THE CALAIS MINT, A.D. 1347-1470.

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GENERAL HISTORY.

In England, in Anglo-Saxon times, the existence of a market-town implied also the existence of a mint.¹ In Plantagenet days the locations of coinage in England had become more limited and centralized, but in our possessions in France something of the old freedom appears to have persisted. Dieppe, Eausse in Gascony, Lagun in Guienne, Limoges, Paris, Poictiers, Rochelle, Rouen, and Tours, with other places, all received coining rights from various kings.² It is not surprising, therefore, that Calais, long a fairly prosperous market-town and fishing centre while in French hands, should, on its capture by Edward III, participate in these privileges.

In general, the main reason which accounts for royal willingness to establish mints freely overseas, is to be found in the then-current theory of the essential superiority of bullion as wealth over every other commodity. This led naturally to continued efforts, expressed in many acts of Parliament, to prevent the export of the precious metals from England, and to the institution of various bullion regulations designed to compel the foreign trader to feed the overseas

¹ L. Woosnam, in Numismatic Chronicle, 1921, p. 96.
mint. While the establishment of a royal mint in any overseas trading centre might give rise to pious hopes of the successful operation of such economic theories, Calais, especially on the foundation of the wool Staple there, must have appeared as the place for their introduction, for not only was it to be the market for the greatest and most important of England's exported commodities, but that commodity formed the indispensable raw material of the looms of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres. The almost complete monopoly of supply lay in the hands of the English Staple merchant, and the Flemish buyer could be forced to accept almost any conditions of sale. One such condition, that only money coined in Calais should be current in the town, appears to have been very necessary from the English trader's point of view, for there is evidence that, when the Staple for wool was held at Bruges, the standard of foreign gold currency was so poor that the Englishman often lost more than one-third on the exchange.¹

The Calais mint was established by Edward III, by a writ dated the 20th of October, 1347, six months before the foundation of the first Calais Staple.² Its first Master was William de Salop, who, for a time at least, appears to have combined the offices of Master of the Mint and Treasurer of the Town.³ In the writ of 1347 de Salop was simply appointed as "Custos of the coinage in Our Town of Calais, and to make the Assay there as often as need shall be." On his re-appointment on the 6th of February, 1348, it was ordained that "the moneyers in the said Town . . . shall make and strike such white money as is made and struck in Our Realm of England . . . and of such weight and alloy as that money."⁴ There can be little doubt that the Calais mint, throughout the period of its existence, depended for its prosperity upon the Staple. It is probable, therefore, that this second appointment of de Salop, in terms more expressly specifying the functions of the new institution, was made in preparation for the establishment of

¹ Rolls of Parliament, ii, 165-166, § 10.  
² Rymer, Record edition, 3, i, 140.  
³ The same, 150.  
⁴ The same.
the Calais Staple for tin, lead, and woollen cloth, which was made by a writ\(^1\) dated the 5th of April, 1348.

But various reasons, which need not be discussed here, caused appeals against this first Calais Staple to be presented to the King,\(^2\) and it is practically certain that the institution did not endure long\(^3\) after the end of the year 1348. The mint regulations, in consequence, were immediately relaxed, and on the 28th of May, 1349, we find a writ addressed, not to de Salop, but to Sir John Beauchamp, Captain of Calais, ordering him

> for Our greater advantage and profit, and for the satisfaction of Our people in the Town, and of Our subjects and friends in the parts adjacent, to cause to be struck and coined afresh, and to be re-issued at a value to be by you determined, such of the Town’s money as you deem necessary and convenient.\(^4\)

The importance of the Master of the Mint had obviously diminished with the abolition of the Staple, even if the office had not actually disappeared. The reason probably was that the somewhat ambitious project of carrying on continental trade exclusively in English currency, was impracticable until Calais as a wool-staple was able to force her trade. That the re-issue, which it is to be presumed was undertaken by Beauchamp, was one corresponding in values with existing continental currencies is more than suggested by the terms of a mint indenture which was made—though it was cancelled before ever it came into operation—on the 5th of May, 1350, with Nicholas de Multoplusane, Thomas de Nottingham and their fellows, merchants.\(^5\) These were authorized to coin in Calais

> money of gold and silver, white and black, agreeing in coin, weight, and alloy and all other things, with the money

\(^1\) Rymer, Record edition, 158.  
\(^2\) The same, 178.  
\(^3\) A writ of the 3rd of January, 1349, to the collectors of custom in Lynn authorized free export of cloth, tin, lead, and feathers, until further notice, notwithstanding the ordinance of the previous April.—Calendar of Close Rolls, viii, 583.  
\(^4\) Rymer, 3, i, 185.  
\(^5\) Calendar of Close Rolls, ix, 224.
of France . . . and whenever the King of France changes his moneys they may also change . . .

From this time onwards until the establishment of the full Staple in Calais in 1363, the activities of the Calais mint must have been very slight.¹ By the year 1362 Edward's financial difficulties were bringing into prominence the new and greater project of making Calais the sole centre of the English wool export trade, and in the discussion on this proposal in the Parliament of 1362, the old complaints against the losses on the foreign exchange under existing circumstances were quoted in favour of the scheme.²

The prospects of the Calais mint now began to look brighter, and on the 20th of February, 1362, Thomas de Brantyngham, Treasurer of Calais, was appointed Receiver of all the profits arising from the mint. The accounts of these profits he was to return into the Exchequer, and to be answerable to the king for the same.³ On the 1st of March, 1363, the full Staple of wool, fells and other "great merchandise" was established at Calais, and a company of twenty-six merchants, most of them old fermours of the customs and creditors of the king, was appointed to control its trade.⁴ On the same day a mint indenture was granted by Edward to Henry de Brisele⁵ who was now created Master of the Calais Mint.⁶

The conditions of coinage at Calais were to be identical with those in vogue at the Tower of London.⁷ The gold used for coining was to be twenty-three carats three and a half grains fine, of a value of

¹ The earliest Calesian coins known belong to the post-Bretigny period, that is to the second period of the fourth coinage of Edward III. They carry the inscription EDWARD. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. DNS. HYB. S. AQRT. and omit FRANC.
² Rolls of Parliament, ii, 268, i.
³ Ruding, ii, 254.
⁴ Rymer, 3, ii, 690.
⁵ Calendar of Close Rolls, 1360-1364, p. 535.
⁶ De Brisele had been Master of the tower mint in 1351.—Calendar of Close Rolls ix, 379.
⁷ The terms of the indenture analysed below are identical with those of the indenture made in 1371 with Bardet de Malepilys of Florence.—Rymer, 3, ii, 915.
fifteen pounds sterling per tower pound. Three kinds of gold coins were to be struck—a noble, value six shillings and eightpence, a demi noble and a quarter noble; the noble weighing 45 to the tower pound and the others in proportion.\(^1\) Of this issue the king received as his seignorage three shillings and sixpence by tale of each pound weight of specie. The Master of the Mint, for his labour, waste, die-cutting, loss of weight, and all other costs, except the wages of the royal officers of the mint, took eighteenpence by tale, to be paid him by the Wardens of the mint, so that the merchant, for every pound weight of gold he brought to the mint for coining, received £14 15s. by tale.

