, and therefore we most earnestly require you to cause all good speed to be had that may be for the graving and sinking of the irons and prints of all these said coins, viz., of the standard of 11 oz. fine the coins of 5s., 2s. 6d., 1d. and ½d. and 6d. and of the other standard of 4 oz. fine the coins of 1d., ½d., and ¼d. And if . . . Derryck shall be found fit for the graving then we would he were appointed, with John Lawrence, being named by you and others for a cunning sinker. If Dyrrick be not fit therefor, then to certify us of your opinions. Concerning the officers [?] which shall be in commission for these purposes, these be to let you understand that the King's Majesty's pleasure is that for the coinage of the fine [moneys] Sir John Yorke and
Mr. Nicholas Throkmorton's deputy, whose name ye shall know shortly, shall be in commission, and for the small moneys George Gale at York and Lawrence Warre at Canterbury; and therefore we would also speed were made with making the minutes of these commissions, and, further, to put into the same commissions authority for the other officers requisite hereto, taking the same which have served last heretofore, except some of them shall be thought not convenient, and in that case we would ye also certified us of such as you shall think meter for the same, and of all other things requisite to the furtherance hereof. And the said minutes being sent to us we shall shortly return your commission for your proceeding... And your other coins which ye made for proofs we shall deliver to you at our next coming thither."


It is conceivable that one of the pattern coins mentioned at the end of the foregoing letter may be the piece known as a shilling and dated MDLI, with the Timor legend on the reverse, which is illustrated by Hawkins as No. 419. The occurrence of the ostrich's head as a mint-mark on this pattern will be discussed on a later page.

The moneys struck during the last quarter of the year 1551 were in truth a new coinage, and not merely an attempt to improve the standard of one or two denominations as was the case in some of the earlier issues.

The preliminaries having been settled by the letter of September 25th, which conveyed the King's wishes to Peckham, the latter quickly arranged the final details, and a commission to the officers of the Tower mint was signed on October 5th then next. Many allusions to this document occur in the pages of books on numismatic subjects, from Lowndes's Essay in 1695 down to the present time, but the respective authors were apparently unacquainted with its precise date and
stipulations, indeed Ruding says that it “is not known to exist.” The original commission has not survived, unless in private hands, and an enrolment was again omitted, although the new departure of 1551 was of very considerable importance. Under such circumstances I was glad to discover that two copies have been preserved, one being a manuscript in the Ashmolean Collection which is now in the Bodleian Library, and the other being one of the Additional Manuscripts at the British Museum. As the document has never been published, I will append a full extract, but before doing so I will comment upon three points arising out of the Council’s letter of September 25th.

During the ten days which elapsed between the despatch of this letter and the signing of the commission, an alteration was made in the fineness of the prospective silver coins. The instructions to Peckham specified the standard of 11 ozs. fine for the main coinage, whereas the order to the mint prescribed, as will presently be seen, the use of a slightly better standard of 11 ozs. 1 dwt. fine silver in each lb. Troy. The King’s Journal, under the date October 1st, 1551, states that the silver was to be 11 ozs. fine, but the royal diary does not always agree in every detail with the Exchequer papers, when the latter are available for comparison. Edward’s notes on currency matters are frequently interesting, but the memoranda as to bargains or negotiations with his mint officers are sometimes difficult to comprehend to-day. I would also allude to the mention of Canterbury as one of the places in which the debased pieces were to be struck. Presumably the Privy Council wished to reopen the defunct mint in that city, with another under-treasurer as successor to Tillesworth, but there is no evidence whatever that the intention was carried into effect. In the absence of such proof, it would appear that the moneyers at York were alone employed in making the small coins of 4-oz. fine silver, as that mint was still in being. The third point is the remarkable omission from the letter of any reference to the designs for the two gold coinages, one of which, at all events, is represented by a new type.

