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THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC  
JOURNAL.



THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

1925-26

INCLUDING THE  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
FOR THE YEARS 1925-26.

EDITED BY  
ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.HIST.S.



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## THE LAST COINAGE OF HENRY VII.

BY RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON.

**I**T need not be supposed that any apology is necessary for devoting further pages to the coinage of Henry VII, although so much has already been written concerning it. For, in Henry VII, in my opinion, we had certainly one of our greatest Kings, and perhaps our greatest, while from a purely numismatic point of view, the profile-type groats of the latter part of his reign provide us with what are possibly the most beautiful examples of the moneyer's art to be found in the coinage of our country.

It is now some little while ago since a paper "On the Coinage of Henry VII," by Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> which, together with another paper by the same author, written in collaboration with Mr. G. C. Brooke, and entitled "The Martlet-Rose Half-groats of Henry VII,"<sup>2</sup> besides bringing forward the new theories of the authors, also embody in convenient form practically everything of importance that has, from time to time, been written concerning the coinage of this reign.

These papers are of very great interest to students of the period, and must carry great weight with numismatists in general. But as quite a number of the conclusions arrived at, more particularly those relating to the later issues of gold and silver and to the half-groats of the reign, appear to me unsatisfactory and inconsistent with one another, I have ventured to put forward in the ensuing pages

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xviii, pp. 205-61.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vol. xix, pp. 257-64.

my own views concerning the sequence and arrangement of these coins, in the hope that they may be found to present a solution to some at least of the admitted obstacles that seem so far to have prevented an entirely logical arrangement of the series.

The great re-coinage inaugurated by Act of Parliament<sup>1</sup> in 1503, and the abandonment of the full-faced arched-crown type in favour of the profile upon Henry's groats, seem, up till now, always to have been regarded as coincident. It is, however, one of my principal themes to endeavour to show that such was not the case.

At the outset, and at the risk of appearing to cover old ground, it seems to me desirable to review the principal extant documentary evidence which we have concerning the coinage of the reign.

Ruding<sup>2</sup> tells us that Richard III, almost immediately after his coronation,<sup>3</sup> appointed Robert Brackenbury<sup>4</sup> master-worker of the money. This writ bore date July 17th, 1483, and three days afterwards the coins were, by indenture, appointed to be continued as in the fifth year of Edward IV (1465).

The procedure under Henry VII seems to have been almost identical.<sup>5</sup> He was crowned at Westminster on October 30th, 1485, and upon November 2nd following, letters patent were issued to Sir Giles Daubeney, Knt.,<sup>6</sup> and Bartholomew Reed,<sup>7</sup> goldsmith,

<sup>1</sup> 19 Henry VII, cap. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. i, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> At Westminster, July 6th, 1483.

<sup>4</sup> Knighted July 5th, 1485. Lieutenant of the Tower in August, 1483, at the time of the alleged murder, at the instigation of Richard III, of the two sons of Edward IV—Edward, Earl of March and Pembroke, K.G. (Edward V before the act of bastardization), and Sir Richard, K.G. (formerly Duke of York). He continued in this office until slain at the Battle of Bosworth, by Walter Hungerford, August 22nd, 1485.

<sup>5</sup> On September 17th, 1485, Sir William Barkeley of Bernerston was granted for life the offices of master and operator of the King's monies, etc., according to indentures to be made between him and the King. No indentures seem, however, to have been made, and Sir William was attainted of high treason by an Act of Parliament, November 7th, 1485.

<sup>6</sup> See note 1, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> A City Sheriff in 1498 and Mayor of London in 1503.

appointing them masters and workers, etc., of the money. Two days later, on November 4th, 1485, the King entered into an indenture with the new officials which appears to be an exact counterpart of those of 1 Richard III and 5 Edward IV, save, of course, in the names of the parties. This fact probably accounts for the continued inclusion in the indenture of 1485 of the ryal and its half and quarter, denominations that were in all probability never coined under Henry VII. I say "in all probability" advisedly, because several denominations for whose issue we have documentary authority have, from time to time in the past, been stated by writers not to have been minted. The subsequent discovery of specimens of these disputed coins has put these writers in an embarrassing position. I venture to think, however, that the question of the issue by Henry VII of these three denominations is rather different from the well-known cases in the above category of the assumed non-existence of the crown of the rose<sup>1</sup> and the half-George noble<sup>2</sup> of Henry VIII and the quarter-angel of James I.<sup>3</sup> The crown of the rose was figured in the "placaets," published in the Netherlands between 1546 and 1560, this in itself being conclusive contemporary evidence of the denomination's issue. Snelling, Folkes, and Ruding also illustrate a similar piece, but represent the mint-mark as being a lion.

The George noble and half-noble were new denominations ordered to meet a special need. For in 1526, when the value of the currency was enhanced to avoid its exportation, it was considered desirable that there should be English coins of the values of the old angel and half-angel. The George noble and its half were devised

<sup>1</sup> Two specimens, differing slightly in the arrangement of the stops, are now known, the first discovered being in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, and the second example in the National Collection at the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> The only known example of this coin was purchased by Mr. Curt, the dealer in Paris, about the middle of last century, for three shillings and sixpence. Mr. Curt sold it to the Rev. E. J. Shepherd for £70 (Hazlitt, in his *Coin Collector*, p. 28, says £90). At the sale of the Shepherd Collection in 1885, at which Mr. Curt was present, the coin realized £255, and passed into the Montagu Collection [Plate VI, Lot 719, £275]; thence into the Leslie Ellis Collection, and now in the Ryan Collection.

<sup>3</sup> In the National Collection.

to fulfil this purpose. Such being the reasons for their invention, it seems but natural that both denominations should have been coined.

The quarter-angel struck by James I was only a continuation of the issue of a denomination minted in the preceding reign. It was not, however, authorized by the indenture of May 21st, 1603; neither were the angel and its half. These three gold denominations of standard fineness would, therefore, seem to have been specially ordered, probably by Commission. From the pyx trials,<sup>1</sup> we know that the quarter-angel of this reign was only coined between May 22nd, 1604, and November 11th, 1604, the mint-mark being the fleur-de-lys, and only one specimen being put into the pyx for trial. The history of this denomination shows that there was very much better ground for doubting its existence than in the cases of the crown of the rose and the half-George noble.

The question of the coinage or non-coinage of the ryal, half-ryal, and quarter-ryal of Henry VII seems to me to be on quite a different footing from those instanced above. There was no special reason for their issue as in the case of the George noble and its half, nor had these denominations been struck in preceding regnal periods since some little while before the restoration of Henry VI. There was, therefore, no question of continuing the striking of a denomination minted in the preceding reign as in the instance of the quarter-angel of James I. The occurrence of these three denominations in all three indentures of the reign and in that of 1 Richard III, I should prefer to regard as being merely due to the drafters of these indentures having precisely carried out their official instructions, namely, to reproduce in them exactly the terms contained in the indenture of 5 Edward IV. Such an interpretation would mean that none of the three denominations were ever intended to be coined under Richard III or Henry VII by virtue of these four indentures.

By such an assumption it follows that we have not the authority for the coining of the half-sovereign of Henry VII, which I believe

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, 1st series, vol. ix, p. 216.

to be actually the case. Probably this denomination was ordered subsequently to, but very shortly after, the sovereign, and, as in the case of that denomination, by Commission. A fact supporting such a supposition is that both denominations, the half-sovereign and the ryal, are spoken of in the Act of 19 Henry VII, cap. 5, clearly showing that, although the value was the same in each instance, two different coins were referred to. The gold denominations given in the Act are sovereign, half-sovereign, ryal, half-ryal, quarter-ryal, angel, and half-angel: the reference being, as I understand it, in the case of the sovereign and its half, to those of Henry VII, the half-sovereign being the coin generally known as the "ryal" of Henry VII; in the case of the ryal, its half and its quarter, to those of Edward IV; and in the case of the angel and its half to those of Edward IV, Henry VI, Edward V, Richard III, and Henry VII. If the so-called "ryal" is not the half-sovereign, then what coin is the half-sovereign referred to in the Act of 19 Henry VII, cap. 5?

The second indenture of Henry VII was executed on November 20th, 1492, John Shaw<sup>1</sup> and Bartholomew Reed<sup>2</sup> being the master-workers. Its terms, again, were similar to those of Henry's first indenture of 1485 and those of 1 Richard III and 5 Edward IV.

The third indenture is dated November 20th, 1503, and is also a reproduction of Henry's first and second indentures and those of 1 Richard III and 5 Edward IV, as regards its terms. The master-workers were Robert Fenrother and William Reed, citizens and goldsmiths.

<sup>1</sup> A goldsmith: Sheriff in 1497 and Mayor of London in 1502. He was the son of John Shaw of Rochford in Essex, and was knighted on the field by Henry VII. It seems probable that he was related to Sir Edmund Shaw, Mayor of London in 1483, who was also a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, and of Dr. Ralph Shaw (brother of Sir Edmund), the eminent preacher, who expounded the title to the throne of the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) at Paul's Cross, on June 22nd, 1483.

<sup>2</sup> See note 7, p. 2.



The events necessitating the making of these indentures appear to have been :—

In the case of the first indenture of 1485, the accession of a new monarch and the appointment of new mint officials, namely, Sir Giles Daubeney and Bartholomew Reed.

In the case of the second indenture of 1492, the disposal by Lord (formerly Sir Giles) Daubeney<sup>1</sup> of his interest in the office of master-worker of the moneys, which he held with Bartholomew Reed in survivorship,<sup>2</sup> John Shaw taking his place.

In the case of the third indenture of 1503, the substitution of Robert Fenrother and William Reed as master-workers in the place of John Shaw and Bartholomew Reed. The new master-workers, Mr. Symonds<sup>3</sup> tells us, “presumably acted as substitutes for Bartholomew Reed, the surviving<sup>4</sup> holder of the office, as they did not officially succeed him until November, 1505 (Close Rolls).”

Whether or not Mr. Symonds's supposition is the correct one, it is quite clear that the last indenture does not directly, at any rate, owe its existence to the Act of 19 Henry VII, cap. 5, ordering the great re-coinage, but that, like the two previous indentures, it is merely one of a series of legal documents giving us the history of what, in effect, was a business partnership. First, the original articles of partnership in 1485; the partners contracting with the King to supply a coinage consisting of various denominations of specified fineness, certain proportions of the profits going to the partners and certain of them to the King. The second step comes with the retirement, for some reason not known to us, of one of the

<sup>1</sup> Created Baron Daubeney, March 12th, 1485-6; died May 21st, 1508.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. : Privy Seals II, file 1 (August 31st); Patent Roll, 1 Henry VII, p. 1, m. 9 or 27.

<sup>3</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, 1st series, vol. x, p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> Lord (formerly Sir Giles) Daubeney was still alive at this date (*cf.* note 1, above).

partners (Lord Daubeney) in 1492,<sup>1</sup> his place being taken by a new partner or possibly nominee of the remaining partner Bartholomew Reed, namely, John Shaw. The third step comes in 1503, with the retirement of Bartholomew Reed from active participation in the actual working of the mint. John Shaw also disappears; whether he had died previously or at this date, I do not know, but if he had, this may have influenced Bartholomew Reed in his decision to give up active participation in mint affairs. It was also in this year, 1503, that Bartholomew Reed became Mayor of London, and he may have felt that the duties of this position and the great increase of work in the mint affairs, which the re-coinage must have involved, made it desirable for substitutes of his to give it their whole attention. Be this as it may, Robert Fenrother and William Reed, the latter possibly Bartholomew's son or some close relative, seem to have been put in as managers; for Bartholomew Reed, as shown by Mr. Symonds, still appears to have retained some interest in the profits. In 1505 he, perhaps, dies, or in any case definitely retires from the enterprise.

It is here that I should expect to find yet another indenture, showing us the further development of the partnership; whether entirely new officials took up the office, or whether it continued in the hands of Fenrother and William Reed or one or other of them. Perhaps such a document may yet be traced. Unfortunately, during this reign, there were no changes in the fineness of the coins or innovations in their denominations of sufficient importance to necessitate a new contract, in the form of an indenture, being made between the King and the mint officials.

As it is, the three indentures that we have, which apparently owed their being purely to changes in the business relationships of the grantees of the office of master-worker of the moneys, only provide us with the information that the denominations

<sup>1</sup> Lord Daubeney was appointed Ambassador to France, June 12th, 1492, an appointment which may conceivably have had some bearing upon his retirement from this office.

authorized were the same as those ordered by the indenture of 5 Edward IV.<sup>1</sup>

The only new denomination of the reign *quite certainly* authorized for general circulation is not covered by them, but by a separate commission. Their value is, therefore, very slight, and throws no light upon the question of the dates of the various changes in the type of the coins, which occur during the reign. In quite a different category is the Commission of October 28th, 1489,<sup>2</sup> ordering the sovereign. This document gives us a clue to the date of the change in type from the open to the arched crown. It also gives us the approximate date of the cross-fitchée mint-mark, and is the only quite unambiguous piece of documentary evidence of the reign, directly concerning the coinage, that we have.

Now, the Commission ordering the sovereign speaks of this denomination as "a new money of gold"<sup>3</sup>; therefore, it is the first order for the sovereign, fortunately, that has survived. The earliest type of sovereign (Kenyon, Pl. VI, No. 46) of which we know has the cross-fitchée mint-mark, a mark which cannot be placed much, if at all, earlier than the fifth year of Henry, the date of the Commission, so that we can say with some certainty that this type of sovereign was the immediate outcome of this order and the first struck.

With this sovereign the only issue of half-sovereigns of the reign are contemporary. As stated above, there appears to be no documentary authority for their issue; but this was probably effected by a Commission slightly subsequent in date to that authorizing the sovereign.

Upon the silver coins the cross-fitchée mark seems to have been immediately preceded by the rare open-crown lys-marked

<sup>1</sup> My reasons for thinking that three of the denominations included in them, namely, the ryal, its half and its quarter, were never coined, have been given upon a previous page.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. i, p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, 1st series, vol. x, p. 128. Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England*, p. 74, Pat. 5 Henry VII, m. 30 dors.

coins, and *apparently* followed by the so-called pattern arched-crown groats with a portcullis in the centre of the reverse, and having for mint-mark a lys on the reverse only. [Pl. I, No. 2.]<sup>1</sup> This again was followed by an early variety of the usual type of arched-crown groat with no mint-mark either side, having trefoil stops on the obverse and no stops on the reverse, but with a six-pointed star after **POSVI** and **QVITVS**. [Pl. I, No. 5.]

A peculiar form of the letter *ℒ* (see Pl. VIII, fig. 2, and Pl. I, Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5) occurs on some late cross-fitchée marked groats, the "pattern" portcullis groats, and the variety of arched-crown groat referred to above and illustrated. [Pl. I, No. 5.] This peculiar *ℒ* on the silver coins usually only occurs on the reverse in the mint-name, but is occasionally found on the obverse. I have a groat in my cabinet, with arched-crown obverse, with no mint-mark, having this form of *ℒ* on both sides; there are no crosses by the King's neck. The reverse has saltire-stops, showing that the coin is a mule, the reverse being an open-crown-type die. [Pl. I, No. 4.] The same form of *ℒ* is always used on the obverse of the sovereign and both sides of the half-sovereign, with mint-mark cross-fitchée. It is also employed on the probably unique London penny, formerly in the Walters Collection and illustrated in that Catalogue. [Pl. XIV, No. 505.] From the subsequent remarks, it will be seen that this arched-crown sovereign-type penny, with no mint-mark and no stops, must be contemporary with the cross-fitchée marked coins. This form of *ℒ*, as one would expect, is found on the London half-penny with mint-mark cross-fitchée (cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xviii, Pl. XIII, No. 19). It also occurs on certain Canterbury half-groats which will be referred to in due course.

The form of *ℒ* on the early cross-fitchée marked groats and upon all the earlier open-crown groats and that more usually found

<sup>1</sup> Only two specimens are, I believe, known, both being now in the British Museum. They are from different obverse dies, but from the same reverse die. One specimen has no crosses at the sides of the King's neck and is pierced. The other and finer specimen is that which was in the late Sir John Evans's Collection. [Pl. I, No. 2.]

upon the arched-crown groats with no mint-mark is quite different (*see* Pl. VIII, fig. 1, and the groat [Pl. I, No. 1], which last, incidentally, gives a very good illustration of the two mint-marks lys and rose dimidiated on the obverse, and lys *upon* rose on the reverse).

Although the form of the letter *L*, in common with the other lettering employed during the reign, varies very considerably, the particular form given in Pl. VIII, fig. 2, to which I have called attention, occurs only upon this quite short series of coins. By means of this feature, it is possible, I think, to fix quite definitely the sequence of the late open-crown and early arched-crown groats and also the precise position of the "pattern" groats in the series.

In these coins we have the *apparent* sequence (*see* Pl. VIII) :—

*Open-crown type.*

Mint-mark lys (early form of *L*, *cf.* Fig. 1), lys on reverse in subsidiary position.

Mint-mark cross-fitchée (early form of *L*, *cf.* Fig. 1), with and without lys on reverse in subsidiary position.

Mint-mark cross-fitchée (special form of *L*, *cf.* Fig. 2), with and without lys on reverse in subsidiary position.

"Pattern" or "portcullis" type.

Mint-mark (reverse only) (special form of *L*, *cf.* Fig. 2).

*Arched-crown type.*

No mint-mark (special form of *L*, *cf.* Fig. 2).

The use of the lys mark twice in quick succession, with only one intervening mint-mark, the cross-fitchée, although the type is quite different in each instance of its use, is most improbable. But I think the evidence of the coins will provide a satisfactory alternative arrangement which, while not upsetting the series of these coins with the peculiar *L*, yet requires the use of the lys mint-mark only once upon the *regular* issue groats. For on some groats with the cross-fitchée mark we find associated with it, on the reverse, the lys mark. But this last mark, when it occurs in conjunction with the cross-fitchée, is not placed, as an ordinary mint-mark is,



at the beginning of the outer legend before **POSVI**, but in various positions in the legend. No doubt this subsidiary lys mark had a meaning or use, and I suggest that it was an intentional link to show that the "pattern" or "portcullis" groats with the lys mint-mark (also appearing on the reverse only) were an experimental or tentative issue coined concurrently with these open-crown cross-fitchée marked groats and with the arched-crown sovereign and half-sovereign with the same mint-mark. A small point which seems to confirm such an arrangement is that the lys-punch used for the mint-mark lys on the "portcullis" groats is the same as that used in the arms of France (the spectator's top left-hand one of the three) on the half-sovereign with mint-mark cross-fitchée illustrated in Pl. I, No. 3. Further, these lys punches used for the French arms on the half-sovereigns seem to have been specially made for that purpose, being larger than those used for the lys-marked open-crown groats and upon the cross-fitchée groats with the lys in a subsidiary position. Taken in conjunction, the use of this special lys-punch and the peculiar form of *L* upon the "portcullis" groats proves that they cannot have been struck earlier than the later cross-fitchée marked coins. If they were coined later we should have the lys mint-mark occurring twice upon regular-issue groats with only one intervening mint-mark, which is very improbable. The only remaining alternative, and that to which everything points, is the assumption that these "pattern" groats were a tentative issue (though not strictly patterns, since the die was actually employed for the striking of currency), coined concurrently with the later cross-fitchée marked coins having the *L* of Fig. 2 [Pl. VIII] form. Such an assumption also accounts for their extreme rarity.

We have seen that the cross-fitchée marked sovereigns and half-sovereigns were the outcome of the Commission of October 28th, 1489, and that, therefore, that mint-mark was in use at that date. The groats with this mint-mark and the earlier form of *L* like Fig. 1, are earlier than the sovereign, etc., with the *L* like Fig. 2; so the cross-fitchée was evidently in use before the date of the Commission, probably for some months.

The form of *L* (Fig. 2) occurring upon open-crown cross-fitchée marked groats and arched-crown groats with no mint-mark, also shows us that the cross-fitchée was the last mint-mark of the open-crown type, and that the change to the arched-crown type took place probably in 1490.

The change in type of the angels did not take place until the adoption of the escallop as the mint-mark, and the earliest half-angel of this new type which we know of bears the true pansy mint-mark. Muled angels occur with obverses of the first type with mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil and reverses with mint-mark escallop, with both the *IESVS NVTEM* and *PER ARVDEM* legends. These escallop-marked dies are *always* of the *second* type. This shows that the new type was not adopted "*during the run of the escallop-mark*," as has been stated, but that the new mint-mark and new type were synchronous, as might be expected.

The principal remaining documentary evidence to be considered in connection with the third coinage is the Act of 19 Henry VII, cap. 5, which was soon followed by the Proclamation of July 5th, 1504, slightly tempering the stringency and reducing somewhat the inevitable loss to those in possession of coin, entailed by the provisions of the Act.

I will first quote fully Ruding's summary of the Act,<sup>1</sup> as I think extracts are very liable to give a misleading impression of the real meaning of a passage as a whole.

"The coins, especially of silver, were so impaired as well by clipping as counterfeiting the same and by bringing into the realm the coin of Ireland, that great rumour and variance daily increased among his (Henry's) subjects for taking and refusing the same; it was therefore enacted, that all manner of gold, of the coins of a sovereign, half-sovereign, ryal, half-ryal, and the fourth part of a ryal, the angel and half-angel and every of them, being gold, whole and weight, should be current for the sum that they were coined for. And also that as well all manner

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. i, pp. 296-7.



of groats and half-groats of English coin, and of the coin of other lands then current in the realm, for groats or half-groats, being silver and not clipped, minished or otherwise impaired, except reasonable wearing (albeit they might be cracked), should also be current in like manner for the sum at which they were coined. And that all pence, being silver, and having the print of the King's coin, should be current to him in all his receipts, and to all his receivers, and to all other lords, spiritual and temporal, and their receivers, and to all others within the realm, without any manner refusal or contradiction, except only pence bearing spurs or the mullet, within the bars of the cross, which were to be current for a half-penny and not above. And if any person should refuse to receive such coins, he should be compelled to take them by the mayor, etc., or other chief officer of the town or place where such payment should be refused, to accept the same and further to be imprisoned or otherwise punished by the discretion of the said officer. And if the said mayor, etc., should refuse to take such coins he should be compelled to take them by the justices of the peace of the same county where such payment was refused, and he so refusing the same to be further punished for the said refusing by the discretion of the said justice. And it was also ordained that all manner of groats and half-groats, as well English as foreign, being clipped minished or otherwise impaired, except reasonable wearing, should not in anywise be current, but that they might be lawfully brought to the King's mint, there to be changed after the custom of the same mint, or might be converted into plate or bullion, or otherwise sold or employed as might be most for the advantage of the owner.

“And in order to avoid such clipping in time to come the King caused to be made new coins of groats and pence of two-pence and that every piece should have a circle about the utter part thereof; and also that all manner of gold, hereafter to be coined within the realm, should have the whole scripture about every piece of the same gold without lacking of any

part thereof, to the intent that the King's subjects might hereafter have perfect knowledge, by that circle or scripture when the same coins were clipped or impaired.