In recognition of the difficulty of coining to an absolutely exact standard of weight, a variation of one-sixteenth of a carat per pound weight, in gold or alloy or both, in excess or in default of the stipulated standard was permitted, and within this margin of variation of one-eighth of a carat, that is, one half grain, which was termed the "Master's remedy," a coin was passed as valid and might be put into circulation. Coins which varied either way to a greater degree than this would be rejected at the assay and returned for recoining at the expense of the Master.

Four ounces of nobles, six ounces of demis and two ounces of quarter nobles were to be coined out of each pound weight of gold.

The fineness of silver was eleven ounces two pennyweights in the pound with eighteen pennyweights of alloy. Four principal coins were to be struck—a groat, value fourpence; a demigroat; a sterling, value a penny; and a maille, value a halfpenny; seventy-five groats went to make up a tower pound, and the other coins weighed in proportion. Further, a hundred pounds' weight of silver per annum was to be coined into ferlings, or farthings. Of this minting the King's Wardens retained eightpence by weight, that is nearly ten-pence farthing by tale, per pound weight, tower, of silver, and from

\(^1\) The tower pound was lighter than the troy pound by three-quarters of an ounce.
this sum the Master, for the purposes specified above, was to receive sevenpence by tale, the remainder belonging to the King as seignorage. The merchant, therefore, received for each pound weight of silver handed in for coining, nineteen shillings and fourpence by weight, or twenty-four shillings and twopence by tale.

In the coinage of silver a variation of two pennyweights per pound weight, in excess or default, was allowed as "Master's remedy." Each pound weight of silver was to be coined into three ounces of groats, four ounces of demi groats, four ounces of sterlings, and one ounce of mailles. It was the duty of the Wardens to exercise a continual supervision over the processes of coining and, on the completion of an issue, it was to be kept until it was placed in circulation, in a chest locked with two keys, one of these remaining with the Wardens, the other with the Master, so that no tampering with the issue was possible, except by general connivance.

Before any issue was placed in circulation, a certain proportion was taken out for purposes of assay and placed in a coffer sealed with the seals of the Wardens, the Changer, and the Master, locked with three keys and stored safely in a chest. Thus, of each five-pounds' weight of gold, the value of one noble was taken in three sums of equal value, composed, respectively, of each coin struck. Of each hundred-pounds' weight of silver, likewise, were taken two shillings by tale, in groats, demi groats, sterlings, mailles and ferlings, in sums of equal value.

Once in every three months the coffer was opened before the Governor, the Treasurer of the town, and the two Mayors, in the presence of the Wardens and the Master of the Mint, and the assay was made. The Governor, Mayors, and Wardens were then bound to make to the King and Council in England a report on their finding, and on the satisfactory nature of their report depended the granting of letters patent of acquittance to the Master of the Mint.

As a further precaution, a small amount of gold and silver coin of every assay was to be placed in a box under the seal of the Governor, Treasurer, Mayors, and the Wardens and Master of the Mint, and
sent to England for the Council to make a further assay so often as they considered it necessary to do so.

The business regulations of the mint were as follows: The Master was bound to receive in the presence of the Wardens and Changer, all kinds of gold and silver brought to the mint, and to pay for it the full price according to its quality. In case any dispute should arise between the Master and a customer of the mint respecting the value of any parcel of bullion offered for sale, the decision was to be left to the King's Assayers, who were to test the metal in the presence of the Wardens and Master, and the latter was bound to purchase the bullion at their valuation. To secure accuracy and fairness in such assessments, a regulation occurs ordering a periodical testing and rectification of mint balances and weights.

On the receipt of gold or silver at the mint, it was the duty of the Wardens to deliver bills to the merchants concerned, signifying the amount of bullion or foreign specie they had handed in, and the sums which were due to them on coining, "so that the said merchants, or their attorneys, showing the said bills, might be repaid on issue." These bills the Wardens were bound to redeem at their price, and merchants were guaranteed free ingress to and egress from the mint, without fee or gratuity to any official.

Issue was made from the mint once a week, at least, and twice when possible, but after the assay had been made, and before the issue of specie, it was incumbent upon the Wardens, Changer, and Master to strike a balance between the cash in hand at the mint and the total sum due to bill holders. If the cash in hand was not sufficient to make full payment of all these obligations, then the issue was divided proportionally between the mint's creditors, regard being taken of the date when individuals handed in their bullion, and the time when it had been minted. Any creditor of the mint, however, could demand from the Wardens at any time of issue evidence of the mint's solvency in respect to his particular debt; that is to say, if a merchant received only half of what was due to him at any particular issue, the Wardens might be called upon to show that they held in
his name bullion, or foreign specie awaiting re-coinage, to the amount of the other half.

The King’s profits from coining were held by the Wardens, who rendered an account periodically for what they received, and they were in entire charge of the working of the mint, the Master being responsible to the King directly only in respect of deficiencies in weight and fineness discovered at the assay. The King bound himself, once a month, to cause proclamation to be made in Calais forbidding the use in the locality, for any purpose, of any money save that issued by the Calais mint, under pain of the loss of the non-Calesian money used, and a term of imprisonment. Similar penalties were prescribed against the use of counterfeit coin, and the informer who was willing to sue the smasher or the utterer of counterfeit coin, was offered one third of the forfeiture as his reward. All the former privileges and franchises of Calais moneyers were confirmed by this indenture.

In the charter of 1363, granted to the Calais Corporation,¹ the order establishing the mint was repeated, and the further information given that the Master, Wardens, and Changer were to be laymen, the Master being appointed by the King and Council, the others by the Mayors and Aldermen, who might dismiss and replace their nominees upon fair cause being shown, provided the assent of the Governor and Treasurer to the change was first obtained. The Town Corporation, further, was to be at no charge for the support of the mint.

The confirmation of the privileges of the moneyers granted in the indenture above was repeated specifically in a writ of the 3rd of March, where it was stated that these privileges should be identical with those enjoyed by similar workers in London and Canterbury, namely, exemption from service on assizes, juries, and recognitions of all kinds; the right of trial before the Master and Wardens of the mint, except in pleas concerning property and in cases within the jurisdiction of the Crown, and freedom from all tolls, aids and other

¹ Rymer, 3, ii, 693.
dues exacted on individuals and their property, lands, and merchandise in England as well as Calais.\textsuperscript{1}

During the next five years the machinery of the Calais mint was still further organized. Specie regulations were frequently passed,\textsuperscript{2} and every effort was exacted to make the mint fulfil the economic functions designed for it. Also, some time about the March of 1362 an exchange of money and plate was set up in Calais.\textsuperscript{3}

In 1364 de Brisele was succeeded as Master of the Calais mint by Walter de Barde, who also held the Mastership at the Tower.\textsuperscript{4} This man, on the 1st of July, 1365, was succeeded by Thomas King.\textsuperscript{5} On the 25th of October, 1366, de Barde entered upon his second mastership\textsuperscript{6} still under the terms of the 1363 charter, and in the next year he is again mentioned as "Master of the King's Mints in the Tower of London and at Calais."\textsuperscript{7} In 1368 William de Gunthorp, Treasurer of Calais, was appointed Receiver of all mint profits under the supervision and control of the Mayor, account to be made to the King for the same.\textsuperscript{8} Evidently the new Staple establishment at Calais, together with the reorganization of the Calais mint in 1363, had produced some effect, for, in spite of the comparative paucity of Edwardian Calesian coins still surviving, the mint profits from the 13th of April in the 39th to the 13th of April in the 40th year of Edward III were £1,091 1s. 8d.; and from the 13th of April in the 40th to the 22nd of March in his 42nd year they amounted to £1,289 3s.\textsuperscript{9}