I will now set out the material portions of the order which was the corollary, as regards the “fine moneys” only, of the letter already cited.
Commission directed to Sir John Yorke, one of the under-treasurers of the mints in the Tower, Nicholas Throckmorton, another under-treasurer, Sir John Godsalve, comptroller, William Knight, assaymaster, and John Jermyn, provost of the moneyers, there. The King, having resolved to make certain new moneys of gold and silver, authorizes the officers to strike into print of the standard of 23 c. 3½ grs. of fine gold and ½ gr. of alloy in the lb. Troy, three coins, namely—

The sovereign, running for 30s., of which 24 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The angel, running for 10s., of which 72 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

And the angellet in like proportions.

The remedy shall be ½ gr. in the lb. Troy, called ¼ carat, either in the assay or in the shear, or in both.

Also, to strike of the standard of 22 c. of fine gold and 2 c. of alloy, four coins, namely—

The sovereign, running for 20s., of which 33 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The half-sovereign, the crown and the half-crown in like proportions.

The remedy, 2 grs. in the lb. Troy, called ⅕th carat.

Gold may be coined for the subjects and delivered by weight, at a charge of 2s. 9d. the lb. Troy for fine gold, and 3s. for crown gold. Also to strike four pieces of silver of "the standard of the sterling," holding 11 ozs. 1 dwt. of fine silver out of the fire, and 19 dwts. of alloy in the lb. Troy, namely—

A piece of 5s., running for 5s., of which 12 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The half of 5s., running for 2s. 6d., of which 24 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.
The Commission for the Sixth Coinage.

The shilling, running for 12d., of which 60 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.
The half-shilling, running for 6d., of which 120 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

Remedy, 1 dwt. in the lb. Troy.

Silver of the standard of sterling may be coined for the subjects and delivered by weight, at a charge of 12d. per lb. Troy.

"And we will also that you . . . doe keep a pix with three severall keys," and take out of every journey of gold, "by two of you," one piece at the least of every several coin, and the like out of every journey of silver, for the assays thereof to be taken by the high treasurer of the mint according to the establishment, or by such other person as may be appointed. And to the intent that the said moneys of gold and silver shall be as richly made in weight and fineness as may be conveniently done, you shall make the said moneys as nigh to the said standards appointed as you, keeping yourselves out of danger, may conveniently make the same.

The great seal was attached at Hampton Court on October 5th in the fifth year [1551]. Also signed by the King, eleven members of the Council, and two mint officers. Additional MSS. 18759, fo. 69, and Black's Catalogue of Ashmolean MSS., No. 862, fo. 399-408.

The three coins of fine gold now ordered are identical in weight and quality with those mentioned in the commission of December 18th, 1550, but their rating is increased. Mr. R. Ll. Kenyon tells us on p. 113 of his work that it is not possible to distinguish the fine gold coins of 1551 from those of 1550, as only one mint-mark, the ostrich's head, occurs. I would suggest, as a solution of the difficulty, that Edward's fine sovereign, angel, and angelet be transferred to the 1551 coinage, and for the following reasons:

a. The fact that the mint at Southwark was closed in December, 1550, or January, 1550-1, renders it doubtful whether any
coins were struck there in pursuance of the commission of December 18th.

b. The “riall,” or half-sovereign, of 1550 is not known to exist, although it was then ordered. On the other hand, this coin was omitted from the order of 1551, which would explain its absence at the present day.

c. The mint-mark ostrich’s head on the “horseman” shilling dated 1551 appears to form a connecting link with the three gold coins bearing the same mark, and to support my suggestion that the latter belong to 1551. I have previously shown that Peckham, whose mark the ostrich’s head is believed to be, was closely associated with the arrangements for the new coinage in this year.

All the coins of 22-c. gold which are mentioned in this commission can be identified without difficulty. They are slightly heavier than the coins of the same standard ordered at Durham House, where the lb. Troy of gold contained thirty-four sovereigns.