"And it was also enacted that if the warden and comptroller of the King's mints should not for the time to come execute their offices in searching the same coins, and see that they were made perfect in form aforesaid, before they were passed from the mint, that then the said warden and comptroller should forfeit their said office and make fine for the same at the King's pleasure."

Then followed a provision forbidding the conveyance of more than the sum of six shillings and eightpence of English currency into Ireland or of more than three shillings and fourpence of Irish money into England, and penalties, etc., for breaking such ordinance.

The text of the Proclamation of July 5th, 1504 [Pl. VII], is as follows (the letter p in several cases is printed as p, indicating pr):—

"The kynge our souerayne lorde callynge to his remembrance y<sup>t</sup> at his last pliaiment holden at Westm̄ it was ordeyned & enacted for the comon wele of this his Realme in auoydyng y<sup>e</sup> clyppynge and dystruccyon of his coyne / & for y<sup>e</sup> preseruacion of good money to be curraunt w<sup>in</sup> y<sup>e</sup> same. That aswell all maner grotes of Englysshe coyne, & of y<sup>e</sup> coyne of other londes than curraunt w<sup>in</sup> his sayd Realme for grotes or for iiij pens beyng syluer & not clypped though y<sup>e</sup> same were cracked or worne / shold go & be curraūt in al this his realme for y<sup>e</sup> sōme y<sup>t</sup> they were coyned for. And also that all grotes aswell Englysshe coyne / as coyne of other londes y<sup>t</sup> were clypped sholde not go nor be curraunt in ony wyse within his sayd realme. For asmoche as it is comen to the perfyte knowlege of his hyghnes / y<sup>t</sup> many & grete nombre of his subjects make themself Ignoraūt in knowlege of Englysshe grotes / and double plakes whyder they be clypped /

or not clypped by meane wherof grete trouble & vexaciõ dayly is had to his true & well meanyng subgetes in makynge & receyuyng of theyr paymentes. Wherefore and in auoydyng of suche vexacion of his sayd subgetes. The kynges hyghnes by good deliberacion & aduyse of the lordes spuell and tẽporell & other of his counceyll upon the syght of the same Englysshe grotes and double plackes / all be it that many englysshe grotes haue by y<sup>e</sup> Coyners ben mystyken dothe declare / decre / & adiuge all Englysshe grots & double plackes hauynge y<sup>e</sup> lymyttes or markes as herafter it is expressed not to be clypped but to haue cours & to be curraunt & not to be refused. That is to saye, euery Englysshe grote beyng syluer y<sup>t</sup> hath thre poyntes of y<sup>e</sup> crosse hole on y<sup>e</sup> syde. / And the moste pte of y<sup>e</sup> scripture hole on the other syde to goo & be curraunt & i no wyse to be refused thoughe the same be not pfyntely prynted & coyned. Prouyded alway y<sup>t</sup> this pclamacion be onely extẽded to suche grotes as were coyned before y<sup>e</sup> makynge of y<sup>e</sup> sayd act of plyamẽt & not to grotes newe coyned sythen the makynge of the sayd acte whiche newe grotes shall not be curraunt onles they haue theyr full prynte on bothe sydes accordyng to the sayde acte.

“ And also y<sup>t</sup> euery double placke beyng syluer whiche hath his scripture apparaunt on the one syde or on the other syde / to goo and to be curraunt and not to be refused.

“ Wherefore y<sup>e</sup> kynges hyghnes wylleth and streytely cõmaundeth that as well all englysshe grotes as double plackes hauynge the markes or lymytes aboue sayd shalbe taken as well by his receyuours as all other psones in this his realme & not to be refused upon payne of enprysonemẽ & to make fyne at his pleasure, & all englysshe grotes & plackes beyng syluer not hauynge y<sup>e</sup> markes or lymyts aforesayd to be reputed for clypped money / & not to go nor to be curraunt for coyne.

“ And the kyngs grace for y<sup>e</sup> more ease & quyetnesse to be had amõge his sayd subgettes in this behalfe wylleth &

cōmaundeth y<sup>t</sup> suche money as is aforesayd reputed for clypped money shall be taken in payment /or in eschaūge for iij.ſ. & ij. d. the unce at y<sup>e</sup> leeste and in lyke wyse the halfe unce / the quarter & y<sup>e</sup> halfe quarter of y<sup>e</sup> sayd clypped moneye after the rate of the same & no lesse to be gyuen for y<sup>e</sup> unce the halfe unce y<sup>e</sup> quarter and y<sup>e</sup> halfe quarter accordyge to the sayd rate of suche money after this pclamacyō made in euery shyre by ony persone upon payne of forfeiture by y<sup>e</sup> receyuour of the same money so receyued and upon payne of emprysonement & fyne to be made at the kynges wyll.

“ And that all and euery suche persoñ and psons as shall take or receyue clippyd money by waight furthwith & imediatly in y<sup>e</sup> presens & sight of hym that shall so uttur y<sup>e</sup> same money the said taker and receyuer thereof shall cut or cause to be cutte in sunder all the said clypped money in payne of forfeitu<sup>r</sup> of all y<sup>e</sup> said clipped money so receyued & taken & to haue imprisonment and make fyne & raunson at the kyngs wyll :

“ And ouer that the kyngs hyghnesse straytely cōmaundeth that none of hys subgetes presume to use weyghtes made of styckes endes comynly called of olde tyme awncell weyghtes upon payne and punysshement afore expressed.

“ And also the kyngs hyghnesse cōmaundeth y<sup>t</sup> all Mayres / baylyfs / constables / & all other hede offycers of cytees / townes / bourghs or vyllages to se the premysses duelye executed to the best of theyr powers upon payne of enprysonement and to make fyne at the kyngs wyll & pleasure upon cōplaynt to his hyghnesse / or to his counceyll / or to ony Justyce of y<sup>e</sup> peas therof made & approued to be true y<sup>t</sup> they do not to be executed this the kynges pclamacyon & hyghe cōmaundemēt.”

A careful perusal of these two documents, free from any preconceived theories regarding their effect upon the coinage, seems to provide one with the following data, namely, that, owing to the poor condition of the currency and the consequent disputes

arising from this state of things, it was enacted by 19 Henry VII, cap. 5 :—

- (1) What coins were to be current in both gold and silver, and at what values.
- (2) Powers to compel acceptance and for the punishment of anyone refusing the same were given.
- (3) Clipped, etc., coins (but not cracked ones), allowing for fair wear and tear, were no longer to be current *at all*, but could be changed according to the custom of the mint, sold as bullion or converted into plate, etc.
- (4) To avoid clipping in the future a re-coinage was ordered. The newly coined groats and half-groats were to have the outermost beaded circle complete and the newly coined gold pieces to have the whole of the lettering of the legend visible upon the coin. So that by such details the people might know them to be unclipped and current.

Shortly afterwards comes the Proclamation of July 5th, 1504, probably as a concession to popular outcry, for it tempers the stringency of the provision of the Act making *all* clipped coins non-current, by providing that groats with but three of the limits of the cross whole on the reverse and most of the legend on the obverse should be considered as unclipped and, therefore, current. But this provision was not to apply to money coined after the passing of the Act, *i.e.* under the re-coinage. Similarly, half-groats with the legend whole on one side were to be considered as unclipped.

The words in the Act, "caused to be made new coins of groats and pence of two-pence and that every piece should have a circle about the utter part thereof," seem generally now to be accepted as a definite statement of a change of type having been ordered, *i.e.* from the full-faced arched-crown type to the profile type. But they do not on the face of them, to my mind, warrant anything of the sort being inferred. In fact, rather the contrary, for the only



distinction between the old money and the new money, coined by virtue of its provisions that the Act could find to specify by way of distinction between them, was that the new money should have a complete outer circle visible. Now, if the words of the Act, "caused to be made *new* coins of groats," etc., had really meant and been, as has been inferred by some, the order for the adoption of a new pattern or type, a simple reference to this would have been a quite sufficient means of distinction and much more readily recognizable by the people. Again, the latter part of the sentence quoted above goes on to say, "and also that all manner of gold hereafter to be coined," etc., etc., the word "new" in the first portion of the sentence being thereby shown to mean, not coins of a fresh design, but those that were to be struck under the new or re-coinage. Another point tending to confirm such an interpretation (in my opinion the natural and most simple one) of the words of the Act, is that the next paragraph goes on to give the warden and comptroller a peremptory warning that for the future they were to be more careful in examining the coins before passing them from the mint into circulation, upon pain of losing their office. That they had been careless in not seeing that the coins were "full" is definitely affirmed in the words of the subsequent Proclamation, "all be it that many englysshe grotes haue by y<sup>e</sup> Coyners ben mystryken," the inference again being that the Act did not order any innovation in, but merely that the output of the new or re-coinage should conform to previous commands, which had been neglected. In confirmation of this is the fact that such a re-coinage would most certainly be the signal for the adoption of a fresh mint-mark. Under the arrangement suggested hereafter this will be seen to have been the case, the greyhound's head being the new mark adopted on the coins which were the firstfruits of the re-coinage. Under the generally accepted views at present holding the field, we find, however, that the "*new*" or *third coinage* profile coins have the same mark, the cross-crosslet, as the last of the full-faced type coins attributed to the *previous* or *second coinage*. That such a thing should have been done is so highly improbable that I am the

more surprised that no one writing on the period has raised the point before and demurred to a classification involving such an anomaly.

The third coinage of the old classification included *all* the profile-type groats and *no* full-faced coins. In the arrangement attempted below, I have placed the two types, full-faced and profile, in juxtaposition to some extent, as I believe that such is the only logical arrangement, and certainly the only alternative to a total and haphazard mix-up of mint-marks, lettering, and forms of cross-termination and crown. The evidence of the coins also clearly indicates that *some* of the profile-type groats were issued concurrently with those of the full-faced type. (The "portcullis" groats noticed above provide us with an instance of a somewhat similar concurrent issue, earlier in the reign.) Subsequently the regular profile type superseded the full-faced and tentative profile-type issue, and from that time, probably early in 1507, until the end of the reign, the coinage of groats consisted solely of the former type. So that we have, speaking of the groats only for the sake of convenience :—

- (1) Regular issue of full-faced arched-crown type with a concurrent tentative issue of certain profile-type groats.
- (2) Regular issue consisting entirely of profile-type groats (subsequent, of course, to the abandonment of the full-faced arched-crown type).

Mr. Lawrence's classification<sup>1</sup> necessitated the use of the greyhound's head, cross-crosslet and rose mint-marks in both his second (full-faced type) and third (profile type) coinages. My arrangement indicates these three marks as having been used once only upon the *Tower* coins. I except, of course, the use of the rose mint-mark in the first or open-crown coinage.

Here, I think, it is desirable to turn to the coins of the period under discussion and proceed to arrange them in their seeming

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xviii, pp. 205-61.



sequence. In doing this, I propose to commence the series with the adoption of the greyhound's head mint-mark and to continue it until the end of the reign: dealing in the first place with the series of groats comprising what I propose calling the *regular issue*, that is, the groats of full-faced type with mint-marks greyhound's head and cross-crosslet, and the groats of profile type with mint-marks cross-crosslet<sup>1</sup> and pheon; secondly, with the profile-type groats that belong to what I propose to call the *tentative issue*, which I believe to have been issued concurrently with the full-faced groats with mint-marks greyhound's head and cross-crosslet of the regular issue (for the sake of brevity, the letters R.I., for "regular issue," and T.I., for "tentative issue," will be employed); thirdly, the shillings which correspond with the T.I. groats will be dealt with, and then the series of angels, half-angels, sovereigns, "double sovereigns" and half-groats; and lastly, the pennies, half-pennies and farthings.

## THE GROATS OF THE REGULAR ISSUE

### *The Cross Terminations.*

On Pl. VIII figs. 6, 7, 8 and 9, are shown the four forms of termination to the cross on the reverse that occur during this period. The first three I have numbered 6, 7 and 8 [Pl. VIII, figs. 6, 7 and 8, and Pl. I, Nos. 10, 12 and 20] so as to follow the numbering employed by Mr. Lawrence in his paper on the coinage of Henry VII, referred to above. No. 9 [Pl. VIII, fig. 9, and Pl. II, No. 24] is a form of cross termination that Mr. Lawrence seems apparently to have overlooked, or, more probably, forgotten; since he tells us that "No. 8 includes a few coins with the greyhound's head and all the cross-crosslet coins, *and was continued on the profile issues.*" This, of course, is not the case. Nearly all the profile-type coins have the cross termination No. 9. The excepted coins are

<sup>1</sup> Some of the profile-type groats with mint-mark cross-crosslet belong to the tentative issue and will be noticed in due course.

a few of the earlier T.I. (profile) groats which have the cross of No. 8 form [Pl. II, Nos. 36-41.] All the R.I. profile groats have cross No. 9.

*The Alphabets.*

There are four very easily distinguished forms of lettering employed on the coins under discussion. For want of any better appellation, they may be described as (a) *coarse* [Pl. I, No. 8]; (b) *plain* [Pl. I, No. 12]; (c) *fine* [Pl. I, No. 20]. The fourth alphabet (d) is used upon the R.I. profile coins. It is very similar to the *fine* alphabet, but bolder. This I propose calling *bold* [Pl. II, No. 24].

*The Ornamentation of the Crown.*

The crockets or ornamentation on the arch or arches of the King's crown are of two main kinds:—

(1) *Uprights*.—These are found in two combinations: 1a, Eight (four upon each side of the orb of the crown) [Pl. I, No. 20]; 1b, Six (three and three) [Pl. I, No. 17]. In the case of 1b, the uprights are taller than in 1a. The decoration 1b, besides occurring on some of the single-arched-crown varieties of the full-faced groats, also occurs on some of the T.I. (profile) groats [Pl. II, Nos. 35 and 37; Pl. III, Nos. 49, 50, etc.].

(2) *Crosses*.—These are also found in two combinations: 2a, Four (two and two) [Pl. II, Nos. 23 and 24]; 2b, Six (three and three). This last combination is only found on some of the T.I. (profile) groats [Pl. II, Nos. 40 and 41; Pl. III, Nos. 51-53]. All the R.I. profile groats have the crown decoration 2a, a form that never occurs on the T.I. groats.

*The Varieties of the Mint-marks.*

There are certainly two, and possibly three, markedly distinct forms of the greyhound's-head mint-mark.

The first and earliest is coarse in execution and has something decidedly porcine in its appearance. [Pl. I, No. 8.] Whenever


it is found upon a die, it is always in conjunction with lettering of the *coarse* alphabet.

The second variety of this mint-mark is of finer work and has a longer neck. It is found in conjunction with both *plain* and *fine* lettering [Pl. I, Nos. 15 and 18]. It is also found on a few T.I. groats [Pl. III, Nos. 47-50]. What should perhaps be distinguished as a third variety of the mint-mark is that which portrays the hound with his tongue protruding. I do not, however, propose so to treat it in the following descriptions of the types.

The first two varieties will hereafter be found referred to as greyhound No. 1 and greyhound No. 2.

Similarly there are two variations of the cross-crosslet mint-mark :—

(a) *The Plain Cross-crosslet*.—This is found upon full-faced and profile R.I. coins [Pl. II, Nos. 23 and 24] and upon T.I. coins [Pl. III, Nos. 51-54].

(b) *Cross-crosslet with Two Pellets to the left, thus: *.—This variety is only found upon profile groats of the R.I., and it followed immediately after the plain cross-crosslet mint-mark [Pl. II, No. 26]. I have come across two minor variations of this second variety of cross-crosslet mint-mark (b). In the one case the pellets are placed to the right instead of to the left of the cross-crosslet [Pl. II, No. 27]. In the other variation there is a pellet to the left and a small saltire to the right of the cross-crosslet [Pl. II, No. 28].

### *The Sequence.*

*Group (a)*.—The earliest groats upon which the early variety of the mint-mark greyhound's head No. 1 appears, are those upon which this mark is found muled with the preceding mint-mark, the anchor. Mules both ways occur. When the greyhound No. 1 mark is found on the obverse, it is always with double-arched crown, decorated with eight short uprights and coarse lettering. When

it occurs on the reverse, it is with cross No. 6 and coarse lettering [Pl. I, No. 6]. The stops on the reverse of some of these coins are of a peculiar nature [Pl. I, No. 7, reverse]. Exactly similar stops occur upon the earliest half-groats of this coinage issued from York [cf. Pl. V, No. 84, obverse]. I have another groat belonging to the following group (b) which has these peculiar stops both sides. The reverses of these two coins are from *different* dies.

*Group (b).*—These mules of group (a) were followed by groats having greyhound No. 1 and coarse lettering both sides, double-arched crown decorated with eight short uprights and cross No. 6. [Pl. I, No. 8.]<sup>1</sup>

*Group (c).*—Mules connecting groups (b) and (d).

(A) Obverse.—Greyhound No. 1, double-arched crown, decorated with eight short uprights, coarse lettering.

Reverse.—Greyhound No. 2, plain lettering, cross No. 7. [Pl. I, No. 9.]

(B) Obverse.—Greyhound No. 2, single-arched crown, decorated with four crosses, plain lettering.

Reverse.—Greyhound No. 1, coarse lettering, cross No. 6. [Pl. I, No. 10.]

*Group (d).*—I have not been able to find a groat with greyhound No. 2, single-arched crown, decorated with four crosses, cross No. 7 and plain lettering both sides. It should, I think, exist, as it is indicated by the mules in group (c). The following group (e) appears to be merely a sub-variety of this group.

<sup>1</sup> A single specimen of a groat with no mint-mark on the obverse but otherwise of ordinary group (b) characteristics is known (cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. xii, p. 279, and No. 18, p. 294). It is now in the collection of Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A. If the omission of the mint-mark is due to error, it is a remarkable example of such, for the care taken by the moneymen during the period seems to have been unusually great. But until another specimen or specimens from different dies is or are forthcoming, I do not think we need give it a separate place.

*Group (e).*—Here follow an extremely interesting group of three groats. They are all from the same obverse die, but in each instance this is coupled with a different reverse die. The obverse die has a very remarkable feature, namely, the employment of an unusual puncheon for putting in the fleurs of the tressure. [Pl. I, Nos. 11 and 12.] This punch is not employed, so far as I have been able to discover, in the making of the full-faced groats or other R.I. denominations in gold or silver, except in this one die. But its accidental use, for such I take it to have been, upon a full-faced coin, provides almost conclusive proof that coins of profile type were being struck contemporaneously with three full-faced greyhound-marked groats. This decorated trefoil punch is only used elsewhere on the coins of this reign upon the groats of profile type (as conventional lys between the crosses of the King's crown) [Pl. II, Nos. 35 *et seq.*]; upon the profile shillings in the same position [Pl. III, Nos. 55 *et seq.*]; and in the case of the **SEPTIM** shilling, and that with the numeral VII, and in the mule shilling of types 2-3, referred to under that denomination on p. 36, in the forks of the cross on the reverse as well, in which last positions it appears in each case to have a stalk added [Pl. III, Nos. 56, 57 and 58]. In this last position it also occurs upon a T.I. profile groat illustrated in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iv, p. 87; and is No. 10 in the appended Table II; and in the tressure upon the obverse of the sovereign and "double" sovereigns with mint-marks, obverse lys, reverse cross-crosslet [Pl. V, No. 81], and obverse lys, reverse pheon [Pl. V, No. 82], all of which coins belong to the "profile-type" period, those of gold having the lettering and characteristics of that period, which are described when these denominations are dealt with hereafter. It occurs nowhere else, and the idea that a special punch should have been prepared solely for use upon a single full-faced die, and for such an unimportant detail as the fleuring of the tressure, may, I think, be safely dismissed from the realm of probability. This leaves us no alternative but the assumption that profile-type coins *were* being minted contemporaneously with the full-faced type pieces.

The characteristics of these three coins are :—

(A) Obverse.—Greyhound No. 2, single-arched crown, decorated with four crosses, plain lettering, trefoil or conventional lys fleurs to tressure.

Reverse.—Greyhound No. 1, coarse lettering, cross No. 6.  
[Pl. I, No. 11.]

(B) Obverse.—From same die as (A) and (C).

Reverse.—Similar to (A), but from a different die.

(C) Obverse.—From same die as (A) and (B).

Reverse.—Greyhound No. 2, plain lettering, cross No. 7.  
[Pl. I, No. 12.]

This last groat presents, in addition to the trefoil fleurs on the obverse, another feature tending to confirm the arrangement indicated above, namely, the occurrence of the exceptional reading **ADIVTΘGV**\* on the reverse. The only other instance of the like rendering of the word *adiutorem* that I know of occurs upon the profile shilling illustrated in the Murdoch Catalogue, Pl. V, No. 394. This shilling has the plain-lettering alphabet and, according to my arrangement, is contemporary with this group of full-faced groats. This peculiar reading may even be an intentional connecting link, or, as I think, more probable, attributable to the fact of the two dies having been the production of the same workman.

*Group (f).*—The principal point of interest in this group is the employment of the rose as a mint-mark on the reverse only, in conjunction with the greyhound's head of either No. 1 or No. 2 varieties on the obverse. The use of greyhound No. 1 must be due to the use of an unworn early greyhound die for the sake of economy. I should like to digress for a moment, for, in connection with the use of the rose mint-mark here, Mr. Lawrence, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xviii, p. 224, states that "the rose-marked angel is now also known (Montagu Catalogue, May, 1896, Pl. III, No. 667)." This coin is now in the National Collection. [Pl. IV, No. 74.] Quite a cursory examination of the



illustration will be sufficient, I think, to satisfy most numismatists that it is a Flemish imitation or something of the sort. Indeed, the late Mr. Montagu, the then owner, writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. xviii, p. 43, so long ago as 1893, expressed the same opinion. The lettering and workmanship are quite different in style from any genuine production of the period from the Tower. In addition, the coin is light in weight, weighing only 74.75 grs., and the introduction of the numeral VII, which occurs upon no undoubtedly genuine angel of Henry VII, is also against it. If anything, the work of this piece is more analogous in style to the second coinage of Henry VIII, and it was very probably produced somewhere in the Low Countries at about that time. There seems, however, no reason why genuine angels with the rose mint-mark upon both sides should not have been struck, for we have the half-angel [Pl. IV, No. 77] and also the mule half-angels from the same obverse die, but with mint-mark cross-crosslet on the reverse [Pl. IV, No. 78]. Should they have been struck, they should, according to my classification, have plain lettering and rosette stops. In this connection, it has been suggested that we might hope for the discovery of a full-faced groat with mint-mark rose both sides. Personally, I think it most unlikely, for the greyhound-marked series clearly shows that the rose was used during the run of this mark and only very briefly upon the silver coinage. During its appearance in the silver issue it was only employed upon the reverse and only in conjunction with the greyhound on the obverse. It was *followed* and *preceded* by true greyhound-marked coins [Pl. I, Nos. 10-15].

The profile-type half-groats with the rose mint-mark are, to my mind, quite unconnected with these earlier and larger denominations in both gold and silver with the same mark, and will be dealt with later when the half-groats are discussed.

To return to the coins of this group: I have examined five examples of this rare greyhound-rose mule, only two of which were from the same reverse die. This shows that at *least* four different reverse dies with the rose mint-mark were made.