But this period of prosperity was not to last. The accession

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Rymer, 3, ii, 693.
\item \textsuperscript{2} For specie regulations see pp. 107–12.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Ruding, ii, 257, says that the earliest notice of the Calais exchange occurs in 1370. But see Catalogue of Close Rolls, 1360–64, p. 495, of the 10th of December, 1363, which implies that this exchange was first created about the time quoted above. The last notice I have of the Calais exchange occurs in 1509, when its Custos was Sir Thomas Boleyn. Rymer, 1st ed., xiii, 258.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Ruding, ii, 255.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Rymer, 3, ii, 772.
\item \textsuperscript{6} Rymer, 3, ii, 811.
\item \textsuperscript{7} Catalogue of Patent Rolls.
\item \textsuperscript{8} Ruding, ii, 255.
\item \textsuperscript{9} Accounts of de Brantingham and de Gunthorp, Treasurers of Calais, 42, Edward III; Pipe Office, Foreign Accounts, 6th February, 1366—20th March, 1368.
\end{footnotes}
of the young and active Charles V to the throne of France in the April of 1364, made an active prosecution of the war once more probable. Anxiety for the safety of Calais as a fortress now became predominant in the mind of Edward, trade in the Channel became increasingly difficult as the time of the outbreak approached, and in 1369, when war conditions again prevailed, the Staple was removed from Calais. In consequence we have no notices of the Calais mint for this and the next year, and its activities probably ceased, unless coining was undertaken for merely military payments.

There is some evidence, however, to be derived from a proclamation of Edward III, addressed to the Sheriff of Kent for publication and dated the 10th of August, 1370, that the Staple was temporarily restored at Calais at that time, and some confirmation of the King's hopes of restoring affairs to their previous state may be seen in the appointment, on the 20th of May, 1371, of Bardet de Malepilys de Florence to the mastership of the Calais mint.

But it is doubtful how complete this re-establishment of the Calais Staple was. No very definite mention of it is to be found after the 3rd of August, 1371, until the restoration of 1376, which was made by Act of Parliament, and trade with Calais during this period was certainly at a low ebb. With the return of the Staple there was another revival of the Calais mint. William Eremyn was now "Warden of the Mint," and, possibly with a view to the increase of bullion and foreign specie receipts, he is ordered to take in future only three shillings sterling for the King's seignorage from every pound of pure gold worked.

One of the last acts of the old King Edward, it is thus seen, was

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1 Rolls of Parliament, ii, 301, 24.
2 Catalogue of Close Rolls, xiii, 192.
3 Rymer, 3, ii, 915.
5 Rolls of Parliament, ii, 323-324, 358; Rymer, 1st edition, vii, 118; where it will be seen that part of the charge against the infamous Richard Lyons was based on offences against the moneyage of Calais.
6 Ruding, ii, 255.
an effort to rehabilitate this mint. But his effort was to bring no results. For the first ten years of the reign of Richard II there are no bullion records even for the Tower mint. The majority of the new coins struck in this reign fall between Michaelmas, 1388, and Michaelmas, 1390; that is to say, about the time of the declaration of the King’s majority. But none of these coins are Calesian. I have not yet discovered a single specific reference to the Calais mint; in fact, not after 1378, when de Barde was Master for the third time,1 until 1391, when a bullion regulation orders the ounce of gold bullion per sack of wool sold to be taken to the Calais mint instead of to the Tower, whither it had gone previously.2 The very fact that such bullion contributions from wool sales had been diverted to London, strengthens the supposition of the dormancy of the Calais mint, and the dependency of the latter mint upon the Calais Staple is again seen when it is remembered that, after a period of some uncertainty, it was about 1391 that the Staple finally returned to Calais.

Even after the return of the Staple, however, the Calais mint did very little, and notices of it are rare. In 1393 Richard Clytheroe was appointed Exchanger and Assayer, and the continuance of some sort of activity is denoted by an order of the next year directing the Treasurer of Calais to pay mint wages as they became due.3 In 1396 we find John Feld in Clytheroe’s place, and two Calais nobles and one half-noble of his manufacture, the only survivors from Calais of the coinage of this reign, of which I am aware, are preserved to us.4 But in spite of this flash of activity, the Tower mint, in 1397, resumed its rights to bullion,5 all remonstrances from the Staple being ignored,6 and the reign, as far as the Calais mint was concerned, closed in stagnation.

There are, of course, political reasons which account for this lack of coining activity during Richard’s reign, and perhaps some

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1 Ruding, ii, 255.  
3 Ruding, ii, 256.  
4 The Walters Sale Catalogue, Nos. 194, 195 and 199.  
5 Rolls of Parliament, iii, 340.  
6 The same, 369.
of those which affected Calais may briefly be noted here. In the first place our sea power was very seriously neglected, to the great danger of Calais itself and the ruin of trade. In the very first year of the reign Calais only just escaped a siege by Philip of Burgundy, raids into and from the Pale were incessant from 1377 to 1379, trade was still further handicapped owing to internal troubles in Flanders, and because the wages of the garrison of Calais were falling further and further into arrear, the situation there was anything but conducive to peaceful commercial development. Domestic troubles in England were followed in 1384 by further fears of designs by the Duke of Burgundy upon Calais, and in the September three sea fights against him took place before the town.

So great, in fact, were the difficulties of holding Calais amid such domestic turmoil, that we find definite projects mooted of surrendering the town—in 1384 by Parliament, in 1387 by Richard himself, and in 1389 by the warlike Lancaster, lately returned from Portugal to rescue his nephew from the Lords Appellant.

It was during this period of war that the Calais Staple was either non-existent or very inactive, and it is during this very same period that we have no notices of the Calais mint. In 1396, the year in which we have noticed that some Calesian coins at least were struck, a truce was made with France consequent upon the marriage of Richard with Isabella, and the new pro-French tendencies of the

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1. See complaints, &c., on this head in Parliament Rolls, iii, 23–24, § 98; 25, § 110; 73, § 10; 94, § 34; 102, § 28; 138, § 30, No. vii; also § 37, No. xiv; 162, § 46; 213, § 37; 216, § 6.
2. Histoire et Cronique de Flandres, ii, 143–144.
9. For condition of the Staple during this time see Rymer, iv, 12, 137: Early Chancery Roll, Daumet, "Calais sous la domination anglaise," to p. 128.
English King are shown by the omission on these coins of the claim to the title "Rex Francie."

Immediately upon his accession, Henry IV, in response to a petition from the Staple, re-established the mint in Calais, and, no doubt with a view to ingratiating himself with the wealthy merchant class, he repealed all the acts of the last Parliament of Richard II, including the hated bullion Act\textsuperscript{1} of 1397.

But Henry had too many troubles at home in the early years of his reign to allow him to pay much attention to the technicalities of the coinage. According to Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., between 1399 and 1411 comparatively few new coins were struck either in England or Calais,\textsuperscript{2} and, so far as Calais especially is concerned, it is clear that the old mint regulations had become very laxly observed, for in the Parliament of 1400–1401, a complaint was made against the introduction by merchants into England from Calais of Flemish nobles, worth only six shillings and sixpence. Three or four of these, it was stated, were invariably to be found in every five pounds' worth of money, and so serious was the matter considered to be that the old regulations enforcing the taking of foreign coin to the Calais mint were re-enacted.\textsuperscript{3}

Perhaps it was this circumstance that led to the short period of activity in the Tower and Calais mints between 1401 and 1404 which has left us, I believe, two nobles, one half-noble and one quarter-noble of the heavy coinage, as representing the Calais mint under Henry IV. Again, however, the revival was but temporary, and the ordinance for the light coinage of 1411, although enacted so as to include Calais under its scope,\textsuperscript{4} produced no results there that have survived.