With regard to the silver coinage, two new denominations, the crown and half-crown, were introduced, and the fineness of the metal was only 1 dwt. in the lb. worse than the original standard of the Plantagenet and earlier kings. The weight of the shilling was 96 grs., that is, 16 grs. more than the shilling of the fourth coinage. Notwithstanding this increase, the proportionate weight of the penny, if it had been ordered, would have been only 8 grs. There is also an existing new denomination, namely the threepence, for which the commission did not provide, and I have been unable to find any warrant for the striking of a coin of this value. Probably it was the subject of an additional order at a later date. At all events, it was struck in much smaller numbers than the shilling and half-shilling, as it is now comparatively rare. I should add that the penny of fine silver, with the seated figure, is also without any existing documentary authority.

The new “piece of 5s.” contained silver equal in value to the previously existing gold crown, hence it obtained its colloquial name of “crown.”
With the object of finally settling the question of which standard of silver was actually used at this time, I caused an assay to be made of a full-faced shilling with the mint-mark Tun. The report proved that the lb. Troy contained 11 ozs. 1 dwt. of fine silver, precisely the degree of fineness ordered by the commission. This is one of only two instances, among many assays of Tudor silver coins, in which I found that the purity of the metal conformed exactly with the standard prescribed.

A few lines may be devoted to the graver who was responsible for the new types of gold and silver coins which were struck in 1551. The Privy Council's letter of September 25th in that year opportunely serves to remove a doubt as to the name of the artist. I would recall that I said in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, xiii, 358, that Derick Anthony was appointed to the office of graver at the Tower from Michaelmas, 1551, and that his predecessor Robert Pitt, then recently deceased, might conceivably have engraved the irons for the new dies. The Council's letter indicated certain designs which had been chosen, and added that Derick was to be employed "if thought fit for the graving." Thus the question is satisfactorily solved.

Although John Yorke and Nicholas Throgmorton now controlled the two mints at the Tower, their respective accounts as under-treasurers have not survived. Nevertheless, by a happy chance an account by Edmund Peckham yields some timely, but unusual, information as to one section of the work done by virtue of the commission. It appears that the high treasurer happened to be the channel through which a certain parcel of silver bullion was supplied to John Yorke, and that consequently the particulars as to the disposal of this metal were included in Peckham's figures, which as a rule have no concern with the details of coinage operations.

There had been delivered to Sir John Yorke at the Tower, 6,543 lbs. Troy of fine, that is, 12 oz., silver bullion, between October 20th and December 31st, 5 Edward VI., 1551, to be coined into the standard of 11 ozs. 1 dwt. fine, of which each lb. Troy would contain 60s. by tale. The bullion produced in ready money £20,963, the charges being 12d. the lb. weight, which sum was coined from 7,106 lbs. Troy of silver of the 11 ozs. 1 dwt. standard. *Pipe Office Account*, 2079.
This extract clearly denotes that in the autumn and early winter of 1551 the late under-treasurer of Suffolk House was making the new coinage at the Tower, and that the mint-mark Y should, as regards this particular year, be no longer attributed to Southwark.

I must turn for a moment to the city of York and its mint, in which the pence, half-pence, and farthings of the 4-oz. standard were to be struck, as directed by the Privy Council's letter of September 25th. There is a recital in a subsequent commission to George Gale, to be presently mentioned, that he had been a party to an indenture dated December 10th, 1551. This latter document is missing¹, but it seems highly probable that the debased small monies were then ordered, together with, perhaps, the York half-shilling and threepence of the finer standard which was used for the improved coinage at the Tower.

For a few months there was an absence of any new instructions, but meanwhile Lord Warwick, now the Duke of Northumberland, and his colleagues were still pursuing their enquiries. During the quarter ending at Lady Day, 1551-2, John Yorke and Throgmorton were dismissed from their respective offices at the Tower, and the Privy Council thenceforth refer to them as the "late" under-treasurers. By a minute of June 19th, Throgmorton was permitted to receive an additional sum of 50 marks, that is, three months' salary from March to June, 1552, and he was told to pay his arrears to the King.