Two types of obverse die were employed in striking the coins examined :—

(A) Greyhound No. 1, double-arched crown, decorated with eight short uprights, coarse lettering. [Pl. I, No. 13.]  
I have already noticed the use of this early greyhound die.

(B) Greyhound No. 2, double-arched crown, decorated with eight short uprights, plain lettering. [Pl. I, No. 14.]

There were three different obverse dies with the characteristics of (B) and one with the characteristics of (A) used in striking the five specimens examined. The punches employed for making the mint-mark rose on these coins appear in all cases to have been the same as those used for punching in the rose over the shield upon the reverse dies of the angels.

*Group (g).*

Obverse.—Greyhound No. 2, double-arched crown, decorated with eight short uprights, plain lettering.

Reverse.—Greyhound No. 2, plain lettering, cross No. 7. [Pl. I, No. 15.]

*Group (h).—Mules connecting groups (g) and (i).*

(A) Obverse.—Greyhound No. 2, double-arched crown, decorated with eight short uprights, plain lettering.

Reverse.—Greyhound No. 2, *fine* lettering, cross No. 7. [Pl. I, No. 16.]

(B) Obverse.—Greyhound No. 2, single-arched crown, decorated with six tall uprights, *fine* lettering.

Reverse.—Greyhound No. 2, plain lettering, cross No. 7. [Pl. I, No. 17.]


*Group (i).*

(A) Obverse.—Greyhound No. 2, single-arched crown, decorated with six tall uprights, fine lettering.


Reverse.—Greyhound No. 2, fine lettering, cross No. 7.  
[Pl. I, No. 18.]

(B) The mule (k), described below, having a reverse die with greyhound No. 2, fine lettering, and *cross No. 8*, indicates that we ought to find coins with greyhound No. 2 and fine lettering both sides, single (?) -arched crown, decorated with six tall uprights (?) and cross No. 8. The form of the crown and its decoration is doubtful. I have not been able to find a specimen ; but as cross-crosslet greyhound No. 2 mules are found with both Nos. 7 and 8 forms of cross on the reverse (greyhound) die [Pl. I, Nos. 19 and 20], it seems likely that the true greyhound coin with cross No. 8 may have been of very short duration or an issue small in quantity.<sup>1</sup>

*Groups (j) and (k).*—Mules connecting groups (i) and (l).

(j) Obverse.—, double-arched crown, decorated with eight short uprights, fine lettering.

Reverse.—Greyhound No. 2, fine lettering, cross No. 7.  
[Pl. I, No. 19.]

(k) Obverse.—, double-arched crown, decorated with eight short uprights, fine lettering.

Reverse.—Greyhound No. 2, fine lettering, cross No. 8.  
[Pl. I, No. 20.]

*Group (l).*—The coins in this group have mint-mark cross-crosslet and fine lettering both sides, double-arched crown, decorated

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above, Mr. L. A. Lawrence tells me there is a specimen in the British Museum, which, however, I have not had an opportunity of examining.

with eight short uprights and cross No. 8. [Pl. I, No. 21.] They are very rare.

*Group (m).*—Mint-mark cross-crosslet and fine lettering both sides, single-arched crown (with wide, flat arch), decorated with six tall uprights, cross No. 8. [Pl. II, No. 22.]

*Group (n).*—Mint-mark cross-crosslet and fine lettering both sides, single-arched crown (pointed arch), decorated with four crosses, cross No. 8. [Pl. II, No. 23.] The form of the letter  $\mathfrak{R}$  on the coins of this group is similar to that which occurs on the succeeding profile-type groups. I will call it the *long*  $\mathfrak{R}$  (*cf.* p. 32, Fig. 3). It differs from that which occurs on all the preceding cross-crosslet-marked groats of groups (j), (k), (l) and (m). The form that is used in these groups is not so closed, and will be found referred to again, when dealing with some of the later T.I. profile groats, as the *short*  $\mathfrak{R}$  (*cf.* p. 32, Fig. 2).

The coins of this group are the last of the R.I. of the full-faced type, and were followed by the R.I. groats of profile type.

As has been remarked above, all these R.I. profile-type groats have a crown decorated with four crosses, bold lettering, and cross No. 9.

<i>Group.</i>		Obverse.		Reverse.	
(o)	..				[Pl. II, No. 24.]
(p)	..		:		[Pl. II, No. 25.]
(q)	..	:	:		[Pl. II, No. 26.]
(r)	..	:	:		[Pl. II, No. 27.]
(s)	..	.  *	:		[Pl. II, No. 28.]
(t)	..	and pheon (at end of legend)	:		[Pl. II, No. 29.]
(u)	..	Pheon	and pheon (at end of legend)		[Pl. II, No. 30.]
(v)	..	Pheon	:		[Pl. II, No. 31.]
(w)	..	Pheon over		Pheon	[Pl. II, No. 32.]
(x)	..	Pheon over :		Pheon	[Pl. II, No. 33.]
(y)	..	Pheon		Pheon	[Pl. II, No. 34.]

The above groups (a) to (y) are summarized in the appended Table I. It will be noticed that on the full-faced groats the changes in the form and decoration of the crown are quite numerous, and it seems to me that these, taken in conjunction with changes of the cross and lettering, may have a close connection with the quarterly trials of the pyx. This last an extremely interesting question is again brought to the fore by Mr. Lawrence in his paper on the coinage of the reign.

#### THE GROATS OF THE TENTATIVE ISSUE.

Under group (e) of the *regular issue* the occurrence of a peculiar fleur punch has already been noticed. It is employed for the decoration of the tressure on certain full-faced-type groats. [Pl. I, Nos. 11 and 12.] The use of this punch in this one obverse die provides, as I hope I have shown (*supra*, p. 24), almost conclusive proof that profile-type groats of the T.I. were being struck at the same time as those of group (e) of the R.I. The T.I. of groats seems, however, to extend back further than this, and to have been commenced almost, if not quite, contemporaneously with the full-faced groats of the first two groups (a) and (b) of the R.I., the latter being the first coins minted as a result of the Act of 19 Henry VII, cap. 5, instituting the great re-coinage.

*The cross terminations* which occur upon these T.I. groats are Nos. 8 and 9 (*cf.* p. 20, and Pl. I, No. 20, and Pl. II, No. 24).

*The lettering* on all these T.I. coins is of fine, neat execution. Quite a number of variations occur, and some of these will be referred to hereafter.

*The forms of crown decoration* found are 1 (b) and 2 (b) (*cf.* p. 21, and Pl. I, No. 17, and Pl. II, Nos. 37 and 41).

*The King's bust* varies considerably. At least five distinct variations seem to occur :—

- (A) The King's hair ends in four distinct curls, three of which are quite clear of the left of the bust. The King's left

shoulder projects. This form of bust appears to be confined to the groats reading **HENRICVS**, three examples of the four recorded by me being from the same obverse die. [Pl. II, No. 35.]

- (B) The King's hair still ends in four curls, but only two of these are quite clear of the left of the bust. The King's left shoulder projects and shows a clearly defined cleft between his throat and the collar of his mantle. [Pl. II, No. 39.]
- (C) Rather similar to (B), but the King's head is broader, the nose more arched, and, the head being held higher, the angle formed by the chin and throat is more obtuse. [Pl. III, No. 49.]
- (D) An altogether narrower bust than the preceding ones, the King's left shoulder not being prominent. [Pl. III, Nos. 50 and 52.]
- (E) This again is rather like (B), but the King's left shoulder is not prominent, the head not so tall, hair shorter and jaw heavier [Pl. III, No. 53]. This bust is that used on the latest T.I. profile groats and will be seen to differ markedly, especially in the treatment of the King's hair and of his portrait, from that finally adopted for the R.I. profile groats. On the latter the King's hair no longer terminates in the four distinct curls, but is what may be described as bushy [Pl. II, No. 25]. Probably the portraits included under bust (C) should be further sub-divided, the King's nose on some coins [Pl. III, Nos. 51 and 54] being almost of Greek form rather than of the more usual Roman type delineated.

#### THE SEQUENCE.

Owing to the large number of dies, nearly all differing in some material respect, employed in the striking of the limited number

of these T.I. pieces represented in our collections, and to the indiscriminate muling that occurs, I have experienced some little difficulty in arranging them in anything like a satisfactory series. The contrast between the many combinations and variations of the T.I. and the orderly sequence in the R.I. is very marked. The analogy to the T.I. that at once occurs to one is the light coinage of Henry IV, in which the same constant minor changes of type and frequent muling are found.

In the appended Table II, I have included as many varieties as I have been able to examine. Although fully aware of its shortcomings, I think quite a definite development can be traced, though its continuity is broken here and there by mule coins, struck from dies of slightly different periods.

From the illustrations it will be seen that the base of the crown on all the T.I. groats is formed by two bands, whilst that on all the R.I. profile groats has three bands.

The lettering on the obverse of Nos. 1, 2 and 9 in the table has much in common with the plain-letter alphabet of the R.I., and possibly it may have been the precursor of that. Similar lettering occurs on some of the shillings.

Upon the T.I. groat with mint-mark greyhound's head No. 2, (No. 21 in the table), the *h* is, by an error, from an old punch belonging to the coarse alphabet employed on the full-faced R.I. groats. That the use of this *h* is an error is clearly shown by the fact that upon the R.I. groats this coarse alphabet is only found in conjunction with the greyhound's head No. 1 and never with the greyhound's head No. 2. [Pl. III, No. 50.]

The variations of the letter F that occur on the T.I. coins are three in number and of some importance. The accompanying figures show their form :—



FIG. 1.





FIG. 2.





FIG. 3.



The form shown in Fig. 1 belongs purely to the T.I.; it is found on Nos. 1-21 in the table. [Pl. II, No. 43.] The groats of groups (h) (B) and (i) (A), illustrated in Pl. I, Nos. 17 and 18, are, I think, examples of its occurrence, accidental presumably, upon R.I. coins, though the feature is unfortunately not very clear. The form shown in Fig. 2 makes its appearance on both the full-faced R.I. and profile T.I. coins simultaneously, and in both issues coincides with the adoption of the cross-crosslet mint-mark. I have referred previously to this F as the "short F," the form shown in Fig. 3 above being referred to as the "long F." The occurrence of the "short" and "long" F on the R.I. and T.I. groats may be summarized as follows:—

	Regular Issue.	Tentative Issue.	
Full-faced type with mint-mark 	Group (j)— Short F [Pl. I, No. 19].	Nos. 22 and 23, Short F [Pl. III, No. 51].	Profile type with mint-mark 
	Group (k)— Short F [Pl. I, No. 20].	No. 24, Short F [Pl. III, No. 52].	
	Group (l)— Short F [Pl. I, No. 21].	Nos. 25 and 26, Short F [Pl. III, No. 53].	
	Group (m)— Short F [Pl. II, No. 22]. Long F (probably).		
	Group (n)— Long F [Pl. II, No. 23].	Nos. 27 and 28, Long F [Pl. III, No. 54].	

Groups (o) to (y).—Long F [Pl. II, Nos. 24-34]. Profile type, with mint-marks , , pheon, etc.



Even such a minor detail as this variation in the F, as illustrated on p. 32, proves, I think, my case as to the concurrent T.I. The use of the long F on the last group (n), and probably on (m), of full-faced-type R.I. groats, shows that no short F's can have been used upon R.I. profile groats.

Nos. 27 and 28 are clearly contemporary with group (n).

Groups (j) and (k) being mules between greyhound's head No. 2 and cross-crosslet, and the obverse dies (whereon the F is found) being cross-crosslet, they are practically for this purpose included in group (l). This leaves us two full-faced-type groups (l) and (m) with which to allocate Nos. 22 to 26 of the T.I. Group (l), it will be remembered, has double-arched crown and mint-mark cross-crosslet. Group (m), single-arched crown decorated with six tall uprights and the same mint-mark. Nos. 22 and 23 are the "tressure" cross-crosslet-marked profile groats. No. 24 differs from Nos. 25 and 26 in bust, Nos. 25 and 26 differing only in the reading of the legends. For want of being able to discover any detail to prove the order of these T.I. pieces, I should be inclined to put Nos. 22 and 23, the "tressure" groats, as contemporary with the earliest full-faced cross-crosslet R.I. groats with double-arched crown, *i.e.* group (l), leaving us two varieties of T.I. groat, having differing busts as contemporary with group (m) of the R.I. These probably correspond with the use of the short and long F's which occur on the angels of the same group, though I have not yet been able to find a groat of group (m) with the long F. The seven T.I. groats (Nos. 15-21) upon which the greyhound's head No. 2 mint-mark appears (upon the greyhound-marked dies), present another interesting feature, a very tall form of *ɳ*. [Pl. III, Nos. 47-50.] This *ɳ* occurs also upon the R.I. groats of groups (h) (B), (i) (A), (j) and (k) [Pl. I, Nos. 17-20], in each instance on the greyhound dies only. It occurs nowhere else during the reign; another strong point in support of the "tentative issue" suggestion.

The coin (No. 19) just referred to, provides yet another remarkable feature, namely, the *ɱ* in *ɱav*, which will be seen to agree exactly with the *ɱ* used in the same place on the reverse

of the full-faced-type R.I. groat, group (j). It has a peculiar central foot. [Pl. III, No. 49, and Pl. I, No. 19.]

These little bits of evidence, which, no doubt, could be added to almost indefinitely, though small perhaps in themselves, seem to me to be irresistible collectively.

The first definite evidence that occurs on the full-faced-type R.I. groats of the concurrent issue of the T.I. groats is found on the coins here designated group (e). Assuming that the great re-coinage was undertaken at once after the passing of the Act of 19 Henry VII, cap. 5, work was probably started in the mint by December, 1503. This would suggest that the coins in group (e) were issued either late in 1504 or early in 1505, and, consequently, that the T.I. was being coined at the same date. Possibly it may have started slightly earlier.

#### THE SHILLINGS.

Although we have no documentary authority, at present, for the striking of shillings, there can be little doubt that these pieces were issued officially for circulation. It is true that they correspond with the T.I. groats and not with those of the R.I. To this extent, like them, they were experimental. There are four types at present known to me.

*Type 1.*—The earliest read *hERRICVS·DI·*, etc. The cross-terminations are floriated and there is a lys in each fork. The lettering is of the "plain" alphabet. Shillings of this type are the least scarce of these rare pieces. They correspond with the earliest T.I. profile groats with the same reading of the King's name and characteristics. [Pl. III, No. 55.]

*Type 2.*—Coins of this type read *hERRIC·DI·*, etc. The cross termination is the same as that found in type 1. The lettering is of the "plain" alphabet. The example of this type illustrated in the Murdoch Collection Sale Catalogue, Pl. V, No. 394, has the reading *πΔΙΥΤΘ' ΕΥ'·*. The groat of group (e) of the R.I. illustrated [Pl. I, No. 12] has the same peculiar rendering

of the word *INDIVTORE* and the connection has been referred to above (cf. p. 25).

*Type 3.*—These read *hENRIC⁹ \* SEPTIM⁹ \**, etc. The cross terminations are of No. 9 form, and there is a slipped trefoil in each fork. The lettering is of the "fine" alphabet. [Pl. III, No. 56.] The connection between these slipped trefoils in the forks of the cross termination on these shillings and on those of type 4 and the mule shilling next recorded, and the fleuring of certain full-faced-type groats of the R.I., has been referred to on p. 24 when dealing with the R.I. groats of group (e).

*Mule (Types 2-3).*—The obverse reads *hENRIC⁹ DV*, etc., the lettering being "plain." It is from a type 2 die. The reverse has cross terminations of No. 9 form, with slipped trefoils in the forks. The lettering is of the "fine" alphabet; it is from a type 3 die. [Pl. III, No. 57.]

*Type 4.*—These read *hENRIC⁹ VII⁹ \**, etc. The lettering is of the "fine" alphabet, cross terminations of No. 9 form, with slipped trefoils in the forks. [Pl. III, No. 58.]

The appended Table III gives the full readings and details. A comparison between this and the appended Table II shows the close connection between the two, and also that the shillings were a'l coined concurrently with the T.I. groats and the R.I. groats of full-faced arched-crown type. The issue of these pieces seems only to have been of short duration.

It will be seen that the latest shillings, those of type 4, correspond with the tentative issue profile groat No. 10 in the table, which I should be inclined to date as having been issued in 1505.

#### THE ANGELS.

The series of angels, in so far as I have been able to examine it, is not so complete as that of the regular issue groats. Very probably, however, all or nearly all the groups corresponding to those

of the groat series were coined. The appended Table IV gives all the major varieties I have so far been able to find, the corresponding silver groupings being given in the second column.

In the table it will be noticed that no coins with mint-mark greyhound's head No. 2 and fine lettering appear; nor cross-crosslet—greyhound's head No. 2—mules. But these are quite scarce even in the silver issues.

The difference between the later full-faced and profile-type angels is, at first glance, almost negligible. Upon the "profile" type coins, however, the Archangel's features are much coarser than on the earlier "full-faced" type pieces. [Pl. IV, Nos. 61 and 72.] This is curious when we consider the great stride forward in artistic merit achieved by the portrait on the profile groats, although that on the later full-faced groats is also of very fine execution. Also on the "profile" angels, the Archangel has a heavy-eyed appearance. Another sound test is to be found in the halo when it is clearly struck. On the "profile" coins the portion of it to the spectator's right of the angel's face has no radiation, whilst upon the "full-faced" type the rays continue all round the nimbus. [Pl. IV, Nos. 60 and 72.]

The late "full-faced" coins with rosette stops on one or both sides, of which Nos. 5, 9 and 10 [Pl. IV, Nos. 63 and 67] of those recorded in the above table are examples, have been attributed, by Mr. Lawrence, in his paper already referred to above, to *his* third or profile coinage. The style of the coins, with this feature, and more particularly the greyhound-marked coin (No. 5 in the appended Table IV, and Pl. IV, No. 63), with the plain-letter alphabet, seem to me to make such an attribution out of the question. My own idea on the subject is that these rosette stops were used on the gold to correspond with a change on the silver coins, which could not be shown on the gold denominations owing to the difference in pattern. Such, for example, as the changes in the form of the crown on the groats, probably made to differentiate quarterly issues for pyx trial purposes. The rosettes on the greyhound-marked angels would correspond with the change from the double-arched crown to the

single. The change in group (m) of the cross-crosslet marked groats from the double-arched crown to the single-arched crown decorated with six tall uprights seems to have coincided with a change in the form of the handle end of the angel's spear, which, instead of ending in a cross-crosslet [Pl. IV, No. 64] now ends in a cross-fleury [Pl. IV, Nos. 65 and 66].

In the next group of groats (n) another change takes place in the form of the crown, which, while still single-arched, is decorated with four crosses instead of the six uprights of the previous group. This change seems to be echoed in the gold by the adoption of rosette stops, the form of the angel's spear-handle also returning to the old crosslet form [Pl. IV, No. 67], which now continues in use until the end of the reign. The rosettes appearing in some instances upon one side only, and in others on both, may either be due to muling or be intentional subdivisions.

On No. 10 (Table IV), the abbreviation mark <sup>2</sup> after **hENRIC** is of the form which only occurs properly on "profile" angels. Its use here must be accidental and due to the use of a puncheon of the T.I. groats, in which series this form of abbreviation was used much earlier than upon the R.I. [Pl. IV, No. 67]. Similarly, on Nos. 11 and 14, the use of the old form of abbreviation used on the full-faced coins instead of the form used on the "profile" type must be due to the use of old "full-faced" type puncheons [Pl. IV, Nos. 68 and 70].

Before leaving the angels, I should like to refer to the "angel" in the National Collection, reading **hENRICVS \* Z \***, etc. [Pl. IV, No. 75]. An examination of the illustration will quickly show this piece to be a contemporary forgery or imitation.

#### THE HALF-ANGELS.

This series is very short indeed, but what there is of it corresponds in all points with the series of groats and angels. The varieties given in the appended Table V are all that I have been able to record.



I cannot account for the presence of rosette stops on No. 2. It is true the greyhound rose-marked groats occur with both forms of the greyhound's head mint-mark, but when dealing with the groats I have treated the use of an old greyhound's head No. 1 coarse-lettered die as due to an accident or to the economical use of an old die. It is possible, however, that its use was intentional, and that we should find rose-marked half-angels with and without rosette stops to correspond with these two forms of greyhound-rose groats.

The rosette between four saltires, which occurs at the end of the legend of the cross-crosslet marked die of No. 3, is also found on a sovereign. [Pl. IV, No. 78, and Pl. V, No. 80.] No doubt its presence on the half-angel was to show the connection between it and the cross-crosslet marked angels with rosette stops, corresponding to group (n) of the full-faced groats with the same mark.

#### THE SOVEREIGNS AND DOUBLE-SOVEREIGNS.

There are two types of sovereign belonging to the third or last coinage, the "double-sovereigns" being of the later type of the two. The sovereign of the first type [Pl. V, No. 80] corresponds with the full-faced groats. Only one variety of this type of sovereign appears to exist at present; it is Kenyon No. 3, and Pl. VII, No. 47, and is also figured by Ruding, IV, No. 4. The obverse mint-mark is a lys and that on the reverse a dragon. The rosette between four saltires, thus, ✠✠✠, which occurs at the end of the reverse legend, connects this coin with the half-angel [Pl. IV, No. 78] referred to above, and shows us that this sovereign is contemporary with the full-faced cross-crosslet groats of group (n) [Pl. II, No. 23].

The sovereigns of the second type correspond with the R.I. profile-groats. They have for mint-marks: obverse, lys; reverse, cross-crosslet [Pl. V, No. 81]; and obverse, lys; reverse, pheon. Kenyon incorrectly attributes them to Henry VIII. The "double-sovereigns" are precisely similar to the sovereigns in

type and differ only in weight, the same dies being employed for striking both. The mint-marks are: obverse lys, reverse cross-crosslet, obverse lys, reverse pheon [Pl. V, No. 82]. These sovereigns and double-sovereigns of Henry VII can be distinguished from the very similar sovereigns of Henry VIII by the form of the tressure on the obverse. The conventional lys forming this, in the case of those of Henry VIII, are raised on a bifurcated stalk or cusp, with a pellet either side [Pl. V, No. 83], whilst those of Henry VII have no such stalk [Pl. V, No. 81]. On the reverse dies of Henry VIII's sovereigns, lys, lions and saltires occur around the expanded rose [Pl. V, No. 83]; on those of Henry VII they are absent in the later sovereigns [Pl. V, Nos. 81 and 82]. The rose on Henry VIII's coins is surrounded by a well-marked tressure, the alternate cusps of which terminate in a decoration like closed brackets (}), a return to the pattern employed on the reverse of the earlier sovereign [Pl. V, No. 80] corresponding with the full-faced-type groats of group (n). The later sovereigns of Henry VII have no well-defined tressure, and the alternate cusps, if they may be called such, terminate in what appear to be bunches of grapes. [Pl. V, Nos. 83 and 81 and 82.]

#### THE HALF-GROATS.

The series of half-groats was issued intermittently from three mints—those of the Tower and of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (*cf.* Table IX). In order to obtain a general view of the manner of issue of these pieces in the earlier portion of the reign, I propose taking them in brief review before turning to those of the last coinage, which are more particularly our concern.