Again, as in the previous reign, the dormant state of the Calais mint in particular may be accounted for by the outbreak of hostilities in and about the Pale. These began in 1405, just, it will be noted,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} \textit{Rolls of Parliament}, iii, 429, § 86.
  \item \textsuperscript{2} \textit{The Numismatic Chronicle}, 1905, p. 247.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} \textit{Rolls of Parliament}, iii, 470, § 61.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} \textit{The same}, 658–659, § 28.
\end{itemize}
at the time of the cessation of what minting activity there was, with pro-Ricardian raids on the Pale by Waleran of Luxemburg, Count of St. Pol; they were continued by John the Fearless, who threatened Calais with a siege in 1406; were again taken up by St. Pol in 1411, when he attempted to capture Guines, and were revenged by Warwick's raid on the Boulonnois later in the year.

Henry V came to the throne in a time of nominal truce. He had, while Prince of Wales, been Captain of Calais for a time, and knew something of Calesian problems. He, therefore, strengthened the garrison of the town, and attempted to ward off insolvency in the Pale by passing an act of resumption of grants, gifts, and offices made by Richard II and Henry IV. Also, in the first year of his reign, we again hear of a Master of the Mint, Lodowich John being appointed "Master and Worker of the Mints of London and Calais." But little if anything would seem to have resulted from this appointment so far as it concerned Calais; and Ruding, in point of fact, gives no returns at all of any bullion coined at the Calais mint during the whole reign. Indeed, it seems that after the appointment of John, the mint at Calais gradually ceased to work, for, in 1421, the Staple complained that the Victualler of Calais refused to receive obligations of subsidy unless they were paid in English nobles, and this, it was pointed out, was impossible unless there was a mint in Calais. The result was the appointment about six months before the death of Henry V of Bartholomew Goldbeter as Master of the London and Calais mints, but it is doubtful whether, in the short time at his disposal, he issued much coinage from Calais.

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1 See Waurin, iv, 94-97, Rolls Series, and Monstrelet, Routledge, i, 35.
2 Waurin, iv, 105; see also Patent Rolls, iii, 89.
3 Waurin, iv, 151-152.
4 The same, 154.
5 The same, 163.
8 But rare examples of Henry V's Calesian coins are known, see p. 99.
10 See Mr. Walters's paper as before.
The military distractions of Henry V need no comment here. Suffice it to note that real interest in the mint, when it arose in this reign came from Staple sources, and then only after the Treaty of Troyes, at a time when a resumption of active commercial enterprise seemed a possibility.

Between 1421 and 1435 the Calais Pale for the first time for many years was free from hostilities, and the period is remarkable for the scarcity of notices of Calais in any connection. With peace came prosperity, and it is precisely during these years, which cover the "annulet," the "rosette mascle" and part of the "pine-cone-mascle" coinages of Henry VI, that the Calais mint enjoyed its period of greatest prosperity and, in fact, issued the majority of the coins then in circulation in England, its output being so considerable that Calesian silver of Henry VI is to-day amongst the most plentiful of our mediaeval coinage.

The Patent to Bartholomew Goldbeter, which had lapsed on the death of Henry V, was not renewed by the Council of Regency until the 16th of February, 1423, and Mr. Walters considered it probable that both the London and Calais mints stopped during this period.\(^1\) Be that as it may, preparations for work had been begun in the previous year, when, on the 16th of May, there were issued

"to William Lackford, Richard Buckland's man, all irons, etc., necessary to coin money in Calais, viz., one for gold nobles, one for half-nobles and one for gold ferlings; one for silver groats and one for half-groats, one for pennies, one for halfpennies and one for silver ferlings."\(^2\)

On the 1st of October, 1422, Buckland was replaced as Receiver and Keeper of the dies by John Kempley, while Jacob Shaft was appointed Exchanger and Assayer.\(^3\) The Mint charter itself\(^4\) was confirmed in 1423.

\(^1\) *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, pp. 224–266.
\(^2\) *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ii, 332.
\(^3\) *Ruding*, ii, 256.
\(^4\) *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 219.
Staple interest in the institution immediately revived and was shown in a petition of this year to Parliament, demonstrating a pride in the recent activities of the Calais mint and an irritation at the export of specie from England, which supplied the Bruges merchants with a sufficiency of English nobles, and deprived the Calais mint of a large part of its legitimate business. By 1425 the mint at Calais was again earning a profit, which was now granted to the Treasurer and Victualler of the town for use in the payment of wages and the provision of food for the garrison. This ordinance was to remain in force for five years from the 11th of November, and was subsequently renewed, in 1429, for a further five years in order to cover a Treasury grant of 10,000 marks, which had been made to Calais to compensate for a failure in the returns from subsidy, due to a murrain among sheep in England.

Unfortunately, the bad administration of Henry VI in Calais was rapidly leading to the accumulation of an enormous debt in the town, and free export of wool, licensed and unlicensed, was badly damaging Staple trade, and robbing the Calais mint of much of its due in the shape of foreign bullion and specie. Commerce and the mint, therefore, were labouring under difficulties which rendered the importance and extent of Calesian coinage at this time the more surprising and interesting. By 1435 Richard Buckland was Master of the Mint in Calais, and the scale of issue of coining appliances made to him on the 13th of December betokens a continued expectation of a large output from this mint. The issue included: 350 cruses and pyles for groats, 600 for half-groats, 30 for pennies, and 60 for mailes and ferlings.

But in 1436 came the siege of Calais by Philip of Burgundy, and the carefully built-up commercial and financial edifice of peace

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1 Rolls of Parliament, iv, 252, § 42.
2 Roding, loc. cit.
4 See Rolls of Parliament, iv, 410, § 51.
6 See the account of the siege in Monstrelet.
times came down with a crash. The Calais mint never again recovered. In 1437 Giles Seyntlowe appears as Comptroller,\(^1\) and in January, 1441, Robert Whittingham, possibly a son of Richard Whittingham who was Mayor of the Staple\(^2\) in 1413, now Master of the Calais mint, received, as his predecessor in office, Buckland, had, his "pyles and cruses." But the smallness of the issue was a token of the decline of the mint,\(^3\) for it was only 12 pyles and 96 cruses for groats, 3 pyles and 12 cruses for half-groats, and the like for pennies, mailles, and ferlings, respectively. Henceforward the history of the Calais mint consists of a list of a few inactive Masters,\(^4\) and, as early as 1442, John Langton, who was appointed Receiver and Keeper, as de Salop had in earlier days, combined those offices with that of Treasurer of the Town.\(^5\)

In the same year, too, the Staple seriously submitted that they could not obtain the necessary bullion to contribute to the mint, owing to the ban on its export from Flanders, and such were the conditions of the times that their complaint was allowed, and the bullion act suspended.\(^6\)

Small issues in silver certainly came from Calais down to about 1450, as is known from surviving examples, but during the troubled period of the Wars of the Roses, when Calais was the stronghold of Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, and the bastion of Yorkist power, it is almost certain that nothing was done at all, and we may further note that, when, in 1466, Edward IV, introducing a new scheme of financial organisation into the Pale, handed over all receipts therefrom to the Corporation for local administration, mint returns appear to have been not even worthy of mention among them.\(^7\)

Under the wardenship of John Langstrother, Prior of the Order

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4. See *Ruding*, ii, 256, 257.
of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and John Delver, who were jointly appointed to the control of "the Tower Mint and the coinage of gold and silver in England and Calais" on the 24th of February, 1470, by Edward IV, it is possible that the ryals of this reign attributed to Calais were struck. If so they were the last coins ever issued from Calais. The mint thenceforward remained as a mere memory; foreign currencies passed in the Staple mart; the garrison itself was paid at least in part, and sometimes wholly in Flemish, and we find a Staple merchant, in trouble, as in pre-Calesian days, in the matter of the foreign exchange, bemoaning his lot and looking back with regret at the times when the Calais mint flourished and no other coinage but its own was current in the town.