It seems necessary to reconsider the mint-marks Y and tun in the light of the Council's action. The dated coins of this issue with the Y mark are all of the year 1551, which fact confirms my opinion as to the time when John Yorke was displaced at the Tower. It follows, therefore, that all undated coins with this mark were struck before March, 1551-2. Then as to the mint-mark tun, which was thought to be a punning allusion to Throgmorton's name so long ago as 1745, when Martin Folkes's book² was printed. The tun occurs on dated coins of this

¹ On December 17th, 1551, Mr. Mildmay was directed by the Council to see that the mint indenture for the city of York was signed by the officers there; and the King would then sign the counterpart.

² The same work ascribes the Y mark to Sir John Yorke, so the interpretation of both symbols has now acquired an almost venerable standing.
issue of the years 1551, 1552 and 1553. The first of these dates can be assigned to Throgmorton, the second probably cannot, and the third certainly cannot be so assigned. In which direction, then, should we look for the explanation of this mark? In attempting to answer the question I would refer to British Numismatic Journal, vol. x, p. 169, where I pointed to Thomas Egerton as the one official of that period whose surname furnished a possible but very doubtful clue to the mint-mark E on coins of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Having regard to the date of his appointment, I felt and still feel considerable hesitation in suggesting that the E marked coins should be ascribed to this officer, and therefore I now venture to put forward an alternative proposal for identifying the mark which distinguished some of the coins struck by Egerton. If the mint-mark tun has been correctly regarded as a canting allusion to the name of Throgmorton, who ceased to be associated with the Tower in March, 1551–2, then the same mark on coins of a later date may, with equal probability, bear a similar relationship to the last syllable of the name of his successor, Egerton.

On March 26th, 1552, a new "establishment" was introduced at the Tower mints. The inner history of this upheaval is, I fear, lost to us, but the outward signs are reflected in the Patent Rolls, which contain a number of new appointments to offices, and pardons for some of the ejected. The changes in the staff were accompanied by a reversion to the system of control which obtained before 1544, British Numismatic Journal, vol. x, p. 154, namely, to have only one mint within the Tower. The old titles of "warden" and "master-worker" were, however, not restored to the officers, and the head of the undertaking was still described as under-treasurer, or sometimes treasurer. The following new grants of offices passed the great seal in May and June, 1552:

Thomas Egerton, armiger, "our servant," to be treasurer of the exchange and mint at the Tower, as from the Feast of the Annunciation then last past, and during good pleasure. 8 June.

Thomas Stanley to be comptroller, during life.
John Browne to be surveyor.
Diric Anthony to be chief graver, as from Michaelmas then last past.

Three officials were granted annuities on retirement, namely, Thomas Fletewoode, Richard Wigmore, and Sir John Godsalve. The Patent Rolls also contain an entry recording the forgiveness of those who had failed in restraining offences of a serious character—

The King of his grace pardons John Yorke, knight, under-treasurer of the mints within the Tower of London and the town of Southwark, Nicholas Throgmorton, armiger, another under-treasurer at the Tower, John Godsalve, knight, comptroller of the same, Thomas Fletewoode, mercer, comptroller of Southwark, William Knight, mercer, assayer of Southwark, William Dunche, gentleman, auditor of the Tower and Southwark, William Billingsley, haberdasher, assayer of the Tower, and Thomas Stanley, goldsmith, assayer of the Tower, for all transgressions concerning the mint, including the making of dies, changing of alloys, diminishing, cutting, breaking, dissolving and washing. Dated June 21st, 1552. Patent Roll, 6 Edward VI., Part 4, mm. 37-8.