#### *London, 1485–1500.*

(a) The earliest are of London, of true open-crown type. They bear the lys-on-rose mint-mark, except in one instance, when this mark is found in conjunction with the sun and rose dimidiated mint-mark upon the reverse. No half-groats of London are known





corresponding with the later rose and cross-fitchée marked open-crown-type groats.

(b) The next London half-groats of which we know, in chronological order, are those with mint-mark escallop on the reverse. They have the double-arched crown, a fleured tressure, trefoil stops, and Mr. Lawrence's cross termination No. 3. It may be well to remark here that on the half-groats, and still more upon the smaller denominations, there is a marked tendency for such features as changes in the cross termination, form of lettering, etc., to be adopted later than the similar change upon the groats, and also for such features, once having been adopted, to be continued on these smaller denominations long after their abandonment upon the groat series. This may have been due to the smaller number of dies required and to the punches for making the dies consequently lasting longer.

(c) The half-groats last mentioned were followed by double-arched crown coins, bearing the lys mint-mark, having an unfleured tressure and a lozenge enclosing a pellet in the centre of the reverse. There is often a lys on the breast cusp of the tressure. The stops are trefoils or there are none; cross termination as before, No. 3. Of the above types (a) and (b) are extremely rare and (c) far from common.

*Canterbury, 1489-1500.*

(a) The earliest of the series is an open-crown coin with mint-mark tun, crosses at the neck, trefoil stops, cross termination No. 1 (of Mr. Lawrence's arrangement). There is an  (for Archbishop Morton) in the centre of the reverse. A variant in my collection is similar to the above, but has trefoil stops on the obverse and none on the reverse; an eye occurs after POSVI.

(b) These open-crown half-groats are succeeded by those of similar workmanship to which two plain arches have been added to the crown. The stops are trefoils or single pellets. An eye appears after  or POSVI and sometimes after both. The cross termination is still No. 1. Upon a specimen in my collection a cross occurs

after *navm*, but I think this must be due to the use of a punch used for putting in the crosses by the King's neck. If it is not, it must be owing to muling, the reverse die being a very early one, of which no true coin is so far known; but I think the former explanation the more likely.

All the coins of (a) and (b) in my cabinet have the peculiar form of *ℒ* shown in Fig. 2 on Pl. VIII, to which I have already alluded, and which is so closely connected with the "portcullis" groats, the later cross-fitchée-marked groats and the sovereign and half-sovereign having the same mark. We can, therefore, definitely fix the date of the earliest Canterbury half-groats of type (a) as having been issued in 1489; and those of (b) cannot be very much later, probably being concurrent with the early full-faced arched-crown groats with no mint-mark and the early varieties of those with mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil before the adoption of the cross termination No. 3. The continued use of the peculiar form of *ℒ* is no doubt accounted for by the economy in die punches referred to above, its life on the groat series being of such very short duration (*cf.* p. 41).

(c) Following (a) and (b) come the long and prolific series of double-arched crown half-groats, the top arch being decorated with crockets. The variations are numerous and a good deal of muling occurs. The cross termination is No. 3, which first occurs on the groats with the heraldic cinquefoil mark. The mint-mark on the earlier varieties is double, *i.e.* tun and lys, both marks sometimes occurring on the same side. The stops are trefoils and rosettes, which later give place to crosses and no stops. On the later coins the tun mark is found alone.

(d) However, on a few very rare half-groats the tun mark is found in conjunction with the pansy or regular cinquefoil. These last coins, to my mind, furnish us with a very important clue.

Bishop Morton of Ely was translated to Canterbury on October 6th, 1486. The custody of the temporalities was granted to him on July 13th, 1487. All the coins included above in types (a),

(*b*) and (*c*) bear either his initial or his badge the tun, and were obviously struck during his occupation of the see. The earliest type (*a*), however, cannot have been struck until about 1489 or 1490, and from then until the end of the series with type (*c*). Archbishop Morton appears to have been granted a virtual monopoly of the right to coin half-groats, the issues from London of types (*b*) and (*c*) apparently being negligible in comparison. We all know the popular story of "Morton's fork," which, however, seems really to have been the invention of Richard Fox, Henry's principal secretary, but who, so long as Morton lived, was his subordinate. It seems to me that very probably there was some arrangement between the Archbishop and his sovereign, by which the former had the privilege of coining some of the plunder, a large proportion of which, no doubt, consisted of plate, brought together by his underlings by this system of fines. It is difficult to account otherwise for the vast quantity of bullion, that these even now common coins must represent, having found its way to the ecclesiastical mint rather than to the Tower. Archbishop Morton was created a Cardinal in 1493 and died at Knole on September 15th, 1500. No doubt, at his death, a certain amount of bullion was at the ecclesiastical mint awaiting coinage. This would be taken over by the King's receiver; and I think we have in the half-groats referred to above as type (*d*), which have the tun and the pansy mint-marks—the latter a regular Tower mark—the results of the coining of this bullion under the King's receiver. Assuming this to be so, we can give an approximate date to the pansy mint-mark, for although it was an extensive issue apparently, judging by the varieties, we can say that it was in use *c.* 1500.

Mr. Lawrence, in his paper referred to above, suggests that these half-groats of the common type (my type (*c*)) ran from the time of the escallop mark to that of the anchor or thereabouts. I can find no evidence, myself, on the coins of their having been issued after the time of the pansy mint-mark, nor of their having been issued during the run of the mint-marks leopard's head, lys issuing from half-rose, and anchor.

*London and York, 1501-4.*

Following the death of Archbishop Morton and the winding up of the Canterbury mint by the King's receiver, the issue of half-groats seems to have been taken up by London and York. Thomas Scot, alias Rotherham, Archbishop of York, had died on May 29th, 1500, a few months before Cardinal Morton's death, and the see remained vacant until April 12th, 1501, when Thomas Savage was translated from London as his successor, receiving the temporalities on the 29th of the same month. The temporalities of Canterbury were also in the King's keeping from September, 1500, until August 7th, 1501. He does not, however, seem to have availed himself of this opportunity to coin in quantity from the Canterbury mint, as the pansy-marked half-groats already referred to are too rare to represent the output of close upon a year, besides being obviously connected with Morton by reason of his mark, the tun, appearing upon them in addition to the Tower mark. Similarly at York, I do not think Henry coined at the ecclesiastical mint during this vacancy of the see, but that the issues next to be dealt with, which are of precisely similar type, were issued from the Tower mint and from the mint at York during Archbishop Savage's occupancy of the see, *i.e.* after he received the temporalities on April 29th, 1501.

*London : type (d).*—The half-groats of this type still have the same general features as those in type (c), but the lettering is smaller and more florid in character, the stops being rosettes, and the cross termination No. 5 of Mr. Lawrence's enumeration, which is found upon the latest groats with mint-mark pansy, and upon all with mint-marks leopard's head and lys issuing from half-rose. Perhaps I should here mention that Mr. Lawrence, in his paper on Henry VII,<sup>1</sup> states that No. 6 is the form of cross termination found upon these groats and also upon those with the anchor mint-mark. This is no doubt due to a slip upon his part, and is confuted by his own plates. No. 6 really only occurs upon the groats with mint-mark anchor and the early greyhound-marked coins with coarse lettering.

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xviii, p. 221.

*Type (e).*—The arches disappear from the crown, otherwise these coins are similar to those of the last type. These are the latest full-faced half-groats of London and by far the commonest.

*York: type (a).*—Exactly similar to those of London of type (*d*), except for the mint-name.

*Type (b).*—Exactly similar to those of London of type (*e*), except for the mint-name.

*Canterbury, 1501-4.*

No coins were issued from this mint during this period. Thomas Langton, elected January 22nd, 1501, died before his translation could be perfected. Henry Deane, who had the temporalities restored to him on August 7th, 1501, died on February 15th, 1503, also without striking any coins. William Wareham, his successor, received the temporalities on January 24th, 1504, but did not commence striking coins immediately, as will be seen in the succeeding section dealing with the half-groats of the last coinage.

THE HALF-GROATS OF THE LAST COINAGE, 1504-9.

Although, as I hope to be able to show, all three mints, London, Canterbury and York, eventually contributed these pieces during the last coinage, at first the mint at York alone issued this denomination, London, which with York had been issuing them concurrently from 1501 until now in 1504, dropping out with the advent of the re-coinage and confining itself to the issue of the larger denominations.

*York, 1504-9.*

As the mint at York was the only one to issue continuously these pieces during Henry's last coinage, I propose to deal with this series in the first place. Archbishop Savage, who, as we have seen, started to coin in 1501, continued to do so until his death on September 3rd, 1507. The temporalities were then in the King's hands until December 12th, 1508, when they were restored to Savage's successor, Archbishop Bainbridge, who continued the coinage during the remainder of the reign.



Following in chronological order, then, the first half-groats of the new coinage, type (c) present, as we should expect, similar characteristics to those found upon the earliest Tower groats of Henry's last coinage, namely, those of groups (a) and (b). They are of the full-faced arched crown type. The mint-mark is a martlet, the lettering on both sides being of the "coarse" alphabet, cross termination No. 5. There is no tressure and a key is placed at either side of the King's neck. The stops on the obverse of the specimen illustrated [Pl. V, No. 84] are of curious form and precisely resemble those found on the reverse of the mule groat of group (a) illustrated [Pl. I, No. 7]. Varieties of this type occur which, instead of the inner legend of the reverse commencing as is usual in the second quarter, have **aiui** in the third and fourth quarters. I have not yet met with an example commencing in the first quarter. These peculiarities are no doubt intentional and probably privy marks, possibly representing quarterly issues or even issues of longer duration. The same kind of thing occurs on the groats of the same period. [Pl. I, No. 7.]

*Type (d).*—The next type is with tressure, the cusps of which are irregularly fleured with saltires. The lettering is of the "plain" alphabet each side. The stops are saltires; the cross termination is No. 5, and there are keys at the neck. [Pl. V, No. 86.] Mules between types (c) and (d) are quite numerous. [Pl. V, No. 85.]

*"Sede Vacante" Period, 1507-8.*

*Type (e).*—This type is similar to the last, but has the "fine" lettering alphabet on both sides. The **h**'s are of peculiar form, viz. :—



The cross termination is No. 6 [Pl. VIII]; stops saltires. There are no keys at the sides of the King's neck upon the true coins, as

distinguished from mules, of this type. [Pl. V, No. 88.] It will be remembered that from Archbishop Savage's death, on September 3rd, 1507, until the temporalities were restored to his successor, Archbishop Bainbridge, on December 12th, 1508, the mint at York was in the King's hands. These half-groats omitting the keys of St. Peter, the emblem of the see, were no doubt struck by the King's receiver during this *sede vacante* period.

Mules between this type and type (*d*) occur [Pl. V, No. 87]; and also between this type and the succeeding type (*f*). [Pl. V, No. 89.]

The date of issue of this type (*e*), 1507–8, synchronizes, I think, with the adoption of the profile type on the R.I. groats, the profile type on the half-groats not being adopted until a little later than on the groats, most of the changes on the half-groats, if not all, taking place some little while after the corresponding change on the groats.

*Type (f).*—This is the last type of the full-faced York half-groats. It is similar in style to the last type, but the keys again appear by the King's neck. The  $\pi$ 's are ordinary, the lettering still being of the "fine" alphabet. The cross termination is No. 8, stops saltires. [Pl. V, No. 90.]

I have in my cabinet a very poor half-groat with the obverse of this type; the reverse has the peculiar  $\mathfrak{H}$ 's of type (*e*), and the cross termination appears to be No. 7 [Pl. VIII]. Unfortunately, however, the coin is in too bad condition to be quite sure, and it may be No. 6. There seems no reason though why pieces with cross No. 7 should not exist. Mules between types (*d*) and (*f*) occur. Those I have seen always have the obverse of type (*d*). [Pl. V, No. 91.] It is difficult to account for these, the *sede vacante* coins of September 3rd, 1507–September 12th, 1508, with  $\mathfrak{H}$ 's and no keys intervening, and also the change of the cross terminations from No. 6 to No. 8 occurring on the "fine" lettering reverse dies. I can only suggest the use of old obverse dies of type (*d*) after the *sede vacante* period for the sake of economy or for reasons of haste.



## THE PROFILE HALF-GROATS.

With the adoption of the profile type on the half-groats, the Tower mint and that of Canterbury joined the York mint in the issue of this denomination.

*York.*

*Type (g).*—The earliest profile issue is characterized by an unusual, but obviously intentional, spelling of the King's name, viz., **hē'RIC**. On the obverse the **h**'s are again of the peculiar form already noticed in type (*e*); on the reverse they are of the ordinary form. The cross termination is No. 8, the lettering of what I have called the "bold" alphabet. The keys now appear on the reverse at each side of the royal arms. The mint-mark is the martlet. [Pl. VI, No. 92.]

*Type (h).*—As the last, but **hē'RIC**, ordinary **h**'s, keys, cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 93.]

*Type (i).*—Obverse, mint-mark rose; reverse, mint-mark martlet. Keys, cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 94.]

*Type (j).*—As last, but cross No. 9. [Pl. VI, No. 95.]

The use of a different mint-mark on obverse and reverse in the above two types appears to be intentional, in order possibly to make a difference for a quarterly or other periodic issue, and not due to muling.

*Type (k).*—Mint-mark rose, both sides; keys, cross No. 9. [Pl. VI, No. 96.]

*Type (l).*—Mint-mark martlet, both sides; keys, cross No. 9. This is the latest issue of Henry VII. It was followed in Henry VIII's reign by—

(A) Mint-mark martlet, both sides; keys, cross No. 9. [Pl. VI, No. 97.]

(B) Mint-mark martlet, both sides, XB (for Christopher Bainbridge) at sides of shield; no keys, cross No. 9. [Pl. VI, No. 98.]

A classification of these York half-groats issued between 1504 and 1509 is given in the appended Table VI.

*Canterbury.*

The profile half-groats of Canterbury as a series much resemble the profile issue of York, except that they have no keys on the reverse; the mint-marks are the martlet and rose. These coins have generally been attributed to London, but, of course, there is no place for them really in that series. In the second paper referred to at the beginning of these notes, by Messrs. Brooke and Lawrence, those authors deal with these martlet and rose-marked half-groats with and without keys, and suggest that all were struck at York. The conclusion they arrived at, to quote the last paragraph of their paper, was that "the solution of this problem must, for the present, depend for each individual upon the answer he gives to the question, whether the King may or may not be expected to have continued the use of the keys on the York coinage during his tenure of the temporalities. We are of opinion that all the Martlet and Rose half-groats, whether with or without keys, must have been struck at York, but that the identification of those that have no keys with the *sede vacante* periods of 1500-1 and 1507-8 presents insuperable difficulties."

However, assuming for a moment that we answered the question of the King's use of the keys during *sede vacante* periods, either way, it would still be found quite impossible to arrange these coins with and without the keys in one series in any logical order.

The obvious alternative seems to be that they represent the output of the two mints, and that those without keys are of Canterbury. To anticipate for a moment, the characteristics of the last keyless half-groats of Henry VII are: Mint-mark rose, both sides; no keys, cross No. 9.

I have in my cabinet two specimens of the earliest type of half-groat of Canterbury of Henry VIII which have the following characteristics: Obverse, mint-mark martlet, VIII instead of VII. In both specimens, which are from different dies, the die is new and

not an altered one of Henry VII; reverse, mint-mark martlet over rose, **W****π** over shield, cross No. 9 (in each case an old die of Henry VII, with altered mint-mark and **W****π** punched in above the shield). The two coins are from *different* reverse dies. [Pl. VI, No. 106.] No rose-marked half-groats of Henry VIII's first coinage of Canterbury are known. Both my coins, although from different reverse dies, have the same alterations, which, to my mind, conclusively proves the case for the attribution to Canterbury of the keyless profile half-groats with the martlet and rose marks.

The following is the type-sequence of these profile Canterbury half-groats, continuing the enumeration of the types from the issues of Archbishop Morton. They all have lettering of the "bold" form:—

*Type (e).*—Mint-mark martlet; King's name reading **hēnric**, peculiar **h**'s; cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 99.]

*Type (f).*—Mint-mark martlet; **hēnric**, ordinary **π**'s; cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 101.] Mules between types (e) and (f) exist. [Pl. VI, No. 100.]

*Type (g).*—As last, but mint-mark rose; cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 102.]

*Type (h).*—Mint-marks: obverse, martlet; reverse, rose; cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 103.]

*Type (i).*—Mint-marks: obverse, martlet; reverse, rose; cross No. 9. [Pl. VI, No. 104.]

*Type (j).*—Mint-mark rose; cross No. 9. [Pl. VI, No. 105.] This is the last Canterbury half-groat of Henry VII and was followed by the Henry VIII half-groats of Canterbury, referred to above. These were struck by Archbishop Wareham from new Henry VIII obverse dies and altered reverse dies of Henry VII. [Pl. VI, No. 106.]

A classification of these Canterbury half-groats issued 1508–9 is given in the appended Table VII.

London.

Continuing the enumeration of the types from the London half-groats last dealt with, those of the period 1501-4, the earliest profile-type piece of this mint has the following characteristics :—

*Type (f).*—Mint-mark lys; numeral omitted after King's name; abbreviation mark after **HERRIC** of "comma-like" form, instead of the usual "note-of-interrogation" form; peculiar **Ж**'s. The obverse has the French title, the **Р** of which is of the "long" form shown in Fig. 3 on p. 32; cross No. 8. This is a very exceptional piece, and may, perhaps, be a T.I. profile half-groat. It is the only profile half-groat I know of on which the French title appears. The reading **ЖRGLI'** is also very full. Whether of the Tentative or Regular profile issue, it is certainly the earliest of this class. The **Р** being of the long form, it cannot be earlier than group (n) or possibly (m) (cf. p. 33). On the whole, I am inclined to think it was issued after the adoption of the R.I. profile type on the groats in or about 1507, and is the first of the profile-type London half-groats of the R.I. and not a late T.I. piece. [Pl. VI, No. 107.]

*Type (g).*—Mint-mark lys, peculiar **Ж**'s, cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 108.]


*Type (h).*—Mint-mark lys, obverse **Ж**'s, reverse **π**'s, cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 109.]





*Type (i).*—Mint-mark, obverse lys, reverse : lys, obverse **Ж**'s, reverse **π**'s, cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 110.]

*Type (j).*—Mint-mark, obverse lys, reverse : lys, ordinary **π**'s both sides, cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 111.]

*Type (k).*—Mint-mark, obverse : lys, reverse pheon, ordinary **π**'s, cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 112.]

*Type (l).*—Mint-mark pheon both sides, **π**'s, and cross No. 8. [Pl. VI, No. 113.]

The mint-mark : lys corresponds with the mint-mark :  found upon the Regular profile-issue groats. It is curious that the

cross termination No. 9 does not occur on the London half-groats, although it does on both those of Canterbury and York; and this in spite of the fact that the pheon-marked London half-groats must be quite as late in date of issue as any of the Canterbury and York pieces. It is also curious that the lys and : lys marks should have been used on the half-groats instead of the corresponding marks on the groats of the  and : , whereas the pheon was used on both denominations. The only explanation that occurs to me is that possibly the  and :  might have been deemed to be too large for the design if used as upon the groats; and liable to be indistinct if reduced in size to balance the design of the half-groats. A classification of these London half-groats issued 1508-9 is given in the appended Table VIII.

The appended Table IX gives a classification of the issues of the various types of half-groats from the three mints during the reign, with the approximate dates and corresponding types and mint-marks found on the groats. It will be noticed that the profile-type half-groats were an extensive issue right at the end of the reign, and that many of the issues, which I have called types for the sake of clearness in showing their sequence, in all probability only represent quarterly or other periodic issues, many of them occurring in a very short period, owing presumably to the large quantity of bullion coined.

#### THE PENNIES, HALFPENNIES AND FARTHING.

The only undoubted penny belonging to the last coinage that I can bring forward is of London. It has the mint-mark pheon, lettering of the "bold" alphabet, and cross termination No. 3. As has already been remarked, changes in lettering, etc., on the smaller pieces did not keep pace with those found on the larger pieces; as instance the cross termination No. 3 on this penny, whereas No. 9 is that found on the corresponding groats! The lettering, it is true, corresponds with that on the pheon-marked groats. Working back seems the only possible method, therefore,



with the pieces in an attempt to attribute pennies to the times of the mint-marks cross-crosslet and greyhound. I can, however, find no pennies with the "fine" or "plain" alphabets. I have a London penny with the "coarse" alphabet lettering with saltire-stops and a saltire before **HENRIC** where the mint-mark should be; it has cross termination No. 3. This might be contemporaneous with the early greyhound-marked groats, but I should be more inclined to assign it to the time of the anchor mint-mark.

Of Durham, there seem no pennies that can be attributed to Bishop Sever, who held the temporalities from October 15th, 1502, until his death in 1505. The see was then vacant for nearly two years, the temporalities being restored to his successor, Bishop Bainbridge, on November 17th, 1507, who held them until translated to the Archbishopric of York on September 20th, 1508. Henry VII died on April 21st, 1509, and it was not until July 3rd, 1509, that the temporalities were restored to Bainbridge's successor, Thomas Ruthall, who was appointed Bishop of Durham on June 12th, 1509. Neither, turning to York, do we seem more successful.

The halfpennies are almost as scarce. The first of London has no mint-mark, fine-lettering both sides, and cross termination No. 3. [Pl. VI, No. 114.] I have another of London, with the pheon mint-mark on the obverse, which, no doubt, is of Henry VII. The lettering on the obverse is of the "fine" alphabet, apparently, whilst that on the reverse is of the "bold" kind. The cross termination is No. 3. [Pl. VI, No. 115.]

The only other halfpenny of the period of which I know is that of York, figured by Hawkins, No. 377. The mint-mark is probably a martlet, there is a key beneath the bust, the cross termination is No. 3.

The two farthings quoted by Hawkins as being in the British Museum are, Mr. Lawrence tells us,<sup>1</sup> in reality a clipped York half-penny of Henry VIII as to one, and as to the other it "is not an English coin, if it is not a contemporary forgery."

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xviii, p. 249 note.









There is, however, an undoubted farthing in the collection of Colonel H. W. Morrieson. It reads **HER[IC] DI GRÆ \* REX**. I think the lettering is of the "bold" type. I have another in my own cabinet, reading **HERRI[IC] DI GRÆ \* REX** π; the lettering on the obverse is of the "fine" alphabet and that on the reverse of the "bold" alphabet. [Pl. VI, No. 116.] The cross termination on both these coins is pattée, and the King's bust full-faced with arched crown. I have another farthing which I formerly thought to be of Henry VII, but I am now inclined to attribute it to the first coinage of Henry VIII coined previous to 1523, when the type was ordered to be changed and the farthings to have a portcullis on the obverse and a rose on the centre of the reverse cross. These are, I believe, the only farthings known.

