A COIN OF PRINCE HENRY OF SCOTLAND AS EARL OF CARLISLE, IN THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

By F. A. Walters, F.S.A.

In the Numismatic Chronicle, Fourth Series, Volume II, page 26, Major Carlyon-Britton described a penny of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, which appeared to be of a type previously unknown. This coin was found some years ago at Brough-under-Stainmore, in Westmorland, and, until it came into the possession of the Major, was in the collection of Mr. T. Carrick, J.P. for Cumberland. Having recently acquired another specimen of this type, I have thought that it might be of interest to have it described, as, in addition to being from different dies, it has practically perfect legends on both sides, which is not the case with Major Carlyon-Britton’s coin, or apparently with any known specimen of the less rare type described and illustrated by the late Mr. Burns in his work on the Coinage of Scotland.

I have recently carefully examined Major Carlyon-Britton’s coin (unfortunately in his absence), as I felt considerable doubt as to his reading of the obverse legend, particularly the Lombardic closed Æ, which seemed to be an anachronism. I now feel confirmed in my doubts, and believe that the legend is, or should be, the same as on my coin. There is a slight skin of black oxide over parts of the coin, particularly about the supposed Æ, and I believe that, if they could be removed, traces at least of the letter Í would be found.

My coin may be described as follows:—

Obverse.— [* Í: ENCI: CON] Crowned bust, in profile, to right, holding sceptre.

Reverse.— [*K] WILLEI[O]NCARDI:C Cross tapering towards the ends, which terminate in fleurs-de-lys.
Obverse legend.—The use of punches for the letters is evidenced by the second upright, the \textbf{N} of \textbf{CON}, and of the \textbf{N} and \textbf{N} of \textbf{HEN}, also by that of the \textbf{E}. It has a peculiar projection like an \textbf{F} without the top bar (\textit{F}-) and, although this projection is slightly varied in each case, this is probably an evidence of the theory put forward by Mr. G. C. Brooke, in the British Museum Catalogue, that such variations are due to tooling with a graver after the punching of the letters. A certain rising on the surface of the metal between \textbf{C} and \textbf{I} gives the last letters, at first sight, the appearance of a \textbf{v}, but on close examination this is found not to be so. The reversed \textbf{N} at the commencement is a peculiar feature, but on Scottish coins of this period, and some English coins, a letter of this form was used indifferently for \textbf{H}, \textbf{N}, or \textbf{M}. In the present instance it stands without doubt for the Roman \textbf{H}, which was still occasionally in use at this period, and of which an example occurs on the Derby coin of Stephen (Hawkins 277). The \textbf{CI} appears to show that, as in other instances, the legend is in the genitive for *HENriCI COMitis or "[The money] of Earl Henry." The colons in the legends do not, I believe, necessarily mark any intentional divisions of the words, but were probably merely punched where required to fill up the irregularly spaced lettering.

Reverse legend.—The moneyer's name, \textit{WILLEM}, is the least distinct part of the legend, but there is sufficient to show that it can be no other. According to Mr. W. J. Andrew, who has supplied me with his notes on this coin, Willem succeeded his father Erembald as moneyer at Carlisle quite early in Stephen's reign, and continued until 1179. The name of the place of mintage is distinct, and the spelling \textit{CARDI} is, for the period, a very near following of \textit{CARD[\text{V}]I[\text{LL}]}, the form in which the name appears in the Charters of David I (Henry's father) to Robert de Brus about 1125. The \textit{C} after \textit{CARDI} may be taken as intended for \textit{CIVITAS}, Carlisle having only recently been raised to the dignity of a city by the establishment of the bishopric in 1133, and a desire to draw attention to this would be probable. The full legend would be intended to read \textit{WILC[L]M ON CARD[\text{V}]I[\text{LL}] C[IVITAS]}. 
It is to be regretted that no record was obtainable of the provenance of my coin, which was purchased very far south of the counties that formed the Earldom of Northumberland.

In further reference to this type of Earl Henry, it should be noted that the late Mr. Burns, in his work on the Coinage of Scotland, illustrates, on Plate III, No. 26A, a coin with the same reverse type and reading **WL...M ON CAR** retrograde. The obverse legend being quite illegible, and no coin being then known of Earl Henry of this type, he describes the one he illustrates as of uncertain attribution, but adds that Mr. Longstaffe, to whom he sent an impression, said that it reminded him of a broken coin found in 1865 in some old lead work flooring, over which one foot of moss had grown, at Blagill mine (the silver mine of Carlisle). No mention is made as to whether the legends could be deciphered. There are indications of a possible reversed **a**, and this may be a coin of David, but I am not aware of any coin of his without the pellets in angles of the reverse cross. It may, however, be assumed that, in addition to Major Carlyon-Britton’s coin and my own, two other specimens, in a more or less imperfect state, exist of this very rare type of Earl Henry’s coinage.