There were three candidates for the vacant office of under-treasurer at the Tower, as appears from the following memorandum relative to the business of the Privy Council: "The discharge of the mints in London; appointment of one in Sir John Yorke's room; named, John Freman, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Pyrrye." Another note reads: "The discharge of the superfluous officers of the mints; the books devised for the same," State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI., vol. xiii, Nos. 10 and 12. These memoranda are undated, but are placed in March, 1551-2. Egerton, as I have shown above, received the appointment, and Pyrrye had to be content with the Dublin mint.

The new under-treasurer was instructed by the Council on July
17th, 1552, to deliver from the Tower £2,000 of the finer money of the new coin in exchange for old coin, or if he had not so much, then as much as he could.

There is a letter from the mint-masters in the city of York to the Duke of Northumberland, dated April 9th, 1552, in which they acknowledge the receipt of letters of March 26th and 29th, and say that they had stayed the base standard of all small moneys. The Duke is informed that they were charged at that moment with the sum of £600 and more, received into the mint from the King’s subjects, and the Council’s pleasure thereon is asked. They had coined £800 of the small pieces, most of which had been already despatched, but the remainder would not be sufficient to produce the fine moneys which ought to be given to the subjects; and they wished for advice. *Harley MSS.*, 38. On July 26th in the same year a further letter was sent to George Gale and his colleagues, declaring that the King would have no more base money coined at York, *Acts of the Privy Council*, but this decision was reversed within seven months by a new commission to strike silver coins of the lower standard.

Lawrence Warren, or Warrye, goldsmith, the late assaymaster at the mint in Canterbury, received a formal pardon on December 18th, 1552, for all misdeeds committed there. *Patent Rolls, 6 Edward VI.*, Part 7, No. 81. The original grant, with the great seal attached, is now exhibited in the London Museum at Lancaster House, formerly Stafford House, St. James’s.

One more item may be chronicled as to Nicholas Throgmorton. A grant of an annuity of £100 was made to him on January 28th, 1552–3, in consideration of a surrender of his patent as an under-treasurer at the Tower. We may therefore assume that he was not among the more flagrant offenders.

The last of the orders issued to the mint in the city of York was in these terms:—

Commission to George Gale, John Wynde, Richard Lee, and John Munnes, provost of the moneyers, at York. The King being minded to convert and alter certain of his base coin
into small moneys, authorizes the officers aforesaid to receive by tale from time to time all such silver moneys, except of the standard of the sterling, as shall be brought to the said mint. And to melt down, convert and coin the same into pence and half-pence of the standard of 4 oz. of fine silver and 8 oz. of alloy in each lb. Troy, which coins shall be made in accordance with the provisions of a pair of indentures between the King and the officers aforesaid, dated December 10th in his 5th year [1551]. And the officers shall deliver by tale so much of the smaller moneys as shall countervail the sums of money now current which may be brought into the said mint. Dated February 20th, 7 Edward VI. [1552–3].

Patent Roll, 7 Edward VI., Part 8, m. 16 durs.

The weights of the above-mentioned penny and halfpenny are not defined in terms, and the indenture to which reference is made has not survived; nevertheless I think that the larger of the two coins ordered in 1552–3 can be identified as the double-rose penny with the York legend on the reverse and the pierced mullet as a mint-mark. The halfpenny of this issue may not have been struck, as it appears to be at present unknown. The duty now assigned to George Gale was the conversion of silver coins, possibly the debased profile shillings, of the 3-oz. standard into smaller pieces of 4 oz. fine in the lb. Troy, a scheme which again illustrates the experimental nature of the measures adopted by those in the highest places. There is good reason to believe that the mint at York remained open, although doing unimportant work and probably in a moribund condition, until the end of Edward’s reign, as the Pipe Office Account 2080 shows that Gale’s reckoning with the high treasurer closed on the last day of February, 1 Mary, 1553–4.