**Issues from the Calais Mint.**

As the regulations of the Calais mint invariably ordered the manufacture of coins identical in weight, value, and other particulars, with those of English-struck coins, the variations which serve to distinguish the Calais coin from its English prototype become matters of prime importance.

In the silver coins no difficulty is presented. The inner ring of the reverse bears the legend VILLA CALESIE or VILLA CALISIE in place of CIVITAS LONDON, thus placing the question beyond dispute.

The gold issues of Calais, however, for a long time defied detection. A few coins of Edward III and Henry VI were known, bearing in the centre of the cross on the reverse, a a in place of the more usual letter of the issuing king, a, r or r, as the case might be. It was known that a few nobles, the first issue of Edward III had the letter u in this position, denoting that they were struck in London, and, by analogy, the coins bearing a a were attributed to Calais.

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1. Rymer, xi, 698.
3. The same, Lett. 86, p. 98: Lett. 87, p. 100, both of 1482.
4. The same, Lett. 6, p. 6, of 1478.
5. The former under Edward III: the latter under Henry V and Henry VI.
This hypothesis, at first received with doubt, is now generally accepted.¹

But if this initial were to be taken as the only distinguishing mark of Calesian gold coins, we should be left with a barren period extending from the “post-Bretigny” period of Edward III until the annulet coinage of Henry VI, of which no coins so marked are known. At the same time, it is believed that the London gold coins bearing the *u* are limited to the issue quoted above—in fact, that the vast majority of London coins bear no such mark—so that it has always been a likely assumption that many Calesian coins might be in existence and yet carry no α.

It was Mr. F. A. Walters who first presented a satisfactory solution to the problem.² He noticed that certain nobles and half-nobles bear, on the stern of the ship on the obverse of the coin, at the King’s right hand, a small flag carrying the cross of St. George. This flag, “a very appropriate emblem for such an important over-sea outpost as Calais then was,” is now accepted as the definite proof of the Calesian origin of nobles and half-nobles.

It will be seen, then, that the α mark is a secondary, though important, Calais mark. Its use, in fact, gives us three distinct types of Calesian gold coins: those with the α mark only, those with the α mark and the flag, and those with the flag but with the King’s initial on the reverse. Of these three types the first two are very rare, while the third is fairly common.

EDWARD III.

Although Edward III established a mint at Calais almost immediately after the capture of the town, it seems probable that for some time nothing was coined there but pennies and their subdivisions.³ No gold or silver coin, in fact, is known from this mint

¹ Mr. G. C. Brooke in Numismatic Chronicle, 1911, p. 319, on a find in Norfolk including 35 Calais nobles.
of an earlier date than the treaty of Bretigny; all Calesian coins of the reign thus falling into the fourth coinage of that king. This period further sub-divides into two lesser coinages, 1360–1369, the time of the duration of the truce, and 1369–1377. During the former of these smaller periods Edward dropped the title of King of France, but added those of Lord of Ireland and Aquitaine on his coins. In the latter period, after the resumption of hostilities, he replaced *rex franc*, while retaining *dnc hvb z tqt*.

The Walters collection contained Calesian gold coins representative of each of these periods. For the first there was a noble and a half-noble, each of which had the flag on the obverse and a on the reverse. For the second there was one noble carrying the flag and the a, and another having the flag, but with the more usual a on the reverse. Both these latter coins show in their legends the resumption, by Edward, of the title of King of France.

It is doubtful whether any quarter-noble of this reign may rightfully be ascribed to Calais. It is a coin which cannot be subjected to the flag test, for where the nobles and half-nobles bear, on the obverse, the King in his ship, with sword in his right hand, and a shield, quartered with the arms of England and France in his left, the quarter-noble, on its obverse, carries only the shield. One such coin, however, inscribed *rex ang* only, has been attributed to the Calais Mint.¹

Silver coins representative of the reign of Edward III are not plentiful. What there are all fall within the period 1360–1369. The groat, half-groat and sterling were represented in the Walters collection, but no farthing is known.

RICHARD II.

The reign of Richard II lasted for twenty-two years, but so far as may be seen he found his mints but little work to do. Nevertheless, nobles and half-nobles were struck at Calais, bearing the

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1911, p. 18, note 1.
flag on the obverse and an R in the centre of the cross on the reverse.¹ These coins carry, on the obverse, the inscription: RICΤRD·DEI·GRVT·REX·TRAEL·IV·DEN·HIB· converter and omit FRATRd.²

So far as is known no silver coins were issued from Calais during this reign.³

HENRY IV.

It has been noticed that most of what little bullion was coined during this reign came to the mints during the period 1401 to 1404, after which nothing is recorded until the reform in the coinage, which took place in 1411. The best known coins of the heavy coinage are nobles, but only eight are known with certainty. Of these, two are from the Calais mint. The following is a description of a Calesian heavy noble of this reign:—

Obverse: — HenRIG·IV·GRV·REX·TRAEL·IV·FRATRd·IV·DEN·HIB· converter and omit FRATRd. King in the ship with flag at the stern: the French arms on the shield are semé de lys; three ropes from the stern and one from the prow: no mast; a small open crown of three fleurs de lys placed perpendicularly between the stern of the ship and the inner beaded circle of the legend.

Reverse: — TranSIEVS·PER·MEDIV·ILLORVM·IBAT. The usual cross fleury as on the nobles of Richard II, but with n in the centre.³

One Calesian heavy half-noble exists, of which the description is as follows:—

Obverse: — HenRIG·IV·GRV·C·REX·TRAEL·IV·E·FRATRd·IV·DEN·HIB· converter and omit FRATRd. King in the ship, with flag at the stern. French arms as before, semé de lys

¹ The Walters Catalogue: Nobles, Nos. 194, 195; half-noble, No. 199.
² Mr. Walters in Numismatic Chronicle, 1909, p. 177.
³ Mr. Walters in Numismatic Chronicle, 1905, p. 253. The coin is in the British Museum.

Mint-mark, open crown. Usual floriated cross with \( h \) in the centre. Weight 58\( \frac{1}{2} \) grains. No London specimens of this coin are known.

There is also in the National Collection a quarter-noble, reading:—

Obverse: — **HENRICI : DV : GRTV : REG : TRGV : \( \Sigma \) : RTV.**

There is nothing over the shield and no other special mark.

Reverse: — The usual inscription. Mint-mark, an open crown.

There is a pellet in the centre of the floriated cross.

Mr. Walters says that, so far as he is aware, this is the only quarter-noble of any reign that can, with any certainty, be assigned to the Calais Mint.