Mr. Lawrence, in a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xix, p. 265 *et seq.*, entitled "Halfpence and Farthings of Henry VIII," objects to Colonel Morrieson's farthing, "because it was practically *indistinguishable from a halfpenny, except by weight.*" Although, in his previous paper on Henry VII, already referred to several times, and printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xviii, on p. 249, referring to the same coin, he said: "Colonel Morrieson, however, has a coin weighing 2.25 grs., of the size of a farthing. It is exactly like a *small* halfpenny in design, and is the only coin I have seen that *I can call a farthing of Henry VII.*" The italics are my own.

In a paper entitled "Halfpennies and Farthings of Henry VIII," published in vol. v, 2nd series of this *Journal*, I have given my views on these pieces. I also suggested that in the case of a doubtful farthing, the weights of all the small pieces being extremely variable and unreliable, the true test would be by comparison of the measured diameter of the inner circle on the obverse with that of an undoubted halfpenny of the same issue. The two farthings of Henry VII and that of the first coinage of Henry VIII previous to 1523, referred to above, by virtue of this test are undoubtedly farthings and *not* halfpennies.

## CONCLUSION.

Having now dealt with the sequence of all the denominations of the period under discussion, as far as I am able, I should like to say something regarding the dates which I have assigned to some of the coins and give my reasons for thinking that the first of the coins of the great re-coinage of 1504 were those bearing the mint-mark greyhound's head No. 1. That the pheon was the latest mark at the Tower, there is, I imagine, no doubt, and the earliest groats of Henry VIII amply prove this, if proof is required. Now the mule London half-groat with mint-mark, obverse : lys, reverse pheon, shows us that the former mark, the : lys, is the equivalent of the :  mark upon the R.I. profile groats, since the :  and pheon are found muled on the groats. Similarly, the mule London half-groat with mint-mark, obverse lys,  $\pi$ 's, reverse : lys,  $\pi$ 's (Type (j) in appended Table VIII), and the other mule with mint-mark, obverse lys,  $\mathfrak{H}$ 's; reverse : lys,  $\pi$ 's (Type (i) in appended Table VIII), tell us that the lys mint-mark was the equivalent of the  mark upon the R.I. profile groats. Also that both  $\mathfrak{H}$ 's and  $\pi$ 's occurred on coins contemporary with the groats of the R.I. profile type with mint-mark . Now, the R.I. profile-type characteristics, bold-lettering, etc., would not have been adopted on the half-groats *before* they were on the groats. So that all these profile-type half-groats of London, York, and Canterbury must have been issued after the commencement of the R.I. profile-type groats, on which the earliest mark is the . This incidentally confirms what we know by the incidence of the coins to be the case, namely, that the coinage right at the end of the reign must have been very extensive. Hence the number of variations in the groats and half-groats of the R.I. profile type.

Again, the York half-groats of type (l), without the keys, which must represent the *sede vacante* period 1507-8 (*see* subsequent remarks), having the peculiar  $\mathfrak{H}$ 's, connect them with the run of the  mint-mark on the R.I. profile groats, showing us that the profile type on the half-groats was adopted a little, but not much,

later than on the groats, also that all the R.I. profile coins must have been issued subsequently to about 1507.

Now, turning to the long series of arched-crown full-faced type Canterbury half-groats, issued by Cardinal Morton, it is difficult to believe that the issue of these was terminated at any other time than at his death on September 15th, 1500. The half-groats with the pansy mint-mark in conjunction with the tun, the latest of the sequence, confirm this, and I think my suggestion, that these pieces represent the winding-up of that mint after the Cardinal's death, holds good. This fixes the date of the pansy mint-mark as *c.* 1500.

The mint-marks following the pansy were, it will be remembered, the leopard's head crowned, lys issuing from half-rose, anchor and then greyhound's head No. 1. The sequence of York half-groats shows the earliest of the full-faced arched-crown half-groats of that mint to have been contemporary with the greyhound's head No. 1 marked groats of full-faced type, and, therefore, the keyless half-groats of York which I have ascribed to the *sede vacante* period 1507-8 cannot possibly have been coined during the *sede vacante* period May 29th, 1500 (a few months before Cardinal Morton's death), and April 12th, 1501, when Thomas Savage received the temporalities of York.

As to the question of what were the first coins of the great re-coinage which started in or about December, 1503, we know the pansy mark was running in 1500 approximately; also that the R.I. of profile groats commenced about 1507 (the keyless York half-groats were issued just afterwards between September, 1507, and December, 1508). As just stated, the runs of the mint-marks leopard's head crowned, lys issuing from rose and anchor (this last a large issue with numerous variants) followed the pansy (*c.* 1500). This would give us every reason to assume the date of the early greyhound mark, which followed the anchor, to be towards the end of 1503. We have seen that the earliest T.I. profile groats and the earliest shillings (which have been shown to agree with the T.I. profile groats) were contemporary with the R.I. full-faced-type groats with mint-mark greyhound's head No. 1.

A fresh mint-mark would most assuredly mark the commencement of a re-coinage. If either the adoption of the anchor mint-mark or of the cross-crosslet (on the full-faced arched-crown-type groats) be taken as the date of the commencement of the re-coinage (1503), these being the preceding and subsequent mint-marks to the greyhound's head, we immediately find we have either too few or too many coins to represent the coinage of the period 1500-3. It seems, therefore, that there is no alternative but that the greyhound mark was the first adopted in the re-coinage, and that the experimental T.I. coins were all issued after the re-coinage of 1503 started.

In vol. i of his *Annals of the Coinage*, Ruding, in a footnote on p. 297, rather severely criticizes Leake for his interpretation of the meaning of part of the statute of 19 Henry VII, cap. 5. It seems to me, however, that Leake was quite correct, and that Ruding was the person in error. Leake, however, was, according to my view, wrong in thinking that *all* the coins of Henry's "nineteenth year and afterwards have his head in profile."<sup>1</sup>

The contemporary chroniclers in their references<sup>2</sup> to this coinage, and more particularly with regard to the profile-type pieces, will be found to state nothing that is in any way in opposition to the views put forward above. What they do say is sometimes incomplete and slightly ambiguous, and, therefore, likely to mislead.

Perhaps a few words should be said with regard to the coins figured on the copy of the Proclamation of July 5th, 1504, in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, which, by kind permission of the Council, I am allowed to reproduce. [Pl. VII.]

The coins figured are two full-faced arched crown groats with mint-marks greyhound's head and cross-crosslet and a gold coin of Charles of Burgundy.

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Account of English Money*, 3rd ed., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> These are conveniently summarized on p. 297 of Ruding, vol. i, *Annals of the Coinage*.

I have no hesitation in stating that when the Proclamation was issued it was not illustrated! The figures were added at a later date. I think the figures themselves show this, for the top coin figured has mint-mark greyhound's head and has all the outer circle visible, and consequently all four cross ends complete. This coin was obviously intended to illustrate the characteristics which coins struck subsequently to the Act of 19 Henry VII, cap. 5, must present, *i.e.* a complete outer circle.

The other groat shown has mint-mark cross-crosslet and has only three of the limits of the cross complete. This was again obviously intended to portray one of the groats struck *before* the Act of 19 Henry VII, cap. 5, which, though slightly clipped, yet having three of the limits of the cross complete was, by virtue of the provisions of the Proclamation, to be allowed to "go and be current."

We know, however, that the cross-crosslet mint-mark was *later* than the greyhound's head. So that we have a cross-crosslet-marked groat illustrating a pre-19 Henry VII, cap. 5, coin, and a greyhound's-head-marked coin illustrating a post-19 Henry VII, cap. 5, coin! No more need, I think, be said. Actually, both coins were struck subsequently to the Act; and the cross-crosslet coin certainly, and the greyhound coin very probably, also after the date of the Proclamation.

In conclusion, my grateful thanks are due to the Keeper of the Coins and Medals in the British Museum, to Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, to Mr. R. C. Lockett, to Mr. F. A. Walters, to my father, and to Mr. L. A. Lawrence for the loan of coins and casts for illustration, and more especially to the latter for his kindness in answering several queries as to the occurrence of certain varieties of half-groats; also to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries for allowing me to have the Proclamation of July 5th, 1504, photographed and reproduced, and to Mr. F. A. Walters for kindly making his beautiful drawings of the forms of cross terminations, etc.



KEY TO PLATES.

(R.C-B.) = R. Carlyon-Britton. (B.M.) = British Museum. (F.A.W.) = F. A. Walters. (H.W.M.) = Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson. (L.A.L.) = L. A. Lawrence. (P.C-B.) = Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. (R.C.L.) = R. C. Lockett.

PLATE I.

FIG.

1. Open-crown-type groat. Obverse, lys and rose dimidiated ; reverse, lys *on* rose. (R.C-B.)
2. " Portcullis " groat. (B.M.)
3. Half-sovereign (so-called " ryal "). (B.M.)
4. Mule. Obverse, arched-crown groat, no mint-mark ; reverse, saltire-stops (open-crown-type die). (R.C-B.)
5. Arched-crown groat, no mint-mark, star after *posui* and *civitas*. (R.C-B.)
6. R.I. groat. Group (a). (B). Obverse, greyhound's head No. 1 ; reverse, anchor. (R.C-B.)
7. " " (a). (A). Obverse, anchor ; reverse, greyhound's head No. 1. (R.C-B.)
8. " " (b). (R.C-B.)
9. " " (c). (A). (R.C-B.)
10. " " (c). (B). (R.C-B.)
11. " " (e). (A). (F.A.W.)
12. " " (e). (C). (F.A.W.)
13. " " (f). (A). (B.M.)
14. " " (f). (B). (F.A.W.)
15. " " (g). (R.C-B.)
16. " " (h). (A). (R.C-B.)
17. " " (h). (B). (R.C-B.)
18. " " (i). (A). (R.C-B.)
19. " " (j). (F.A.W.)
20. " " (k). (R.C-B.)
21. " " (l). (R.C-B.)

PLATE II.

FIG.

22. R.I. groat. Group (m). (R.C-B.)
23. " " (n). (R.C-B.)
24. " " (o). (R.C-B.)
25. " " (p). (R.C-B.)



PLATE II—*continued.*

FIG.

26.	R.I. groat.	Group (q).	(R.C-B.)
27.	"	" (r).	(R.C-B.)
28.	"	" (s).	(R.C-B.)
29.	"	" (t).	(R.C-B.)
30.	"	" (u).	(F.A.W.)
31.	"	" (v).	(R.C-B.)
32.	"	" (w).	(R.C-B.)
33.	"	" (x).	(R.C-B.)
34.	"	" (y).	(F.A.W.)
35.	T.I. groat.	(H.W.M.)	No. 1 in list.
36.	"	(L.A.L.)	" 2 "
37.	"	(L.A.L.)	" 3 "
38.	"	(L.A.L.)	" 4 "
39.	"	(B.M.)	" 5 "
40.	"	(B.M.)	" 7 "
41.	"	(B.M.)	" 8 "
42.	"	(R.C.L.)	" 9 "
43.	"	(B.M.)	" 11 "
44.	"	(R.C-B.)	" 12 "

## PLATE III.

FIG.

45.	T.I. groat.	(L.A.L.)	No. 13 in list.
46.	"	(B.M.)	" 14 "
47.	"	(L.A.L.)	" 15 "
48.	"	(H.W.M.)	" 17 "
49.	"	(F.A.W.)	" 19 "
50.	"	(B.M.)	" 21 "
51.	"	(R.C.L.)	" 23 "
52.	"	(R.C-B.)	" 24 "
53.	"	(R.C-B.)	" 26 "
54.	"	(R.C-B.)	" 27 "
55.	Shilling.	Type 1.	(B.M.)
56.	"	" 3.	(B.M.)
57.	"	Mule.	Types 2 and 3. (B.M.)
58.	"	Type 4.	(B.M.)

PLATE IV.

FIG.		FIG.	
59.	Angel. (B.M.)	70.	Angel. (B.M.)
60.	„ (B.M.)	71.	„ (P.C-B.)
61.	„ (B.M.)	72.	„ (B.M.)
62.	„ (B.M.)	73.	„ (P.C-B.)
63.	„ (B.M.)	74.	Forgery of angel. (B.M.)
64.	„ (B.M.)	75.	„ (B.M.)
65.	„ (B.M.)	76.	Half-angel. (B.M.)
66.	„ (B.M.)	77.	„ (B.M.)
67.	„ (L.A.L.)	78.	„ (B.M.)
68.	„ (B.M.)	79.	„ (P.C-B.)
69.	„ (B.M.)		

PLATE V.

FIG.		
80.	Sovereign. Type 1.	(B.M.)
81.	„ „ 2.	(B.M.)
82.	“Double”-sovereign. Type 2.	(B.M.)
83.	Sovereign of Henry VIII.	(B.M.)
84.	Half-groat. York. Type (c).	(R.C-B.)
85.	„ „ Mule types (c) and (d).	(R.C-B.)
86.	„ „ Type (d).	(R.C-B.)
87.	„ „ Mule types (d) and (e).	(L.A.L.)
88.	„ „ Type (e).	(L.A.L.)
89.	„ „ Mule types (e) and (f).	(L.A.L.)
90.	„ „ Type (f).	(R.C-B.)
91.	„ „ Mule types (d) and (f).	(R.C-B.)

PLATE VI.

FIG.		
92.	Half-groat. York. Type (g).	(L.A.L.)
93.	„ „ „ (h).	(R.C-B.)
94.	„ „ „ (i).	(R.C-B.)
95.	„ „ „ (j).	(L.A.L.)
96.	„ „ „ (k).	(L.A.L.)
97.	„ „ Henry VIII (similar to type l).	(B.M.)
98.	„ „ „ XB.	(R.C-B.)

PLATE VI—*continued.*

FIG.				
99.	Half-groat.	Canterbury.	Type (e).	(L.A.L.)
100.	"	"	Mule types (f) and (e).	(R.C-B.)
101.	"	"	Type (f).	(R.C-B.)
102.	"	"	" (g).	(R.C-B.)
103.	"	"	" (h).	(L.A.L.)
104.	"	"	" (i).	(R.C-B.)
105.	"	"	" (j).	(R.C-B.)
106.	"	"	Henry VIII. <b>W</b> <b>W</b> <b>π</b> .	(R.C-B.)
107.	"	London.	Type (f).	(L.A.L.)
108.	"	"	" (g).	(B.M.)
109.	"	"	" (h).	(R.C-B.)
110.	"	"	" (i).	(R.C-B.)
111.	"	"	" (j).	(R.C-B.)
112.	"	"	" (k).	(F.A.W.)
113.	"	"	" (l).	(R.C-B.)
114.	Halfpenny.			(R.C-B.)
115.	"	Mint-mark pheon.		(R.C-B.)
116.	Farthing.			(R.C-B.)

marks.	Illustration.
<p>y fleurs. (Cf. p. 23.)</p> <p>); reverse reads <b>DEVN ꝛ ꝚDIVTΘEV*</b></p> <p>ghound No. 1 die.</p> <p>seems to suggest that it should exist.<sup>1</sup> (Cf. p. 28.)</p>	<p>Pl. I, No. 7.</p> <p>—</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 8.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 9.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 10.</p> <p>—</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 11.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 12.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 13.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 14.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 15.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 16.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 17.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 18.</p> <p>—</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 19.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 20.</p> <p>Pl. I, No. 21.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 22.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 23.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 24.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 25.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 26.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 27.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 28.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 29.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 30.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 31.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 32.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 33.</p> <p>Pl. II, No. 34.</p> <p>Not illustrated.</p>
	<p>Full-faced type.</p>
	<p>Profile type.</p>
<p>is mark are, however, extremely rare.</p>	<p>Not illustrated.</p>





TABLE II.—TENTATIVE ISSUE GROATS.

(Third Coinage of Henry VII.)

No.	Mint-mark.		Crown Decoration.	Form of Bust.	Form of Cross-ends.	Obverse Legend.	Reverse Legend.	Inner Circles.		Remarks.	Illustration.
	Obverse.	Reverse.						Obverse.	Reverse.		
1	Lys ..	Lys ..	III	A	8	hENRICVS · DEI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FRAT	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV ·	Double	Double	From same obverse die as Nos. 2 and 9. Different reverse dies.	Pl. II, No. 35.
2	Lys ..	Lys ..	III	A	8	hENRICVS · DEI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FRAT	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV ·	Double	Double	From same obverse die as Nos. 2 and 9. Different reverse dies.	Pl. II, No. 36.
3	None ..	None ..	III	C	8	hENRIC[? · VII? ·] DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	—	Pl. II, No. 37.
4	None ..	Lys ..	III	B	8	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FR ·	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	From same obverse die as No. 5 ..	Pl. II, No. 38.
5	None ..	+ ..	III	B	8	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FR ·	· POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	From same obverse die as No. 4 ..	Pl. II, No. 39.
6	None ..	X ..	III	C	8	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F	· POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	—	Not illustrated.
7	None ..	Lys ..	XXX	C	8	hENRIC · DEI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FRAT ·	POSVI · DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV ·	Double	Double	Note comma abbreviation after hENRIC ·	Pl. II, No. 40.
8	None ..	Lys ..	XXX	A	8	hENRICVS · DEI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FR ·	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTO E · M · EV	Double	Single	—	Pl. II, No. 41.
9	Lys ..	Lys ..	III	A	9	hENRICVS · DEI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FRAT	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV ·	Double	Double	From same obverse die as Nos. 1 and 2. Different reverse dies.	Pl. II, No. 42.
10	Lys ..	Lys ..	III	?	9	[hENRIC · VII · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F]	[POSVI DEVS · T DIVTO E · M · EV]	Single	?	Trefoils in forks of cross, and cf. <i>British Numismatic Journal</i> , vol. iv, p. 87.	Not illustrated.
11	Lys ..	Lys ..	III	B	9	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	From same obverse die as No. 12 ..	Pl. II, No. 43.
12	Lys ..	Lys ..	III	B	9	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV ·	Single	Single	From same obverse die as No. 11 ..	Pl. II, No. 44.
13	Lys ..	Lys ..	III	C	9	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Double	—	Pl. II, No. 45.
14	None ..	Lys ..	III	C	9	hENRIC? SEPTIM? DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FR	POSVI DEVS · T (over D) DIVTOR E · M · EV	Double	Double	Murdoch, Pl. V, 399, from same dies (but different coins).	Pl. II, No. 46.
15	Lys ..	Greyhound No. 2	III	C	9	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F ·	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV ·	Single	Single	—	Pl. II, No. 47.
16	Lys ..	Greyhound No. 2	III	C	9	hENRIC · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FRAT	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	Note comma abbreviation after hENRIC · From same obverse die as Nos. 17 and 18.	Not illustrated.
17	Lys ..	Greyhound No. 2	III	C	9	hENRIC · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FRAT	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	Note comma abbreviation after hENRIC ·	Pl. II, No. 48.
18	Lys ..	Greyhound No. 2	III	C	9	hENRIC · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FRAT	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	Note comma abbreviation after hENRIC · From same obverse die as Nos. 16 and 17.	Not illustrated.
19	Lys ..	Greyhound No. 2	III	C	9	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F ·	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	—	Pl. II, No. 49.
20	Greyhound No. 2	Greyhound No. 2	III	C?	9	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	—	Not illustrated.
21	Greyhound No. 2	Greyhound No. 2	III	D	9	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FR	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	—	Pl. II, No. 50.
22	⊕ ..	⊕ ..	XXX	C	9	hENRIC · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FR	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTO E · M · EV	Tressure	Single	Note comma abbreviation after hENRIC · From same obverse die as No. 23.	Not illustrated.
23	⊕ ..	⊕ ..	XXX	C	9	hENRIC · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FR	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Tressure	Single	Note comma abbreviation after hENRIC · From same obverse die as No. 22.	Pl. II, No. 51.
24	⊕ ..	⊕ ..	XXX	D	9	hENRIC · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTO E · M · EV	Single	Single	Note double saltire abbreviation after hENRIC ·	Pl. II, No. 52.
25	⊕ ..	⊕ ..	XXX	E	9	hENRIC · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FR	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	Note comma abbreviation after hENRIC ·	Not illustrated.
26	⊕ ..	⊕ ..	XXX	E	9	hENRIC · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F ·	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	Note comma abbreviation after hENRIC ·	Pl. II, No. 53.
27	⊕ ..	⊕ ..	III	C	9	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · FR	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	—	Pl. II, No. 54.
28	⊕ ..	⊕ ..	III	C	9	hENRIC? · VII? · DI · GRAT · REX · ANGLI · Z · F	POSVI DEVS · T DIVTOR E · M · EV	Single	Single	—	Not illustrated.



(Third Coinage of Henry VII.)

Type.	Mint-mark.		Form of Lettering.		Cross Terminations.		Obverse Legend.	Reverse Legend.	Illustration.
	Obverse.	Reverse.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Form.	Contents of Forks.			
1	Lys .. ..	Lys .. ..	Plain .. ..	Plain .. ..	Floriated ..	Lys .. ..	hENRICHVS * DI' * GRAT' * REX * ANGLIE * Z * FR'	POSVI DEVS * T DIVTOS * E' * MEVS *	Pl. III, No. 55.
2	Lys .. ..	Lys .. ..	Plain .. ..	Plain .. ..	Floriated ..	Lys .. ..	hENRICH' DI' GRAT' REX ANGLIE Z FRATN'	POSVI DEVS * T DIVTOS * E' * MEVS *	—
2-3 Mule	Lys .. ..	Lys .. ..	Plain .. ..	Fine .. ..	9 .. ..	Slipped trefoil ..	hENRICH' DI' GRAT' REX ANGLIE Z FRATN'	POSVI DEVS * T DIVTOS * E' * MEVS *	Pl. III, No. 57.
3	Lys .. ..	Lys .. ..	Fine .. ..	Fine .. ..	9 .. ..	Slipped trefoil ..	hENRICH' * SEPTIMO' * DI' GRAT' * REX * ANGL' * Z * FR' *	POSVI DEVS * T DIVTOS * E' * MEVS *	Pl. III, No. 56.
4	Lys .. ..	Lys .. ..	Fine .. ..	Fine .. ..	9 .. ..	Slipped trefoil ..	hENRICH' VII' * DI' * GRAT' * REX * ANGL' * Z * FR'	POSVI DEVS * T DIVTOS * E' * MEVS *	Pl. III, No. 58.

TABLE IV.—ANGELS.

(Third Coinage of Henry VII.)