I must now take note of the latest of the many divergent instructions given to the central mint at the Tower, which had reverted to its original status in the spring of 1552, as previously

1 I have not classified this order of 1553 as the seventh coinage because of the doubt which exists as to whether the mint acted upon it.
explained, and had become a single organization under the charge of Thomas Egerton. This official had in the meantime presumably continued the striking of the gold and silver coinages ordered by the commission of October, 1551, but no accounts are forthcoming for the periods 1552 and 1553. We have, however, silver coins dated in these two years, which are evidence of some degree of activity.

About four weeks before the King's death, which occurred on July 6th, 1553, a new contract of a subsidiary character was drawn up and signed. The appended abstract is derived from the original document:

Indenture with Thomas Egerton, esquire, Thomas Stacey, and William Billingesley who are thereby established as treasurer, comptroller, and assaymaster, respectively, of the mint at the Tower, for the conversion and coinage of the current moneys and bullion thereinafter mentioned. The treasurer is authorized to take in at the mint such sums of current silver moneys, except of the standard of sterling, as do not exceed £200,000 in all, which amount shall be melted down and struck into print in two manner of moneys, namely, the two-pence, current for 2d. of lawful English money, of which 240 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy. The penny, current for 1d. of lawful English money, of which 480 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy. To be of 4 oz. fine silver and 8 oz. of alloy in the lb. Troy, which shall contain 40s. by tale.

And the treasurer may also receive so much bullion of fine silver as shall amount to 40,000 lbs. weight Troy, which shall be struck into moneys called sixpences, to be current for sixpence of lawful English money, of which 72 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy. To be of 3 oz. fine silver and 9 oz. of alloy in the lb. weight, which shall contain 36s. by tale.

Provision for a remedy, and for a privy mark, the latter to be declared to the King or his Council.

1 This surname should be Stanley; his Letters Patent are mentioned supra.
The English Coinages of Edward VI.

Of every journey of 4 oz. fine and 3 oz. fine silver, 6d. at the least to be placed in the pyx.

The officers’ pay to be in accordance with the establishment appointed on March 26th, 1552. Dated June 11th, 7 Edward VI., 1553. Exchequer Accounts 306/3.

The deed is sealed by Egerton with a device comprising a merchant’s mark between the letters T E.

The first portion of this indenture prescribes a half-groat and penny of an appreciably greater weight than the corresponding pieces of the first and second coinages, the penny then being 10 grains, but now 12 grains of the 4-oz. standard of silver. It will be remembered that the proclamation of August, 1551, reduced by one-half the current values of the debased silver coins, from the shilling to the halfpenny inclusive. Now, as it would appear, the effect of the proclamation was partially disregarded, because the weight of the “twopence” was not that of the groat, which was presumably current in 1553 for 2d. of lawful English money, and similarly the “penny” should have been the equivalent in weight to the debased half-groat. On the other hand, the second portion of the indenture now under consideration does recognize the validity of the proclamation, inasmuch as it provides for the issue of a coin of 80 grains, that is, the weight of the majority of the profile shillings, which was to be current for “sixpence” only. This may, perhaps, be regarded as an academical rather than as a practical point, seeing that no debased silver coins of 80 grains and dated 1553 are known to exist at the present time. The natural presumption that they were not struck owing to the King’s death in the following month is, perhaps, negatived by a memorandum among the Domestic State Papers which tells us, inter alia, that silver alloys of the two standards mentioned in Egerton’s indenture were used in 7 Edward VI., State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, XV, 6. It is, however, a little doubtful whether the passage refers to bullion actually used in that year or merely to the terms of the order which directed its use. The unfortunate absence of any accounts from the under-treasurer of the Tower for 1552–53 renders it impossible to test by those means the accuracy of the memorandum in the State
Papers. There is, however, an account by Sir Edmund Peckham, the high treasurer, from April 1st, 1552, to May 13th, 1554, Declared Accounts, Pipe Office 2080, which states that Thomas Egerton had received two parcels of silver bullion valued at £20,000 and £15,500 respectively in May and June, 1553, but a portion, or even the whole, of this metal may have been appropriated to the 5s., 2s. 6d. and other fine silver coins of that year. It may be noted that no gold bullion was then delivered to the under-treasurer. Peckham also records in the same account that Egerton had made sundry payments in respect of mint revenue from the Tower. These payments began on September 4th, 1 Mary, 1553, and totalled nearly £5,000 on the 18th of the same month. Seeing that Queen Mary's first indenture was dated August 20th, it seems unlikely that such a large revenue would have accrued within two or three weeks, and therefore it is more probable that these profits are referable to Edward's moneys, either the fine silver coinage or the three debased coins ordered on June 11th, 1553. Such is the available evidence as to whether Egerton did or did not carry into effect the provisions of his contract. There is a double-rose penny weighing approximately 12 grs. and marked with an escallop, Handbook, p. 90, No. 472, which might be assigned to this year, but I cannot trace a corresponding half-groat. A halfpenny with the same mark does, however, exist.