No Calesian gold coin of the light coinage is known to exist, and Mr. Walters considers it probable that no silver coins were struck in this reign in Calais.\(^1\)

**HENRY V.**

With Henry V begins the well-known "annulet coinage," that is to say, the coinage distinguished by annulets, or tiny rings, punched in various positions on the coins. On the noble, for instance, this mark will be found at the king's right hand on the obverse, and in the right uppermost spandril of the treasure on the reverse. On groats it appears on the reverse in the right upper and left lower sector of the inner circle, in the centre of the groups of three pellets, and it is further used as a mark to separate words in the inscriptions.

This annulet-mark, however, is common to the coins of Henry V and Henry VI, and again it has been left to Mr. Walters to discover some adequate means of distinguishing the coins of the two reigns. This he has done by making a careful comparison of the types of crosses which form the mint marks at the beginning of the legends on the obverse of these coins. These he found were of three distinct

\(^1\) *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909, p. 177.
types, namely, the pierced cross of type one, which has practically straight arms, the pierced cross of type two, which has slightly curved arms, and the cross of type three, which has indented ends.

The distinctive marks of the coinage of Henry V are the pierced cross of type one, the mullet and the broken annulet. The two other types of crosses belong to the coinages of Henry VI.

There is no Calesian gold coinage extant of this reign.

Silver coins, however, of the annulet coinage, with the pierced cross of the first type, and attributable to Henry V, are known in very small quantities. Farthings, however, are not found.

HENRY VI.

It has been seen that there are no Calesian silver coins known subsequent to the 1360–1369 period of the reign of Edward III, until we come to the annulet coinage which began in 1422 and went on well into this reign. It has further been noted that during this latter period Calais not only minted for the needs of her own trade, but also supplied England itself with probably a large proportion of the coin current in this country. An examination of the mint accounts published by Ruding supports these conclusions. According to him, for the period to Henry V to the end of the reign of Henry VI, only 39,166 pounds' weight of silver was coined at London, while, in the same period, no less than 183,588 pounds' weight went through the Calais mint. The mint accounts are not complete, and there is a probability that the proportion of bullion coined at Calais was even greater than this.

More than one-third of this Calesian silver was issued from the mint during the first five and a-half years of the reign, which was during the period of the "annulet" coinage. Apparently there was a great decrease towards the middle of the reign in the amount of the output from Calais. But though they may be rare, nevertheless

1 Mr. Walters in "The Silver Coinage of Henry VI," Numismatic Chronicle, 1902.
2 See also Mr. Walters in Numismatic Chronicle, 1911, pp. 19–21.
examples do remain to prove that the continental mint did not cease to work until quite the latter part of the reign. After the decline of the Calais mint the London mint resumed pre-eminence, and from about 1440 practically all silver money came from that source.

The silver issues of Henry VI fall into six distinct coinages, as follows:—

1. The Annulet Coinage, itself sub-dividing into three types, and covering the years 1422-1428.
2. The Rosette-Mascle Coinage, 1428-1433.
3. The Pine-Cone-Mascle Coinage, 1435-1440 or 1442.
4. The Rose-Leaf-Trefoil Coinage, 1440- or 1442-1450.
5. The Leaf-And-Pellet Coinage, 1450-1459.
6. The Cross-And-Pellet Coinage, 1459-1460.

The Calais Mint issued coins during all of these periods except the last, though in constantly decreasing quantities.

Class I.—THE ANNULET COINAGE.

Type I.

When Goldbeter began work again, on the renewal of his indenture on the 16th of February, 1423, it would appear that he made a new set of dies, all carrying the pierced cross of type two, which Mr. Walters considers to be the distinguishing mark of the earliest coins of Henry VI. This new type of coin was issued from the mints at London, York, and Calais, but while examples from London and York are scarce, those from Calais are fairly common, comprising groats, half-groats, pennies and halfpennies. All these coins read \textit{TRÆGELA} in full, a form long considered by many to belong exclusively to coins of Henry V, but now proved by Mr. Walters, owing to the presence of the second type of the pierced cross, to belong to Goldbeter's first coinage for Henry VI.
Type 2.

This type is nearly identical with the first. The groats, however, read ΣΝΕΩ, and the arch of the pressure on the breast of the figure on the obverse is not fleured. Examples from Calais are very rare.

Type 3.

Calesian examples of the third type of the annulet coinage are extremely common. The chief characteristics of the groats of this issue are as follows. The portrait of the King on the obverse has a more youthful appearance and the neck is smaller, and they carry the same pierced cross of the second type. The half-groats differ from their predecessors in that they have the reverse legend preceded by a plain cross, and the legend itself ends in ΤΙΙΙΟΤΟΡΟΓ ΜΕΥΜ instead of ΤΙΙΙΙΟΤΟΡΟΓ Μ. This is the period of which Calais coins are so plentiful as to suggest that the overseas mint was supplying most of the wants of England. The suggestion is supported by the fact that we find two transitional types of Calesian "annulet" money of which there are no counterparts from London. These transitional coinages are:

i. The annulet-trefoil coinage.

Here the annulets still continue on each side of the King's neck on the obverse. Groats and half-groats retain the mark in one quarter only of the reverse, but on pennies the annulets continue in two quarters as before. The variation now introduced, which marks the transition, consists of a small trefoil, which, on groats and pennies, appears on the left side of the King's crown on the obverse, and after ΠΟΣΒΙ on the reverse, in the place of the former annulet.

ii. The earliest of the rosette coinages.

In this, the last variety of Calais annulet groats, the trefoil is omitted on the obverse, and a return is made to the original annulet design. On the reverse the annulet no longer appears, either between
the pellets in the quarters, or after \textit{POSVI}. On the other hand, a pierced rosette of five foils is now found after the words \textit{POSVI} and \textit{ATLISIA}. Another sign by which this sub-division may be known is the spelling in full, on the half-groats, of the mint-name, for hitherto only \textit{ATLIS} had been used.

\textit{Class 2.—THE ROSETTE-MASCLE COINAGE.}

Coins of this class in general, and the groats in particular, show a variation in the King's bust, which is now larger, with a longer neck. Further, the diameter of groats of this and later issues is larger than that of the annulet series.

The rosette, in the last annulet issue, appeared only on the reverse. It is now found on the obverse also, between the words of the legend. Further, it is accompanied, on the Calais coins, by a new-mark, a mascle, or open lozenge. London issued coins of this series as well as Calais, but examples from the former mint are as rare as those from the latter are common. The rosette-mascle coinage divides into two types.

i. The first keeps the same mint-mark as the later annulet coins, that is to say, for groats, the pierced cross of type two. Calais groats have rosettes on the obverse after every word except \textit{Rex}, after which a mascle is found. On the reverse a rosette is placed after \textit{POSVI} and \textit{ATLISIA}, and a mascle between \textit{VIII} and \textit{LX}.

Half-groats are exactly similar to the groats. On the pennies there is a rosette after \textit{HARRICVS}, and a mascle after \textit{Rex}, on the obverse; and on the reverse, a mascle between \textit{VIII} and \textit{LX}, and a rosette after \textit{ATLISIA}. This is the only issue of which farthings are known, but they are very rare.\footnote{London groats and half-groats of the first rosette-mascle type differ from those of Calais. They have neither rosettes nor mascles on the obverse, but on the reverse these are in the same position as on Calais coins. There is also a rosette after \textit{POSVI} and \textit{LONDON} and on groats there is a mascle before \textit{LONDON}.—Numismatic Chronicle, 1902.}

ii. The second type is distinguished by a change in the mint-
mark. The pierced cross now disappears, and for the first time we have the cross fleury. Except for this change Calais coins of this type are identical with those of the first. All values are known, and examples are common, except the halfpennies and farthings.