No.	Corresponding Group of Groats.	Mint-mark.		Form of Lettering.		Remarks.	Illustration.
		Obverse.	Reverse.	Obverse.	Reverse.		
1	(a) (A) .. ..	Anchor .. ..	Greyhound No. 1 ..	Coarse .. ..	Coarse .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 59.
2	(a) (B) .. ..	Greyhound No. 1 ..	Anchor .. ..	Coarse .. ..	Coarse .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 60.
3	(b) .. ..	Greyhound No. 1 ..	Greyhound No. 1 ..	Coarse .. ..	Coarse .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 61.
4	(c) (B) .. ..	Greyhound No. 2 ..	Greyhound No. 1 ..	Plain .. ..	Coarse .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 62.
5	(d) or (g) ..	Greyhound No. 2 ..	Greyhound No. 2 ..	Plain .. ..	Plain .. ..	Rosette stops on obverse .. ..	Pl. IV, No. 63.
6	(l) .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Fine .. ..	Fine .. ..	Short R, tall lettering .. ..	Pl. IV, No. 64.
7	(m) .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Fine .. ..	Fine .. ..	Short R, shorter lettering. Note new form of end to spear-shaft .. ..	Pl. IV, No. 65.
8	(m) .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Fine .. ..	Fine .. ..	Long R. Note new form of end to spear-shaft .. ..	Pl. IV, No. 66.
9	(n) .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Fine .. ..	Fine .. ..	Rosette stops on reverse .. ..	—
10	(n) .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Fine .. ..	Fine .. ..	Long R. Rosette stops both sides. ? punch used after hENRICH. From the T.I. profile-groat irons. Note old form of end to spear-shaft reintroduced.	Pl. IV, No. 67.
11	(o) .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	Long R. Old ? punch used after hENRICH .. ..	—
12	(p) .. ..	⊕ .. ..	⊕ .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 68.
13	(q ?) .. ..	⊕ * at end	⊕ .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 69.
14	(s ?) .. ..	* ⊕ * at end	⊕ .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 70.
15	(t) .. ..	* ⊕ ↑ at end	⊕ ↑ .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 71.
16	(u) .. ..	ψ * at end	⊕ ↑ .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 72.
17	(v) .. ..	ψ .. ..	Cross-crosslet .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	—	—
18	(x) .. ..	⊕ at end	ψ .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	—	—
19	(y) .. ..	ψ * at end	ψ .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	—	Pl. IV, No. 73.

(Third Coinage of Henry VII.)

No.	Corresponding Group of Groats.	Mint-mark.		Form of Lettering.		Remarks.	Illustration.
		Obverse.	Reverse.	Obverse.	Reverse.		
1	(b) .. ..	None .. ..	Greyhound No. 1 at end	Coarse .. ..	Coarse .. ..	—	} Corresponding with full-faced-type groats.
2	(f) (B ?) .. ..	Rose .. ..	Rose .. ..	Plain .. ..	Plain .. ..	Rosette stops both sides .. ..	
3	(? f) (B) to (l) ..	Rose .. ..	⦿ at end ..	Plain .. ..	Fine .. ..	Rosette stops obverse, saltires reverse ..	
4	(y) .. ..	Ψ .. ..	Ψ .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	Corresponding with profile-type groats .. ..	

TABLE VI.—YORK HALF-GROATS, ISSUED 1504-9.

(Third Coinage of Henry VII.)

Type.	Mint-mark.		Form of Alphabet used.		Form of Cross Termination.	Type of Bust.	Remarks.		Illustration.
	Obverse.	Reverse.	Obverse.	Reverse.			Obverse.	Reverse.	
(c) .. ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Coarse ..	Coarse ..	5	Full-faced ..	No tressure, keys .. ..	—	Pl. V, No. 84.
Mule (c-d) ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Coarse ..	Plain ..	5	Full-faced ..	No tressure, keys .. ..	—	Pl. V, No. 85.
(d) .. ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Plain ..	Plain ..	5	Full-faced ..	Tressure, saltires on cusps, keys ..	—	Pl. V, No. 86.
Mule (d-e) ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Plain ..	Fine ..	6	Full-faced ..	Tressure, π's, keys .. ..	π's .. ..	Pl. V, No. 87.
(e) .. ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Fine ..	Fine ..	6	Full-faced ..	Tressure, π's, no keys .. ..	π's, "Sede Vacante" issue, Sept. 3rd, 1507-Dec. 12th, 1508	Pl. V, No. 88.
Mule (e-f) ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Fine ..	Fine ..	8	Full-faced ..	Tressure, π's, no keys .. ..	π's .. ..	Pl. V, No. 89.
(f) .. ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Fine ..	Fine ..	8	Full-faced ..	Tressure, π's, keys .. ..	π's .. ..	Pl. V, No. 90.
Mule (d-f) ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Plain ..	Fine ..	8	Full-faced ..	Tressure, π's, keys .. ..	—	Pl. V, No. 91.
(g) .. ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Bold ..	Bold ..	8	Profile ..	hENRIC, π's .. ..	π's, keys .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 92.
(h) .. ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Bold ..	Bold ..	8	Profile ..	hENRIC, π's .. ..	π's, keys .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 93.
(i) .. ..	Rose ..	Martlet ..	Bold ..	Bold ..	8	Profile ..	hENRIC, π's .. ..	π's, keys .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 94.
(j) .. ..	Rose ..	Martlet ..	Bold ..	Bold ..	9	Profile ..	hENRIC, π's .. ..	π's, keys .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 95.
(k) .. ..	Rose ..	Rose ..	Bold ..	Bold ..	9	Profile ..	hENRIC, π's .. ..	π's, keys .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 96.
(l) .. ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Bold ..	Bold ..	9	Profile ..	hENRIC, π's .. ..	π's, keys .. ..	Not illustrated.
Henry VIII	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Bold ..	Bold ..	9	Profile ..	hENRIC VIII .. ..	π's, keys .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 97.
Henry VIII	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Bold ..	Bold ..	9	Profile ..	hENRIC VIII .. ..	XB at sides of shield, no keys .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 98.

TABLE VII.—CANTERBURY HALF-GROATS, ISSUED 1508-9.

62E

(Third Coinage of Henry VII.)

Type.	Mint-mark.		Form of Alphabet used.		Form of Cross Termination.	Type of Bust.	Remarks.		Illustration.
	Obverse.	Reverse.	Obverse.	Reverse.			Obverse.	Reverse.	
(e) .. ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC, <b>H</b> 's .. ..	<b>H</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 99.
Mule (e-f) ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC, <b>π</b> 's .. ..	<b>H</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 100.
(f) .. ..	Martlet ..	Martlet ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC, <b>π</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 101.
(g) .. ..	Rose .. ..	Rose .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC, <b>π</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 102.
(h) .. ..	Martlet ..	Rose .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC, <b>π</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 103.
(i) .. ..	Martlet ..	Rose .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	9	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC, <b>π</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 104.
(j) .. ..	Rose .. ..	Rose .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	9	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC, <b>π</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 105.
Henry VIII	Martlet ..	Martlet <i>over</i> Rose	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	9	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC VIII (a new die) .. ..	<b>Wπ</b> over shield, old dies of Henry VII altered by overstriking mint-mark and adding initials over shield. <sup>1</sup>	Pl. VI, No. 106.

<sup>1</sup> I have two examples from *different reverse dies*, both overstruck in the same way.

TABLE VIII.—LONDON HALF-GROATS, ISSUED 1508-9.

(Third Coinage of Henry VII.)

Type.	Mint-mark.		Form of Alphabet used.		Form of Cross Termination.	Type of Bust.	Remarks.		Illustration.
	Obverse.	Reverse.	Obverse.	Reverse.			Obverse.	Reverse.	
(f) .. ..	Lys .. ..	Lys .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC' (sic), no VII, long <b>R</b> and <b>H</b> 's ..	<b>H</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 107.
(g) .. ..	Lys .. ..	Lys .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC <sup>2</sup> × VII <sup>2</sup> ×, <b>H</b> 's .. ..	<b>H</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 108.
(h) .. ..	Lys .. ..	Lys .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC <sup>2</sup> × VII <sup>2</sup> ×, <b>H</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 109.
(i) .. ..	Lys .. ..	: Lys .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC <sup>2</sup> × VII <sup>2</sup> ×, <b>H</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 110.
(j) .. ..	Lys .. ..	: Lys .. ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC <sup>2</sup> × VII <sup>2</sup> ×, <b>π</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 111.
(k) .. ..	: Lys .. ..	Pheon ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC <sup>2</sup> × VII <sup>2</sup> ×, <b>π</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 112.
(l) .. ..	Pheon ..	Pheon ..	Bold .. ..	Bold .. ..	8	Profile ..	h <b>EN</b> RIC <sup>2</sup> × VII <sup>2</sup> ×, <b>π</b> 's .. ..	<b>π</b> 's .. ..	Pl. VI, No. 113.

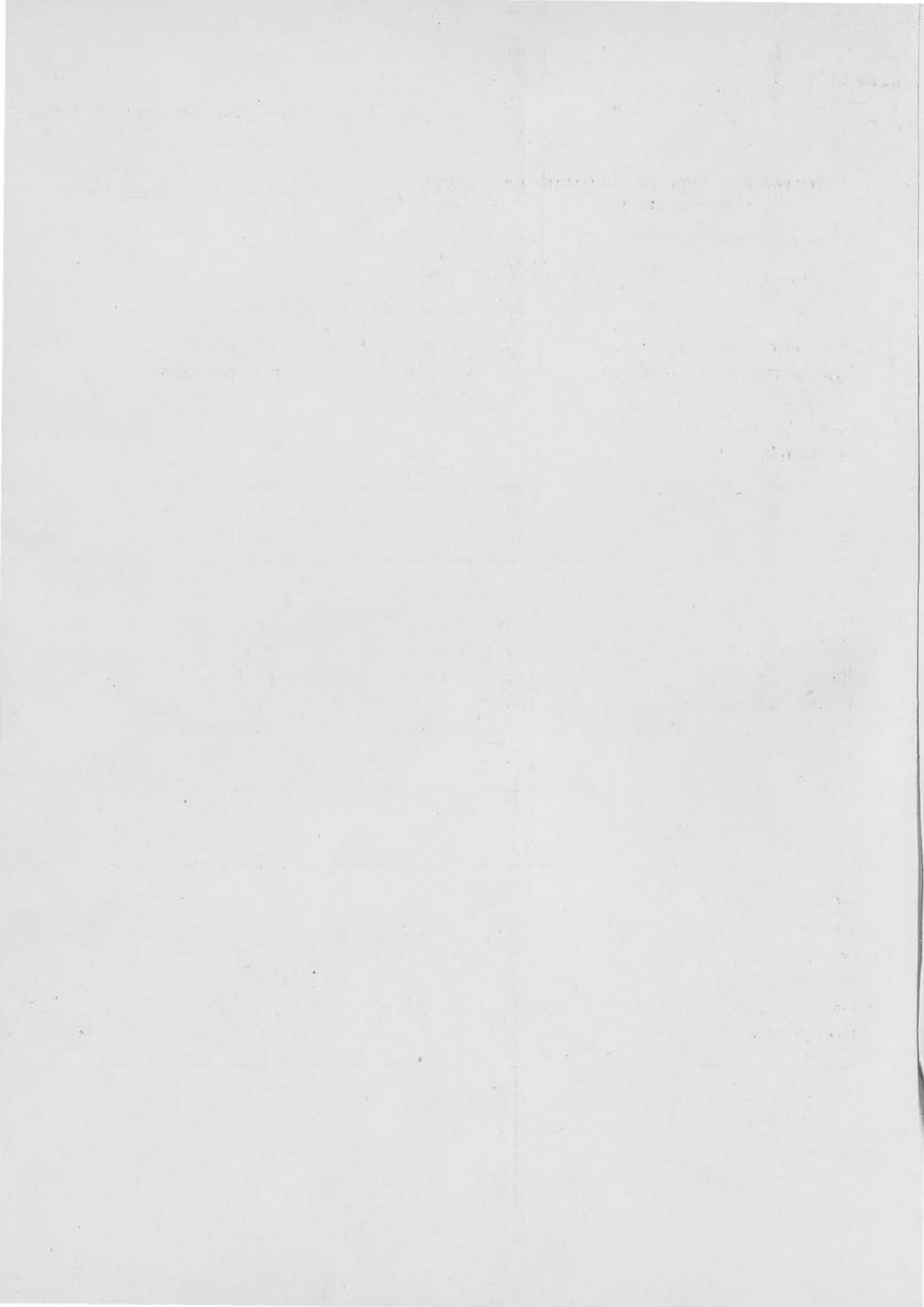
Notes.—Cross termination No. 9 does not occur on the London half-groats, though found on both those of York and Canterbury.

The mint-mark : lys on the half-groats appears to be equivalent to the mint-mark :  $\ddagger$  on the groats.Probably half-groats exist with mint-mark : lys on both sides as do groats with mint-mark :  $\ddagger$  on both sides.

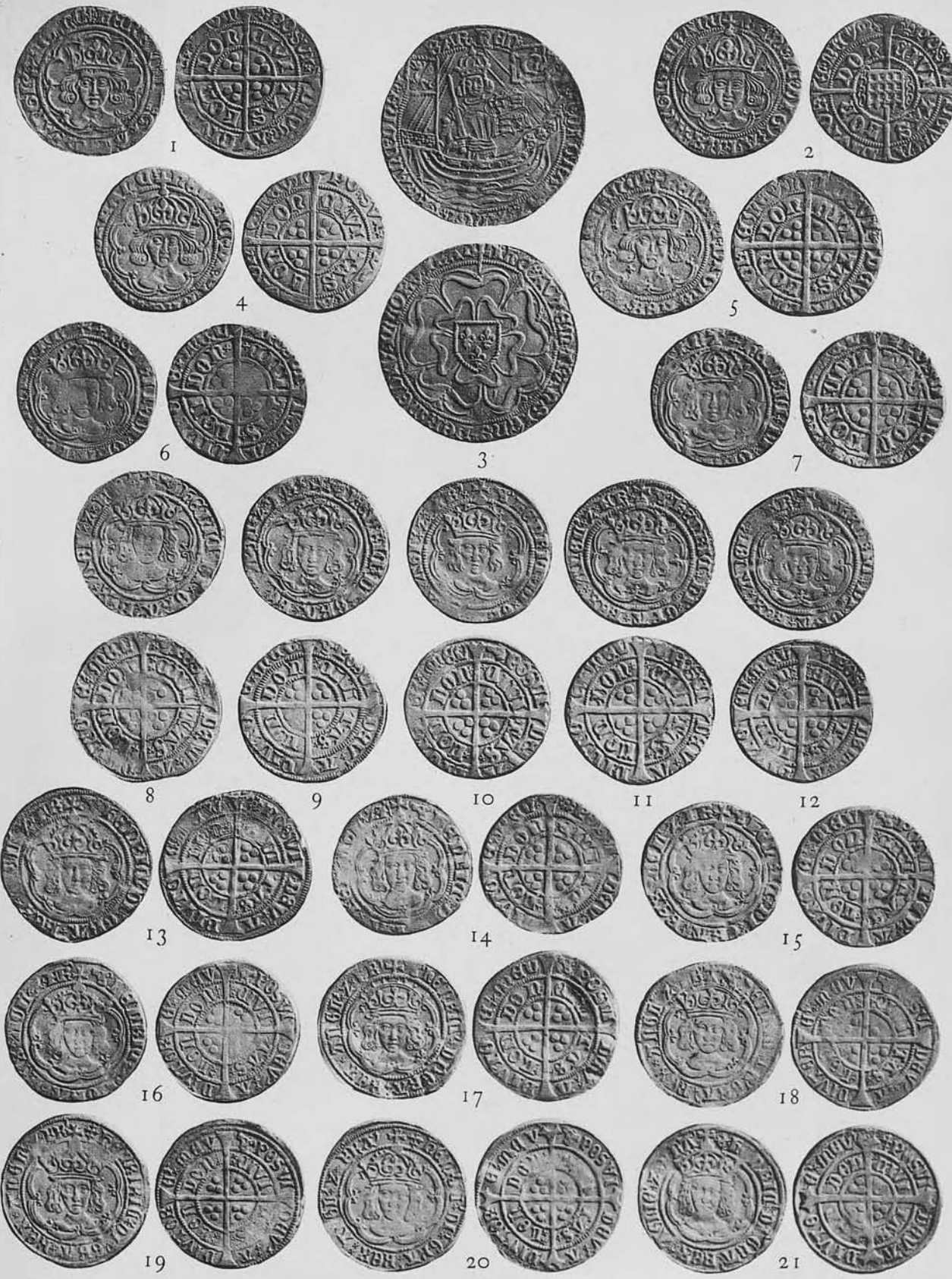
TABLE IX.—TABULAR VIEW OF ISSUE OF HALF-GROATS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.

62F

Corresponding Type or Mint-mark on London Groats.	Approximate Date.	Types of LONDON Half-Groats.	Types of CANTERBURY Half-Groats.	Types of YORK Half-Groats.
First Coinage.				
Sun and rose dimidiated .. .. .	1485	(a) } True open crown.	—	—
Lys and rose dimidiated .. .. .	1485	— } True open crown.	—	—
Lys on rose .. .. .	—	(a) }	—	—
Rose .. .. .	—	—	—	—
Cross-fitchée .. .. .	1489	—	(a) True open crown.	—
Second Coinage.				
No mint-mark .. .. .	—	—	(b)	—
Heraldic cinquefoil .. .. .	—	—	(b) (early), (c) (late)	—
Escallop .. .. .	—	(b) }	(c)	—
Pansy .. .. .	1500	(c) (early) } Full-faced arched crown.	(c) (early), (d) (late, after Sept. 15th, 1500)	—
Leopard's head .. .. .	1501-4	(d) }	—	(a) }
Lys issuing from half-rose .. .. .		(e) } Semi-open crown.	—	(b) } Semi-open crown.
Anchor .. .. .		(e) }	—	(b) }
Third Coinage.				
Groups (a) and (b) } Full-faced types ..	1504-7	—	—	(c) }
Groups (c-h) }		—	—	(d) }
Groups (i-n) }		—	—	(c) and mules between (c) and (d) }
Group (o) }	1507-9	(f, g and h) }	(e)	(e) (1507-8) (f and g). Full-faced and profile.
Groups (p-u) }		(l and j) }	(f, g and h) }	(h, i and j) }
Groups (v-y) }		(k and l) }	(i and j) }	(k and l) }