It may here be of interest to refer briefly to the other known types of his money which, although all are now so rare, must have been coined in considerable quantity, seeing that William Fitz Erembald, the moneyer, rented the mines near Carlisle, which supplied the bullion, at £100 per annum.

The coin illustrated on Plate III, N. 23A, of Burns: Obverse, crowned profile bust to right with sceptre; Reverse, cross patée in each quarter of a cross crosslet, connected by a loop with the inner circle. The obverse legend is **M : [E]NCI : CON** as on my coin, that on the reverse **WILEL : M : ON CI**: which Mr. Burns reads as Corbridge, but which is almost certainly Carlisle, as other specimens in the Rashleigh and Murdoch collections, in addition to some others, are all of the latter mint. Coins of both Stephen and David I of Scotland minted at Carlisle are known with this same reverse type, but the former are of extreme rarity.
Another type of Earl Henry’s money, in Mr. Spink’s Collection, is described in the *Numismatic Circular* for March, 1914, by Mr. W. J. Andrew. This most interesting coin has on the obverse the name of King Stephen, with his head, and on the reverse the name of Earl Henry, with the title, as read by Mr. Andrew, of Lord of the Niduarians, the designation of the inhabitants of the Western Lowlands to the north of Carlisle.

The remaining type that has formerly been tentatively attributed to Earl Henry is Hawkins’ No. 259, which has a profile bust with sceptre, to the right; with the legend *BENRICVS*, the reverse being the same as that of Stephen, Hawkins 270. Coins of this type are, I believe, now attributed, with apparently conclusive evidence, to Henry of Anjou, while he was in England to assert his rights during the latter part of the reign of Stephen. It is, however, certainly curious that a coin of this type occurred among the 27 coins discovered in the Isle of Bute on the 7th of June, 1863.¹ All the other coins were Scottish, and, so far as could be deciphered, of David I, with the exception of three pennies of Stephen, of the type of Hawkins 270, one of which was minted at Carlisle, while the other two were uncertain. The *BENRICVS* coin, so far as can be judged by the drawing (photographic reproductions had not then come in), very much resembles the style of Earl Henry’s coins. The reverse legend, being unfortunately described as illegible, gives no assistance, although in the illustration it looks as if our more recent authorities might have made something of it. The paper describing the Bute hoard is by the late Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, and he states that the coins are all in the Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh.²

Although both Major Carlyon-Britton and Mr. W. J. Andrew,³ in describing the coins of Earl Henry to which I have referred, give

² The moneyers on the other two coins of Stephen are—

   **SAPINE : ON . AS.**
   **RODBERT ON . . .**

the leading particulars of that nobleman, and of his earldom, it may
be well, even at the risk of repetition, to recall briefly his position
and career.

David I of Scotland, his father, was the brother of Matilda,
queen of Henry I of England, and Henry was therefore nearly
related to the Empress Matilda. David, in the troubled times of
Stephen, claimed the earldom of Northumberland, which included
the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, but refused to
pay homage, on the ground of his position as King of Scotland,
and after the battle of the Standard in 1138, Stephen, as a politic
compromise, invested his son Henry with the earldom, together
with the lordship of Carlisle, which he continued to enjoy until his
death in 1153, during the lifetime of his father, who afterwards
assumed the earldom and resided at Carlisle. The lead mine of
Carlisle was so rich in silver as to supply the Earl with all things he
required, although apparently its quality was impaired by being
imperfectly separated from the lead. The lead mines are, I am told
still worked, although silver seems to be no longer obtained from them.

The coins of Stephen struck at Carlisle would have been issued
previous to the investiture of Henry with the earldom, and in the
cross crosslet type he would appear to have followed a design that
had already been initiated on Stephen's money. What may be called
the Scottish type, as my coin, may perhaps have been adopted later,
when he had more openly espoused the cause of Matilda and her
son Henry of Anjou. It resembles very closely the Scottish pennies
of David I, save that the four large pellets in the angles of the reverse
cross, always found on the coins of David (except where other orna-
ments take their place), are omitted on those of Earl Henry.
“BEATUS VIR, QUI TIMET DOMINUM.”

Facsimile from the Harleian Psalter (British Museum, Harleian Mss. 603).