Before quitting the subject of this perplexing indenture, I would remark that the "sixpence" is identical in name, weight and fineness with the coin ordered in Martin Pirry's indenture of June 27th, 1552, for the mint in Dublin Castle. Numismatic Chronicle, 4th Series, vol. xv, p. 223.

A payment of £100 to Robert Brocke, probably "parson Brocke," of the late mint in Southwark, and John Rogers for "devising certain coining engines," indicates that the appliances at the Tower were improved about this time, although the reward was not paid until after Queen Mary's accession. Pipe Office Account, 2080.

Egerton was subsequently treated with unjust severity, if we may rely upon the truth of the facts stated in a petition presented by him to Sir Francis Walsingham. It is narrated that the petitioner had been
under-treasurer of the mint in the reign of Edward VI., and that he had accounted to the Lord Treasurer in the first year of Mary, when £265 was found to be due to Egerton, as appeared by the sealed account then extant; that soon afterwards, "by the sinister solicitation of such as thirsted after his office and hated his religion," he was committed prisoner to the Fleet and charged again with £9,182, which had been allowed to him in the account; that he was condemned in that sum and forced to sell his substance at a great loss; that "a little living" in Staffordshire for the maintenance of his wife and family had been seized under a writ of Extent and charged with £19 per annum towards the debt; and he asks that the lands might be sold and a composition paid to the Queen in discharge of his remaining liability. *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 146, No. 57.

Having now summarized the available documentary evidence relating to the several coinages which were ordered during Edward's reign, I wish to add a few general observations on the coins themselves. I feel sure it will be agreed that during, say, the first three years of the period under review a large proportion of the currency was issued with the portrait and titles of Henry VIII. In *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xiv, p. 153, I attempted an explanation of this practice so far as some of the silver coins were concerned, and suggested that Henry's testons, weighing 120 grains, were converted into other moneys of his types, and not into those of Edward VI.

The lack of any working accounts from Southwark and the absence of an unquestionable Southwark mint-mark before the year 1549 render the identification of Sir John Yorke's earlier coinages a matter of considerable difficulty. In default of better evidence an investigator has to choose such mint-marks and types as have not been definitely assigned to other establishments then existing. I still feel that the proposed attribution to Southwark of certain groats, etc., with the *Civitas London* legend, both of Henry's and Edward's types, is open to great doubt, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 168. If we are free to say that the place-name on a coin is not conclusive proof that it was struck at the mint in that city or town, we lose a most
valuable sheet-anchor in the task of classification. In this case it is, I think, beyond dispute that Southwark was an independent organization as much as Canterbury or Durham House was, and I would again submit that Suffolk House or the town of Southwark was not at any time within the city of London.