Class 3.—*THE PINE-CONE-MASCLE COINAGE.*

This is the last of the three really abundant coinages of the reign of Henry VI. The mascle is still found in the same positions as in the rosette-mascle issues, but the rosette is now replaced by a small object generally supposed to be a pine-cone. Calesian groats of this issue are common, but half-groats and pennies are rare.

The mint accounts given by Ruding and Mr. Walters are worthy of consideration at this point. The figures suggest a general falling off in output at both coining centres as the reign goes on, and for Calais it meant more than a mere period of depression. In 1437 we find petitions in Parliament deploring the decay of the mint; these are repeated in 1442, and after this date the overseas mint never regained its importance.

Class 4.—*THE ROSE-LEAF-TREFOIL COINAGE.*

The outstanding feature of this issue is a fairly large trefoil at each side of the King’s neck, and a similar mark in the obverse legend, usually after *rex*, although it is sometimes placed at the end of the legend, and occasionally omitted altogether.

On the London groats this trefoil is sometimes placed after *London*, but it is almost as often omitted.

It was long mistakenly thought that by this time the Calais mint has ceased to coin silver. Rare trefoil examples, however, do exist, three of which are in the National Collection.

On the Calais groats of this issue the trefoil is used more frequently than is the case on the London coins. Besides appearing at the sides of the King’s neck, they occur, in the obverse legend, after *dv* and *crw*, though some examples bear the trefoil after *rex*.
instead of after *GRNV*. On the reverse the trefoil sign appears between *VII* and *UT*; after *CALISIE* and after *TDIVTORE*.

In one instance the trefoil occurs after *VILLA* only, and in another it is found in the middle, instead of at the end of *CALISIE*. The groats from Calais read *ANG*₁, instead of the *ANGL*₁ of the London mint.

**Class 5.—THE LEAF AND PELLET COINAGE.**

One coin only, a groat, and perhaps the last ever issued from the Calais mint, is ascribed by Mr. Walters to this period. It was probably one from the Stamford find of 1866, and its date is considered by him to lie between 1452 and 1454.

The sixth coinage of Henry VI, then, has no Calesian examples remaining. A representation in the Parliament of 1465, "that for want of enforcing the Statutes relating to the Staple of Calais, the Mint there was like to stand void, desolate and to be destroyed" shows, in fact, that the process of decay, already referred to, was robbing the Calais mint of all but its name and its memories of former prosperity.

**The Gold Coinage of Henry VI.**

Mr. Walters classifies the gold coinage¹ of Henry VI on the same bases as he does the silver, except that the second type of the pierced cross of the silver annulet coinage is replaced, as a mint-mark, by a fleur-de-lys.

The mint accounts given by Ruding again serve to show the decay of the Calais mint. London, between the third and ninth year of Henry VI, coined 5,963 lbs. 7 ozs. 11½ dwts. of gold: Calais, between his second and sixth year, coined 2,834 dz. lbs. 9 ozs. 7 dwts., and between his sixth and ninth only 361 lbs. 3 ozs. 10 dwts., after which there is no further record of any gold coin coming from Calais. We may expect, however, to find examples from the Continent of the annulet and rosette-mascle gold coinages.

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903.
The Calais Mint, 1347–1470.

Class 1.—ANNULET COINAGE, GOLD.

Accepting the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Walters, the bulk of the gold coinage of Henry VI falls into this class. On the nobles the usual inscriptions are:—

Obverse:—HENRIC ✤ DIV ✤ GRAV ✤ REX ✤ ANGL ✤ ET ✤ FRANC ✤ DNS ✤ HIBI.
Reverse:—IN ☞ AVT ✤ TRANSIENS ✤ PAR ☞ MEDIVM ☞ IMVRV ☞ IBAT. Mint-mark lys.

On the side of the ship are two lions and three lys, which are arranged in one of two ways, namely,

a. Lion, two lys, lion, lys.
b. Lys, lion, lys, lion, lys.

The general characteristics of this annulet gold coinage are:—

i. Annulets at the King’s wrist and in one spandril of the reverse pressure.

ii. The fleur-de-lys mint-mark, which is, however, found in other coinages.

iii. The mullet in the legend.

Calesian coins of this issue, though rare, do exist. The distinguishing mark is still the flag on the nobles and half-nobles. Some carry the a in the centre of the cross on the reverse, in addition to the flag. The half-nobles are identical with the nobles, except for the variation in the legend on the reverse. The quarter-nobles of this issue vary in some details. All read:—

Obverse:—HENRIC ✤ DIV ✤ GRAV ✤ REX ✤ ANGL. Mint-mark lys. But, rarely, DEI occurs.
Reverse:—EXALTABITVR ✤ IN ✤ GLORIT. Mint-mark a lys, and there is a lys in the centre of the floriated cross. But the mint-marks on the obverse vary. They may be:—

a. One lys over the shield.
b. Two lys together over the shield.
c. One lys over the shield and one at each side.

Mr. Walters ascribes the first mark to London, the second to Calais and the third to York.
Class 2.—THE ROSETTE-MASCLE COINAGE, GOLD.

Examples of this class are much rarer in general than even the rarest of the annulet series. Nevertheless, nobles, half-nobles, and even quarter-nobles, do exist. On the nobles and half-nobles the annulet at the king’s wrist disappears, and its place is taken by a fleur-de-lys. The annulet on the reverse, in the right upper spandril of the tressure, gives way to a lys at the head of the lion in the right upper quarter. Generally rosettes occur after every word, but one, in the inscriptions on both obverse and reverse. In the case where the rosette is not found, its place is taken by a mascle.

A few nobles and half-nobles of this class carry the flag and are assigned to Calais. In all probability they are the last gold coins that were struck at that mint.

EDWARD IV.1

Whether any coins were struck at Calais during this reign is a matter of great doubt. In 1463 a statute was enacted, in consequence of a petition from the Commons, forbidding the sale of wool, etc., at the Calais Staple save for ready money, one half in lawful coin of England, or plate, or bullion of silver or gold; and that all the plate and bullion be carried into the mint at Calais, there to be coined. It has been generally assumed that nothing came of this regulation, but Mr. Walters, judging from the great similarity which exists between a special great seal of Edward IV, presumably for use in France, and some of his gold coins, has come to the conclusion that quite possibly some of the coins of this king may be assigned to Calais. These coins are the ryal, half-ryal, and quarter-ryal, coins which, in 1465, replaced the noble and its divisions.

These coins2 have the sun or crown mint-marks; the ryal has

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2 See The Walters Sale Catalogue, Nos. 378 and 386.
a lys over the sail of the ship; the half-ryal a lys in the waves under the ship, and the quarter-ryal a lys between each word of the inscription on one or both sides. If this assumption is true, then the Calais mint enjoyed a period of revival in this reign, but it was only for a short period. No coins are even suggested as Calesian after the ryal.

Specie and bullion regulations.