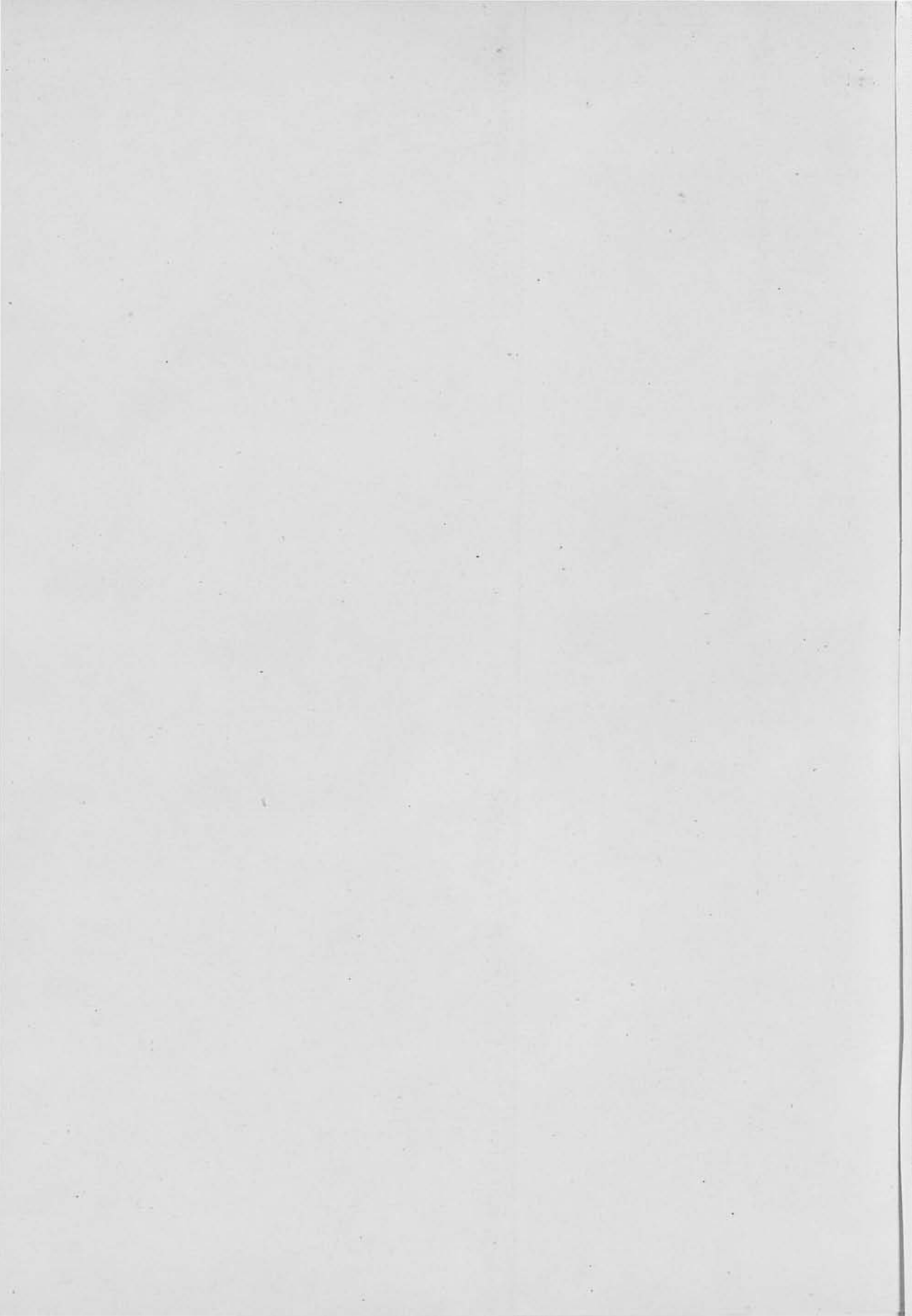


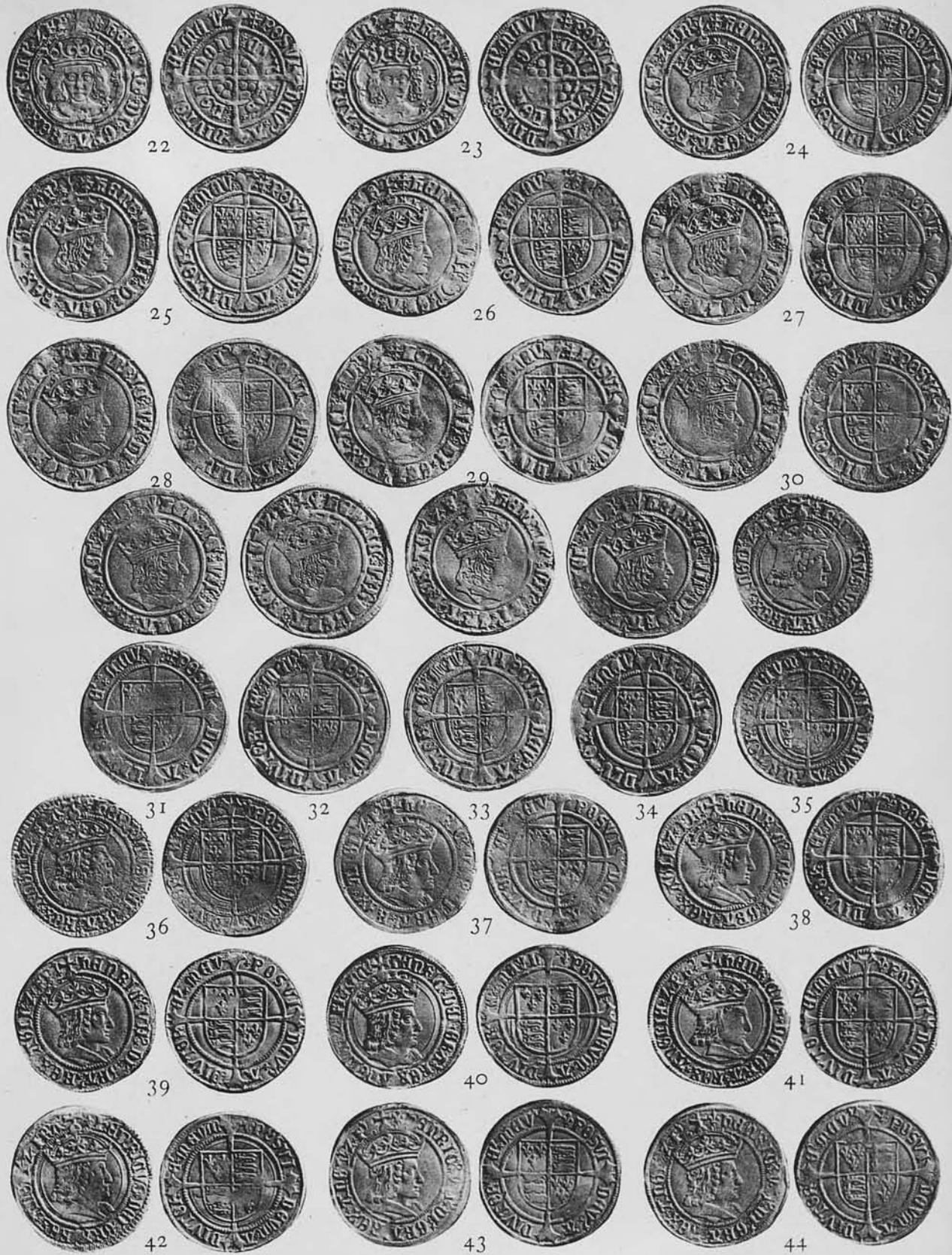




COINS OF HENRY VII







COINS OF HENRY VII





45



46



47



48



49



50



51



52



53



54



55



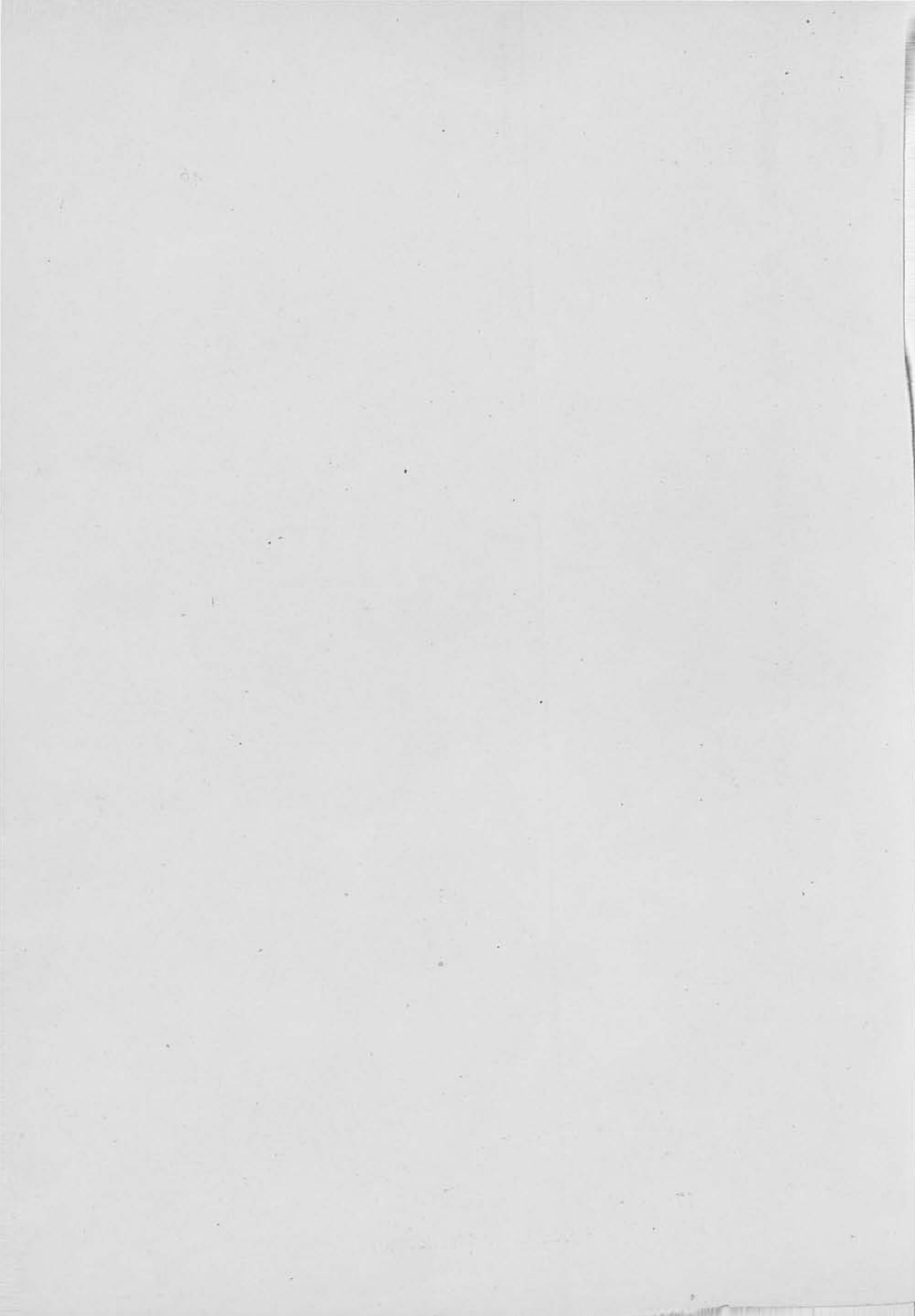
56

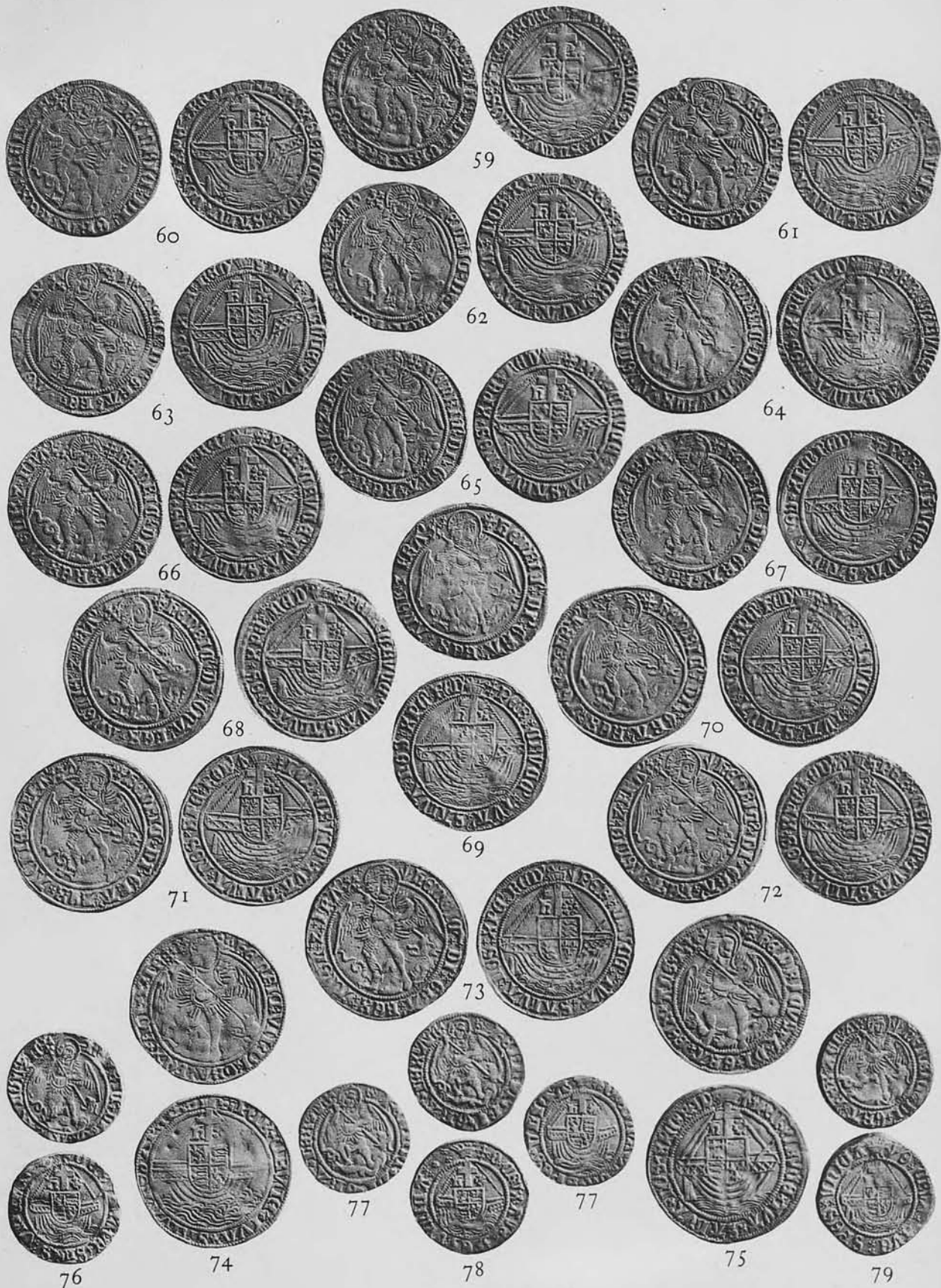


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58





COINS OF HENRY VII





80



81



80



84



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86



87



88



89



90



91



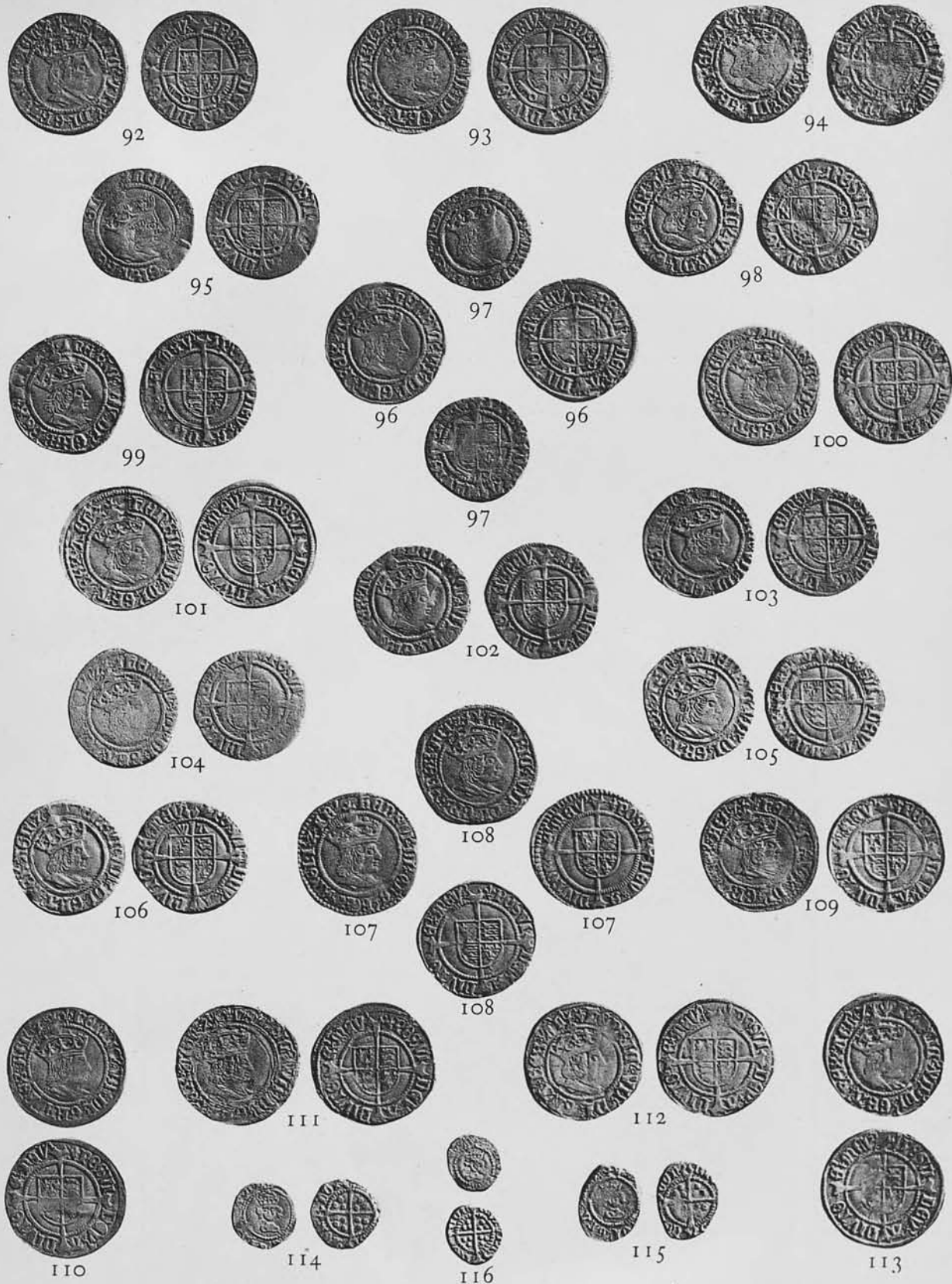
82



83



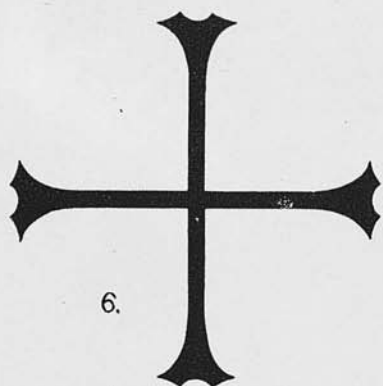
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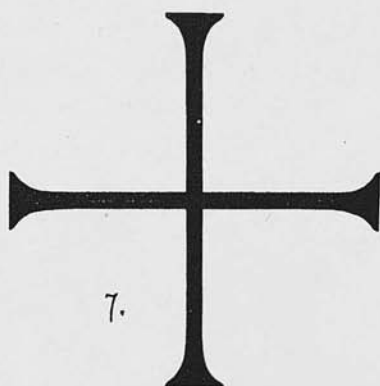
COINS OF HENRY VII





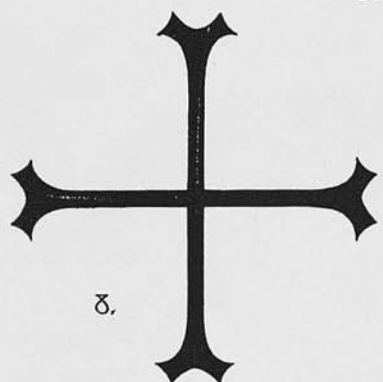


6.

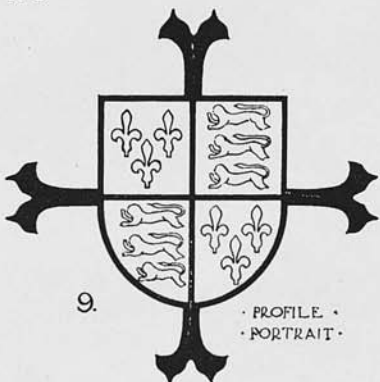


7.

• GROATS •

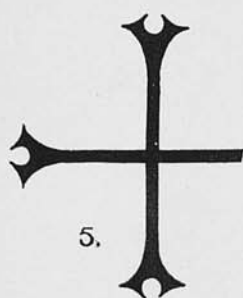


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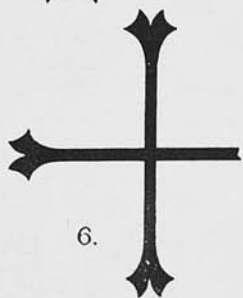


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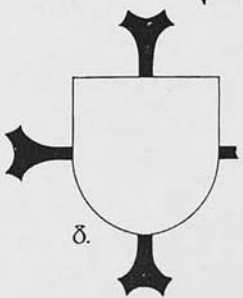
• PROFILE •  
• PORTRAIT •



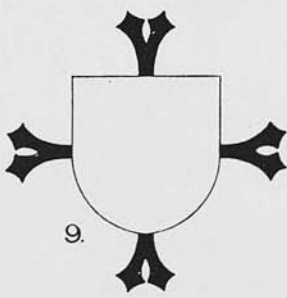
5.



6.



8.



9.

• FULL-FACED • PORTRAITS •

$\frac{1}{2}$  GROATS

• PROFILE • PORTRAITS •

L 1. & 3.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

L 2.

FORMS OF CROSS TERMINATIONS FOUND ON THE GROATS AND HALF-GROATS OF THE LAST  
COINAGE OF HENRY VII.

Plate VIII.





# ROYAL CHARITIES.

(SECOND SERIES.)

## PART III.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

### *Largesse and the King's Dole.*

**I**N the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 195-228, we passed in review the subject of Maundy, the name given to a special distribution of charities on Holy Thursday in particular. But we saw also that many other Royal benefactions came, whether rightly or wrongly, to be included under this designation. I therefore thought it well, before giving actual details of the Maundy, connected with the service of washing the feet of the poor, to clear the ground of other distributions—the Daily Alms, the Poor at the Gate, and the Privy Alms. This I did in the latest volume of the *British Numismatic Journal* (vol. xvii, pp. 133-64).

There remains yet another form of almsgiving, making a call on the small currency, which, on passing through the hands of the Royal Almoner, may have sometimes necessitated a special issue of groats and half-groats. This general almsgiving may be called "Largesse," a part of "The King's Dole," being money thrown to the crowd on the Royal journey, as on the travels of other great personages. But the "King's Dole" proper was given by fixed rule at Eastertide to the general public, whether by the Monarch himself or by his Almoner as the circumstances of the moment dictated. The "Largesse" in particular, although the least important of these distributions, shall take precedence because it requires little explanation.

*Largesse.*

At all times of particular pageantry, such as a coronation, a marriage, or a progress, money was always given to the poor, and this "Largesse" was often dispensed by our early kings on a very large scale. Holinshed, writing of William II's visit to "gratifie the people" at Winchester in 1087, after his Coronation, chronicles his munificence.

It appears that he "found greate treasure which his father had laid vp there, for his owne vse, this he freeleie spent in large gifts and all kinds of prinselie largesse."<sup>1</sup>

It may be objected that we have here probably very much larger benefactions and more individual than the scattering of small coin, which would at that date, and throughout the reign of the Norman Kings, take the form of single pence. But William's



PENNIES OF WILLIAM I AND WILLIAM II.

prodigality, like John's feasts, of which we gave examples in our last volume,<sup>2</sup> no doubt proceeded from a desire to buy the goodwill of a reluctant populace rather than a charitable wish to ease the burdens of the poor.

We have noticed that the money laid aside for distribution in Mary Tudor's first regnal year<sup>3</sup> exceeded that dispensed in any ordinary year of her late brother's reign. We must therefore take into consideration that a liberal scattering of small coin would be desirable

<sup>1</sup> *Holinshed's Chronicle*, ed. of 1807, vol. ii, p. 27. The Coronation had taken place on September 26, 1087.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvii, pp. 136-8 and 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Trevelyan Papers*, part ii, published by the Camden Society in 1862, pp. 35-7. "Office of Thesaurer of the Quenes Majesties Chamber viij Marcij Anno primo Mariæ Reginae."

at her Coronation, her accession to the throne being by no means universally approved. There was no time to be lost, and having been proclaimed Queen on July 13, a week after her brother's death, she was crowned on October 1, 1553. The conduits at Cornhill and Cheapside ran freely with wine,<sup>1</sup> and, as Strype tells us, "all was resolved to be very splendid and glorious." The Queen was presented by the City of London with a purse containing 1,000 marks of gold. The mark was money of account, and it is not specified in what form the offering was made; most likely it would take the shape of two thousand angels of the late King. But there is no evidence to show that such presentations aimed at uniformity. Mary's own gold was not available. The groat, which gives us the first numismatic portrait of the Queen, was figured in our last volume,<sup>2</sup> but at her Coronation it is not recorded that she personally scattered coin to the people.



MARY'S ANGEL : FIRST COINAGE.

The first indenture between the "Sovereign Lady Mary" and her money-makers at the Tower, is, as Mr. Henry Symonds has shown us, of August 20, 1553<sup>3</sup>; but it seems unlikely that groats bearing her portrait should have been ready for "Largesse" by the Coronation day, although angels for her "Healings" were specially prepared for her in the following February.<sup>4</sup>

Before her marriage, which was not until the ensuing July, her silver consisted in small coins, groats, half-groats, and pence

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Planché in *Regal Records*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvii, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Harl. MS.*, 660. *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

only, and, therefore, she may on progress have been in a position to present her portrait to the people. Money thrown to the crowd, if a coronation did not immediately follow the accession, might bear the royal effigy, but was in Stuart times replaced by a coronation medal. We know that when Charles I was crowned at Edinburgh, the Bishop of Moray, who had been constituted Almoner, threw out among the people certain silver pieces struck in honour of the occasion.<sup>1</sup>



CHARLES I SCOTTISH CORONATION MEDAL.

These medals are by Briot. But under this King the thin silver medalet of little or no intrinsic value had already made its appearance, and took the place of the scattered coin on special occasions such as a coronation or marriage. Not, however, on progress was this the case, for the old custom still prevailed of giving actual coin to the poor. Nevertheless, so late as 1762, when Catherine of Russia was crowned, we read that she was ostentatious in her generosity. "The merry making was prolonged," says her biographer, "for weeks, the fountains ran with wine, bread and roast meat were given for the asking, and silver roubles were thrown to the people."<sup>2</sup> Here, again, we have an instance, when it was deemed prudent to buy popularity. At a coronation the distributor of alms was the Hereditary Grand Almoner, who claimed the silver dish in which they were carried as his fee.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Royal Palaces of Scotland*, p. 22, and *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, pp. 265-6, Nos. 59-61.

<sup>2</sup> *Catherine the Great*, by Katherine Anthony, p. 180. Catherine was crowned on September 23, 1762, at Moscow, not quite three months after her succession.

<sup>3</sup> *Glory of Regality*, by Arthur Taylor, p. 117.