Another interesting point is the approximate date of issue of the groats and smaller pieces bearing the portrait and titles of Edward VI. The text-books place them in the first coinage, but this date, as I have already said, appears to be too early, and I would prefer to assign them to the third coinage, my classification, in 1549. They are probably of the 4-oz. standard of silver, but the rarity of these coins is at present a bar to the sacrifice of one of them on the altar of the assayer. We have a profile shilling of 1549 marked with the arrow, and a profile groat with the same mark and the Posui legend; there is also a profile half-groat with the arrow mark and the Civitas London legend. It seems to be a proper inference that all these coins are contemporaneous and from one mint, namely, Martin Bowes's portion of the Tower. Unfortunately, there is not a shilling which corresponds with the profile groat marked with an E. Again, we have another groat of the same obverse type, with the Posui legend and mint-mark pheon; this mark is also found on a shilling of 1549.

Before closing these notes, I will briefly comment on Edward's profile shillings, a group which has been rather neglected by numismatists in the past. Those shillings with the Inimicos legend, always undated, have been ascribed by me to the mint at Durham House, without correction so far as I am aware. Those with the Timor legend are arranged in the text-books according to the dates, and we are told that certain of the pieces have the obverse and reverse legends transposed. There are, however, three other important factors in settling a classification of the Timor coins, namely, their weights, degrees of fineness, and styles of portrait.

The earliest shillings, those of 1547 and 1548, may be regarded as trial pieces or patterns, as they are very limited in number. There is no authority for an issue of this denomination in the former year, and none in the latter year until the end of the tenth month.
I have satisfied myself that the current shillings ordered in January, 1548–9, weighed nominally 60 grains each of the 8-oz. standard of silver. These light coins of 1549 appear to have been struck solely with transposed legends; at all events, I have not yet seen any examples on which the King’s titles surround his portrait. I possess a “transposed” shilling of 1549, without mint-mark on the obverse and with a rose [?] on the reverse, Ruding, ix, 9, which weighs only 51 grains, although unclipped. This may be one of the coins of 9-oz. fine silver alluded to by Folkes and by Snelling, but there is no written authority for the use of such a standard, unless it was covered by the go-as-you-please clause in the order of January 29th, 1548–9. The light shillings have a wider and more pleasing portrait than the subsequent issues, and may also be distinguished by a beaded inner circle, the later coins having wire-line circles. Also, the light pieces read VITÆ and the heavy examples VITE.

Then follow the shillings of the 6-oz. standard, chiefly dated 1549, and a few 1550, which were ordered on April 12th, 1549. These weigh 80 grains each, or thereabouts, and cannot easily be confused with the light coins; moreover, their legends are not transposed. It is this class, the 6 oz. fine, which we find countermarked with the portcullis.

Lastly, there are the shillings of 1550 and 1551, bearing the marks lion, lys, and rose. These are of the 3-oz standard of silver, and in addition to being very debased they frequently fall short of their nominal weight of 80 grains each. When they are countermarked it is with the greyhound. The portrait is narrow and pinched, as was noticed by Lord Winchester in 1560, when he wrote as follows:—

“For in the good testons the image of the King hath a short neck and a round face, and in the ill testons the Prince hath a long neck and a lean face, which I take to be as good a knowledge as any mark.” Domestic State Papers.

The transposition of the legends on some of the 1549 shillings can scarcely have been a mistake, as it occurs on coins attributed to three different mints, although it is conceivable that the dies for these coins were worked by one graver. The practice forms, however, a useful clue to identification, because it appears to be a sound deduction that
Edward's gold coins with transposed legends are referable to 1549, of which year we have "transposed" shillings with mint-marks similar to those on the gold pieces. The latter would therefore be of the 22-c. standard, as ordered in that year.

It may have been thought particularly fitting to encircle the head of the boy-king with words which implied his attachment to the sentiments contained in *scutum fidei proteget eum* and in the two Biblical quotations which were similarly used.

**Coinages of Henry VIII.**

*Corrigendum.*

A lapse of memory when books of reference were not at hand caused me to say in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 152, that the quarter angel of Henry VIII. made its first "and also its last" appearance in 1542. The words now placed between inverted commas should be deleted.