The regulation that only money coined in Calais was to be current in the town, was the first instrument designed to force foreign specie into the mint, while it had the further object of checking any export of the precious metals from England. It was renewed on the roth of May, 1363, in a writ to the Mayors and Aldermen, who were charged to see to its strict observance by all.¹

But these ordinances met with little favour from the merchants trading in Calais, for, apart from the fact that the mint charges represented a dead loss to them, the indefinite time during which a large portion of their working capital remained idle in the mint was a most annoying hindrance to trade, and prevented a further access of profit until such capital was released. The ordinance, therefore, was ignored as much as possible, so that, on the 6th of June, a further writ was addressed to the Mayors and Aldermen, stating that in spite of the writ of the 10th of May,

certain people, by means of the subtle exchange of money, as well that of our Realm of England as that from other places, with the money made in our Town of Calais are scheming to infringe our ordinance aforesaid, to our damage and that of the whole Realm.

Once again the Corporation was enjoined to forbid such practices by proclamation, and to warn all concerned that the King was about to appoint examiners of all money used in Calais, with powers to

¹ Rymer, 3, ii, 699.
break in two all foreign money they found; this new provision to come into force eight days after the proclamation was made.¹

Four days afterwards, Thomas de Brantingham, the Treasurer, and Henry de Brisele, the Master of the Mint, were commissioned to act as chiefs of a body of inspectors to be appointed by them for this purpose, with instructions to leave unbroken to no one more foreign money than would suffice as reasonable travelling expenses to his destination.²

On the 22nd of February, 1364, a writ was issued forbidding the usury in Calais.³

The rest of the financial enactments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries took the form of renewals of previous ordinances, with some new regulations calculated to increase the volume of trade passing through the mint.

To whatever degree the edicts of the 10th of May and the 6th of June, 1363, were efficient in checking temporarily the use of foreign money in Calais for purposes of trade, they did not ensure such an increase in the use of Calesian money as the King had expected, because merchants, to avoid the expenses of coining, and the enforced idleness of their capital, had extended their credit trade. The system was, therefore, employed of enforced contributions in specie or bullion to the mint upon every sale of Staple goods made in Calais.

The first writ to the Calais Corporation ordering such contribution was issued on the 1st of March, 1364. By way of justification of the new regulation which it imposed, reference was made to the days before the Staple was established in Calais, when English merchants suffered through receiving payment in an enfeebled foreign coinage, which would be called down on exchange.

Attention was drawn to the advantages which the King had conferred by the establishment of the Staple and the foundation of a mint with a respectable currency, while the growing custom of

¹ Rymer, 3, ii, 704. ² The same, 705. ³ The same, 724.
making credit sales with the purpose of avoiding mint charges was strongly deprecated.

Then followed the ordinance

That every man, merchant, or other, of whatever rank he be, who buys in the said town wool or other merchandise whatsoever, convey, or cause to be conveyed to our mint, of each sack of wool of full weight, and of all other merchandise in proportion sold in the town of Calais, or taken out therefrom, five shillings by weight in fine gold, or other bullion of gold or silver, to the value of five shillings of fine gold; and that sufficient surety be taken, under the supervision of our Treasurer and the Master of our Mint, and before you, the aforesaid Mayors and Aldermen, of all merchants who buy wool or other merchandise in the said town.¹

A similar writ was addressed to the Commission which, at the time, was enquiring into the conduct of the Calais Corporation, with a further injunction to them to see that the Corporation put the order into effect.

This regulation guaranteed to the mint a steady trade to a certain limit, but it by no means ensured the absorption of all foreign money coming into Calais, for even yet, traders seem to have preferred to run the risk of dealing with the money-changers—and it must be remembered here that the mint bought foreign coin as metal, taking no account, as the money-changer would, of its token value in its own country.

Partly to secure the now familiar object of drawing trade to the mint, and partly to secure to the King his monopoly in the profits on coining, by checking private profits in the money market, a writ was issued on the 26th July, 1365, to Le Scrope and the Corporation of Calais, forbidding any exchanges of money “except only with well-known merchants, and that solely for the needs of trade.”²

It has been seen that during the reign of Richard II the Calais

¹ Rymer, 3, ii, 725. ² The same, 773.
mint was almost dormant. In consequence, what bullion acts were passed, namely, that of 1379\(^1\) and that of 1397\(^2\), refer to the feeding of the Tower Mint in London.

The strictest limit to which this principle of enforced contribution to the mint was pushed is seen in 1429, when the Ordinance of the Partition was enacted, originally for three years only, but actually maintained indefinitely. This ordinance contained five clauses which regulated the sale of wool and other Staple goods. The third, which dealt with the mint, read:

That the bullion be brought to the mint at Calais; that is to say, for every sarpler of wool whereof the weight of the sack is sold for twelve marks, six pounds; for ten marks, five pounds; for six marks, four pounds. And for the wool-fells after the weight, to be forged into the King’s coin.\(^3\)

The Calais bullion regulations were most unpopular because they were obstructive. They were also often very difficult to comply with even by the most law-abiding merchants, by reason of the views on the export of bullion held by princes other than the King of England. These considerations are quite frequently put forward in Parliament, and perhaps most clearly and reasonably of all occasions in 1397, when, although, as it appears in the petition, a certain amount of work was being done at Calais, and bullion had to be taken there in accordance with previous acts, new obligations to the Tower Mint were enforced in addition. It was submitted to Richard that

Although you have a Master of your mint in your town of Calais, and although bullion and foreign gold brought to the town for the purchase of wool and other merchandise goes into his hands to be coined into your money, from which you derive the same profit by way of seignorage as you do

\(^1\) Rymer, iv, 62.
\(^2\) Rolls of Parliament, iii, 340.
\(^3\) Statutes of the Realm, ii, 254.
from that which is made in your Tower of London . . . your petitioners are charged to bring bullion for such merchandise to your Tower of London. . . . Furthermore, most mighty Sir, where different merchants from different parts of your realm, shipping wool to your said Staple, one ten sacks, another twenty sacks, were wont, after the sale thereof, to pass by sea to their country, now they must come to London for the sake of ten or twenty ounces of bullion, and there wait until it has been struck into money of your coin, whereby they expend all the profit of their merchandise, or more. . . . Furthermore, the officers of the Duke of Burgundy, in his country of Flanders, noting your ordinance, will not suffer any man to carry bullion out of, nor through the country of Flanders towards the said town of Calais, nor elsewhere, on pain of the forfeiture thereof, and in this behalf strait search is made on every road and byway of the country, so that no merchant ever dares to adventure his money towards the said Staple for fear of losing it, to the great detriment of the Staple. And oftentimes the gold of them who do venture thither through the country of Flanders, as well strangers as your lieges, is taken as forfeit by these officers, so that your petitioners can in no wise obtain bullion to fulfil your ordinance . . . . These causes together with the fear of the penalty prescribed in the said ordinance, restrain the Fellowship of Merchants of your realm, so that they dare not buy nor ship wools while the ordinance is in force, to the great damage and detriment of your customs and lowering of the price of wool in your realm.¹

No official relief was granted to the unfortunate Staplers; but the ordinance was retained, and, as has been seen, was strengthened by the Ordinance of Partition thirty-two years later. It was left to the merchant to evade the letter of the law as best

¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 369.
he might—he probably did so, and the abandonment of the idea of maintaining the mint at Calais by Edward IV was possibly by way of being a tardy governmental admission that the Staplers in their contentions had been right all the time, the system wrong, and only capable of being supported under exceptionally favourable trade conditions.