It was the custom of all great banquets, such as those at Yuletide and not at a coronation only, that the cry of "Largesse" should be raised by the Heralds. The entries in the Tudor accounts are minute as to this "Largesse," and we might think at first sight that we have the opportunity of calculating exactly how much money was needed for the Royal distribution. But this is not the case, for the "Largesse" claimed by the Herald was his own perquisite, and not for distribution, and the "almes," although regularly administered by the Royal Almoner, were frequently given to any passer-by at the hands of the King's retainers. Thus, in the accounts of Henry VIII, we read, under date October 7, 1532: "The same daye paied to Thomas foteman to dispose in Almesse by the way towards Shepay iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>."<sup>1</sup> This is a sum which, although probably distributed in pennies, is divisible into groats or demi-groats. Or, again, in April, 1501, "Itm to Hugh Denes for Almes at ij tymes xv<sup>s</sup>,"<sup>2</sup> under Henry VII. Hugh Denes or Denys was probably a Gentleman-in-Waiting on the King, for we often find small payments made to him, such as "ix<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>," or "x<sup>s</sup>," or "xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> for the King."<sup>2</sup>



HENRY VII PENNY, 1500.

But this promiscuous charity was not peculiar to Henry himself. Stow, in his *Survey of London*, mentions that "Richard Redman, Bishop of Elie, 1500, the 16 of Henrie the seventh . . . wheresoever he lodged in his trauailling, when at his coming or going to or from any towne, the belles being rung, all the poor would come together, to whom he gaue eury one 6d. at least."<sup>3</sup> In the curiously minute accounts of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

<sup>1</sup> *Privy Purse Account of Henry VIII*, from November, 1529, to December, 1532, edited by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchequer Accounts Various*. MS., Public Record Office, Bundle 415; No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Stow's *Survey of London*, Kingsford's ed. of 1908, vol. i, p. 88.

we meet with entries of even one penny given to beggars by the way. The accounts, for instance, of the Duchess of Suffolk, from 1560 to 1562, reveal such charities as the following: "To the prisoners at Huntington as her grace passed throwe 20*d*. To a poore Woman by the waye 4*d*."<sup>1</sup>



ELIZABETH MILLED GROAT AND HALF-GROAT (MINT-MARK, STAR), 1560-I.

But let us turn from this great lady of Elizabethan times to the grandfather of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, one Sir Henry Cromwell, known as the "Golden Knight," on account of his prodigality. Sir Henry, who died in 1602-3, was the father of one Sir Oliver, who sold Hinchinbrooke in 1627 to the Montagues, perhaps on account of Sir Henry's extravagance. It is told of the latter that it was his wont in passing from the above residence to any other of his properties, to throw "Largesse" out of the windows of his coach to the countrymen who lined the roadside.<sup>2</sup>

A manuscript of travels<sup>3</sup> lent me by a friend describes a journey made in 1679 by an unknown diarist in Essex. This traveller writes that "in harvest-time the people have gott a trick of largesse that if any stranger or other happen to passe by when they are sharing two or three of ye reapers follow them and beg a largesse or a piece of money . . . and when anything is given them yey gather all close together and hollow and bawl out a largesse etc., for a long time

<sup>1</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report of the Earl of Ancaster, Grimsthorpe, published 1907, p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of the Cromwells*, by Mark Noble, published 1787, vol. i, p. 22. See also *Edward Montague, 1st Earl of Sandwich*, by F. R. Harris, vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Travells MSS.*, probably written by some friend of the Luttrells whom the writer describes as "a right worthy family."



and this is a constant practice." This cry of "Largesse" reminds us of the utterance of the Heralds who at all banquets and on proclaiming the creation of new knights cried "Largesse! Largesse!" But of this more anon. We are for the moment concerned with the scattering of actual pieces of money, and it was no uncommon thing to throw "Largesse" broadcast; indeed, even in the description given of a suggested "ordeal by battle," it was noted that the would-be challenger three times threw five small coins into the arena in his gauntlet,<sup>1</sup> the champion on the other side doing the same. This was in the year 1638, when this method of deciding a quarrel had fallen into disuse, and the King desired the judges to hold conference and consider how the cause might be tried some other way.

But the word "Largesse" comes constantly before us in connection with the King's Champion. He would ride into the hall and deliver his challenge at the Coronation banquet, and after the King had drunk to his health would drink from "his great cuppe," crying "Largesse! Largesse! Largesse!"<sup>2</sup> and he obtained the gold cup itself for his fee and himself gave a money "reward" to the Herald in attendance.<sup>3</sup> This demand was made by the Heralds headed by Garter King at Arms, not only at the Coronation but at other feasts. The Heralds, for instance, of James IV of Scotland used this cry when waiting on the King at the New Year and the Christmas feasts, and so we turn to the records of his father-in-law Henry VII, in the hope that the constantly recurring entry, "To the Heraldes at armes for thair larges," may enlighten us as to the sum of money disbursed for alms on these occasions. But these calculations are misleading, for the "Largesse" demanded by the Heralds was personal and for themselves, although the "poor folk of the town honoured by the royal presence at Yuletide received almes," averaging, as Monsieur Barbé tells, "at about 5s."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Local Records of Northumberland and Durham*, vol. i, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Regal Records*, by Planché, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26: "Chester Herald had in reward of ye said Sir Edward Dymoke iiij angels and a doublet of sattyn."

<sup>4</sup> *Sidelights of Scottish History*, by Louis Barbé, p. 276.

Let us take the Treasurer's Accounts of Edward VI, and the somewhat ambiguous statements arrest the eye: "Item to the Kings Harrolds at Armes for their largesse on Newyersdaye as has been accustomed Vj<sup>ii</sup> and again on Eesterdaye C<sup>s</sup>"; or, again, "Item to the Kinges Harroldes at Armes for their largesse on St. Georges daye C<sup>s</sup>."<sup>1</sup> These entries may be noticed under Henry VIII, from 1509 onward, and similar expenditure was carried on by his successors. But we must remember that the word "Largesse" signified "a gift," and it is clearly stated in the *Liber Niger Domus* of Edward IV<sup>2</sup> that the Heralds had no wages and claimed their "Largesse" in lieu of a fee, just as the champion, the mayor, and others had their gold cups. They did indeed claim a regular fee on the proclamation concerning the creation of Knights of the Garter or of the Bath, the Knights themselves providing the "Largesse" as well as that presented by the Sovereign. Thus the accounts of Edward VI specify the sum of £6 13s. 4d. given to Heralds "for their largis for proclayming the Kinges stile" for the creation as Knights of certain "noble men" in the February of Edward's first year.<sup>3</sup>

This "Largesse" of £6 13s. 4d. was, as we see in the list of charges for the Herald's attendance at a funeral of a Knight of the Bath, the sum paid to the principal officer of arms.<sup>4</sup> Thus, under the head of "The funeral expenses of Sir Henry Cromwell" in 1603-4, "as given in by the Heralds," the list commences as follows: "Imprimis to Mr. Clarenceulx for his fee £6.13.4d. More to him for his owne blackes £5. Item to him for his 4 mens blackes £6. Item to him for his transportation money at 12d. the myle going and cominge £5." The other Heralds had to be contented with £5 apiece. But it was not only at funerals that the Knights incurred these charges, they

<sup>1</sup> *Trevelyan Papers*, part ii, published by the Camden Society in 1863, pp. 19-27. (See *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 21481, fol. 58.)

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1787 by the Society of Antiquaries, p. 47. (See also Taylor's *Glory of Regality*, p. 224.)

<sup>3</sup> *Trevelyan Papers*, part i, published by the Camden Society, 1857, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> Noble's *Memoirs of the Cromwells*, published in 1787, vol. i, p. 22; and in Letter F in *Proofs and Illustrations*, *ibid.*, p. 244.

being called upon to give equally with the Sovereign, as we have seen, at their investiture.

Mr. Arthur Taylor, the early nineteenth-century author of *The Glory of Regality*, a book dealing chiefly with the Coronation ceremonies, quotes a roll of the time of Richard II, when the "Largesse" given by the King to the Heralds appears to have been £5. "Quant le roy est coroné . . . de auncient accustomez aux roys de armes et heroldes appertient notable et plentereuse largesse, comme de C<sup>ii</sup>," etc.<sup>1</sup> The accounts, as we have seen, of the Tudors generally mention this sum at Easter, Christmas, and other feasts.

We notice in the Tudor Household Accounts that the gifts to the Heralds are placed with the Sunday offerings—not in the lists of wages; just as under Edward IV the Heralds claimed their money not as a salary but as a gift; not "uppon the Thesaurere of the household," but "they take theyre largesse of the jewel-house." They waited upon the King at "five festes in the yere" and "aftyr the laste course, they crye the Kinge's largesse shaking theyre grete cuppe."<sup>2</sup>

The King's Almoner was invariably an ecclesiastic of high rank, through whose hands passed the King's offerings in church besides Daily Alms and Privy Alms, as shown in our last article. Although, therefore, at the Coronation it was the Hereditary Grand Almoner who distributed the alms, taking for himself as his fee the silver dish in which he carried the monies,<sup>3</sup> yet, on special occasions a Herald might not only receive, but dispense the King's bounty; or the "fote-man" running before his master might pave the way for his coming to still the murmurs of the poor, to whom the suppression of the monasteries had been a bitter blow. The Almoner, however, attended the King at important religious ceremonies, such as Healings and the Maundy Services. A long procession passes before us of Bishops as Almoners in Tudor and Stuart times, and naturally all through the

<sup>1</sup> *Glory of Regality*, pp. 224-5, note 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Collection of Ordinances*, published in 1787 by the Society of Antiquaries, *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV.* p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Glory of Regality*, p. 117.

Accounts of the early Edwards the money is given by priests, no doubt because they as clerks were best calculated to keep accounts. Let us, therefore, look up the duties of the Subalmoner, as described by our good old friend Edward Chamberlayne in his *Present State of England*, and we shall see that it lies in the Subalmoner's province to scatter the King's "Largesse" on His Progress. After writing of the Almoner, invariably a Bishop who controlled the weekly, daily, and yearly charities of the King, he turns to the Subalmoner, "who," says he, "is also to scatter New coyned Twopences in the Towns and Places, where the King passes through in his progress, to a certain sum by the year."<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the exact sum is not mentioned by Chamberlayne or any of the other old guide-books to which I owe this information. They are all rather indefinite and no very hard and fast line is drawn between the practices of the reigning monarch and those of his predecessors. Chamberlayne began his record in the time of Charles II; the *Angliæ Notitia* appeared first in 1667; Miede and Delaune took the field in their turn with their *New State of England* and the *Present State of England*, respectively, and all three repeat the same information in a parrot-like manner. Chamberlayne continues to mention the scattering of half-groats from the time of the first issue of his *Annual* in 1667, under Charles II, when he treats of it as an established custom of long standing, throughout the



MILLED HALF-GROAT OF CHARLES II, 1668.

various reigns so late as in his edition of 1755, when this silver piece, if so distributed, must have been coined for the purpose, as it was no longer used in ordinary currency, and of this special coinage we have

<sup>1</sup> *Angliæ Notitia, or The Present State of England*, ed. 1667 and the following years to 1755. Also Thomas Delaune's *Present State of London*, 1690, and Miede's *New State of England*. These books appeared at intervals, Chamberlayne preceding the others by some twenty years.

no evidence. Indeed, quite the contrary, for, as far as we are at present aware, there are no half-groats of this precise date, although the silver penny is not very rare.<sup>1</sup>

It is really easier to find instances of gifts dispensed by the way in early times than a record of alms systematically doled out at twopence per head in Georgian times. Miss Hilda Johnson, for instance, brings this fact before us in her admirably edited transcript of the expenses between February 8, 1273, and October 27, 1274, of little Prince Henry, son of Edward I, who died in the latter year, not having reached the age of seven. The last words in the roll read pathetically of the money given by the Almoner as the little corpse was carried from Guildford, where Henry died, to the place of his burial at Windsor: "Item in elemosina distributa pauperibus inter Gildeford' et Westmonasterium ij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>."²

We have said that the most natural scatterers of small coins would be the Almoner, or the Heralds, and it is clear that the latter did accompany their Royal masters on some expeditions. For instance, under the heading of "Extraordinary Paymentes" in the first year of Mary I, there is a charge for "the Harrouldes at Armes for their dyetts in the progresse tyme" of no less a sum than £168 16s. 8d., besides a special allowance for the three principal Heralds, *i.e.* "the King at Armes Chester Harrould at Armes and Rouge Dragon for their dyettes and poste money," coming to £331 7s. 4d.,³ their "Largesse" of £70 in the year being in the "Ordinary Payments," with the other provisions for "daily Almes," "privy Almes," etc. The editor of the *Trevelyan Papers* suggests that the special gift was on the occasion of a "solemn embassaye" sent by Mary to the King of France, in order to present him with the Order of the Garter, in which all the persons mentioned by name

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps not generally known that the half-groat is legal tender, although not used in general currency. See *Mint Catalogue*, by W. J. Hocking, vol. i, p. 422. The Coinage Act of 1870 specified Maundy as legal tender.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. vii, p. 420. *The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, son of Edward I.*

<sup>3</sup> *Trevelyan Papers*, part ii, p. 38.



in the list are known to have taken part. But the scattering of small coin by the Subalmoner in an ordinary Royal progress seems to account for the demand for half-groats, nay, even for groats.



HENRY VII'S HALF-GROAT, 1505.

Take an entry in the month of August, a frequent time for a Royal progress, when in the year 1505, John Heron debits Henry VII's exchequer as follows: "Item to the Kinges grace in newe grottes by thandes of Hugh Denys at Ryngwode lxxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand a somewhat curious entry is seen on the previous July 12, which suggests that the King had sometimes a larger supply of small coins than he needed, but did not, unless they were in Mint state, care to use them for Largesse: "Delyuerd to Bartelmewe Rede in grotes and pence for to be change in gold at iiij termes in the yere, at Michellmasse next to begynne M<sup>li</sup>."<sup>2</sup> These words probably refer to the calling in of clipped coin, as Bartholomew Rede was the King's goldsmith and, therefore, banker; but being with Sir Giles Daubeney, from 1485 to 1492, keeper of the exchange, it is possible that it was his duty to supply the Almonry with small coins for daily and other doles as needed. He was master and worker of the Mint, and was succeeded by Robert Fenrother and William Reed in 1505. Bartholomew served as Sheriff<sup>3</sup> in 1497 and Lord Mayor in 1502,<sup>4</sup> and was often employed on the King's business.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 21480, fol. 25 *bis*, August 29, 21st year, 1505. John Heron's Accounts extending from 1499 to 1505.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1505, fol. 20, 20th year. The years of Henry VII run from August 22 to August 21.

<sup>3</sup> See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, pp. 127, 129 and 131. See also *Stow's Chronicle*, p. 244, and abridgement published 1607.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.



Similar transactions with Robert Amadas, the jeweller of Henry VIII, show that large quantities of bullion were sent to him for melting purposes. In this King's third year we notice "2497 lbs. and 16 ozs. of Refuse grotes and di gro" delivered to Amadas, valued by him at £1,322 14s. 7d.<sup>1</sup> It seems not improbable that silver sent to Amadas to refine may have been returned to Henry in the form of cramp-rings which were required in increasing quantities. Mention is made in 1529 of 40 ozs. of these rings in gold and 130 ozs. in silver purchased from Amadas at £118 16s. 8d.<sup>2</sup> But I have dealt with this subject in the first series of "Royal Charities," and Professor Marc Block has since published, in 1924, under the designation of *Anneaux Magiques*, an exhaustive account of this interesting charity.<sup>3</sup> I desire, therefore, merely in passing, to call attention to the fact that as "Maester of the King's Juelles" Amadas received payment for making such rings both in gold and silver.<sup>4</sup> Transactions between Henry and this jeweller, and also between Wolsey and Amadas, are frequently noted in the Privy Purse Expenses in *Collectanea Curiosa*, for he worked also for the Cardinal, receiving and delivering plate and making an exchange, so that, according to one account, the sum due to the goldsmith of £500 2s. 9½d. was balanced against his debt to the prelate of £3,301 18s. 10¾d.<sup>5</sup> In the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*,<sup>6</sup> under date July, 1533, we find a note concerning Amadas showing that of the plate at that moment under his charge, over £1,771 in value was lacking. A great quantity of cramp-rings figures in the list of Henry's jewels at the time of his death.<sup>7</sup> "Item

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 21481, fol. 81 bis, February 26, 1511-12.

<sup>2</sup> Bryan Tuke's *Accounts of the Exchequer Various*, Bundle 420, No. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, par Marc Block, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg, *Rite des Anneaux*, pp. 165-83.

<sup>4</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, p. 67, note 6. See also pp. 60, 64, 65, 68, 81 and 95 in vol. xii, and p. 169 in vol. xv, for more information about cramp-rings given by the King as a cure for epilepsy.

<sup>5</sup> *Collectanea Curiosa—Churches and Monasteries*, by J. Lewis, minister of Margate, vol. ii, p. 322; and *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII*, pp. 97-104 and 188.

<sup>6</sup> *Letters and Papers*, p. 183.

<sup>7</sup> *Juelles, Plate Stuff, etc.*, belonging to the late King Henry Eight—MS. Library of the Society of Antiquaries, p. 169.

Silver Crampe Ringes lxiiiij ozs. wt. Item in gold Crampe Ringes xxv oz. wt."

It is obvious that the amount of bullion presented by the Sovereigns at the Cross on Good Friday did not cover the amount of rings required. They were much sought after, and, even in the reign of Edward VI, we find Gardener writing to Bishop Ridley that "the late king used to bless these crampe ringes which were much esteemed everywhere and when he was abroad they were often desired from him."<sup>1</sup> Just as King Henry's jewel list embraces purses filled with angels for healing, others may have had groats and half-groats for scattering and for other presentations to and from the King, and also money for play, so much as £100 for "gaymyng" being mentioned at Christmas, 1529.<sup>2</sup> Some of these



GOLD FLORIN OF EDWARD III.

purses contained as much as £100. It appears from a Proclamation given by Mr. Symonds in the *British Numismatic Journal*,<sup>3</sup> that on April 27, 1505, "clipped coins were received by weight at the Exchange in Leden Hall at the rate of 3s. 2d. the oz., and would be paid for in gold pennies." A second Proclamation, undated, shortly after offered "gold penny and twopenny pieces." The word "penny," Mr. Symonds suggests, was used only in a generic sense as denoting a piece of money; "for instance," says he, "Grafton speaks of the gold florin of Edward III, as 'the penny.' Therefore, when we

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Anne Boleyn*, by Philip Sergeant, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Eighth*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. x, p. 133.

read that Henry VII, in his 14th year,<sup>1</sup> received "farthings of gold," i.e. "Delivered to the King's grace in farthings of gold 20s.," we may assume that we have here the quarter-ryal, a coin which, although not recorded in the pages of Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England*, is mentioned in an Act passed five years later, the 19th of Henry VII anent defective money. The quarter-ryal is amongst the currency specified in this Act as still ordered to pass in 1503-4 at the rate at which it was coined.<sup>2</sup> We may therefore conclude that the gold farthings sought and obtained the King's approval. Sometimes the "newe grottes" reserved for the King were, as we have said, for play—"gayming" being responsible for coins used as stakes or as counters, especially at Christmas time. Card games were allowed at palaces at all times, but by a law of the first year of Edward IV, 1461,<sup>3</sup> card-playing was prohibited in private houses, excepting within "the XII



HENRY VIII GROAT (MINT-MARK, ROSE).

dayes of Christmasse," and a couple of years later the importation of the cards themselves was forbidden. Even at the Court of Henry VIII, where the King constantly betted on archery and played dice, and certainly would not suffer the curtailment of his pleasures by the laws of the land, we see that card-playing figures more largely at Christmas than at other seasons.

We find Anne Boleyn in 1530 obtaining £5 in "grotes" for

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 7099, fol. 59, June 26, 1499. Craven Ord's *Household Expenses of Henry VII.*

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Henry Symonds on "The English Royal Coinage of Henry VII and Henry VIII," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, pp. 128-30.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix by Nicholas Harris Nicolas to *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.* p. 306.

"playing money,"<sup>1</sup> and when we see that William Compton in December, 1509, takes charge of £33 6s. 8d. (probably a hundred angels) for the King,<sup>2</sup> we are inclined to surmise that the coins were used for amusement rather than charity, for even the far more economical Henry VII lost £27 in groats, besides £20 in gold, playing at cards in one day.<sup>3</sup>

### *The King's Dole.*

Let us now turn to a much more systematized charity than the gifts on Royal Progress, and we shall find ourselves on surer ground in treating of the distribution at Easter, usually on Good Friday, known as "The King's Dole."

We shall even be able to establish the amount thus given under the Tudors. The scattering of small coin at Easter, quite separately from the Maundy, became so much a matter of custom that it eventually crystallized for a considerable time at a fixed sum, namely, £133 6s. 8d. This sum, however, was not decided in the time of Henry VII, and it would seem that although the King himself, as we believe, gave the Dole in person the distribution was purely arbitrary, and the chosen day was not invariably Good Friday, but at the Royal convenience. Occasionally it was on Holy Thursday, after, but not in connection with, the Maundy gifts to the chosen few, that the more general distribution was effected. It is even possible that the £133 6s. 8d., which we find noted in the accounts of Bryan Tuke in the 33rd year of Henry VIII's reign, a sum confided to the Almoner, a sum which meets us again under other monarchs, even in Stuart days, may have been set aside apart from the haphazard distributions by the King himself, as part of, or supplementary to, the organized charities dispensed by the Almoner.

We find Henry VII obtaining a yearly supply of "grotes and di-grotes," the latter expression being the contraction of demi-groats, namely, twopence. The accounts for this King's 15th year are

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 20030, fol. 51 bis.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 21481, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, p. 108.

available in manuscript,<sup>1</sup> and bring many charitable gifts before us, and I had occasion to study them carefully when looking for evidence for "the Healing," as touching for the King's Evil<sup>2</sup> was called. This is no scattering along the road on Progress, but an organized distribution on Good Friday; for instance, on April 18, 1500, we read "Item geven in grotes at the dole vj<sup>li</sup> iij<sup>s</sup>. Item geven in di-grotes at the dole lviii<sup>li</sup>." This donation follows immediately on Henry's Good Friday offering of "10<sup>s</sup>" in the Church, and is preceded by, and entirely distinct from, the Maundy distribution. Again, in Henry VII's 16th year—1501—we have "geuen in almes in grotes viij<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup>. Item geven in di grotes xxj<sup>li</sup>." The 17th year, 1502, demanded "£6 12s. 6d. in grotes and £40 in the twopenny pieces."<sup>1</sup> Now let us pass to the first year of Henry VIII, and we shall find the same system continued: "Item dole in almes upon Good Friday aforesaid to pore folkes in grotes xj<sup>li</sup>, in di grotes xl<sup>li</sup>." This follows after the Maundy, given on this occasion on Friday,<sup>3</sup> instead of Holy Thursday, although the various Good Friday services, which included the blessing of cramp-rings and the "creeping to the Cross," must have made the day arduous enough. In his second regnal year we have £45 in groats and £15 in half-groats;<sup>4</sup> in the third year £20 and £50, respectively;<sup>5</sup> and in the fourth year £30 and £55.<sup>6</sup> It is not necessary to repeat these details year by year, but, besides the Maundy gifts to "26 pore men" in the seventh year of his reign, the King being in the twenty-sixth year of his age, we find the additional entry of the dole thus: "Item also in almes to pore pepell at the Kinges dole upon this Good Friday  $\frac{xx}{iii}$  x<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>" [£90 10s.];<sup>7</sup> and in the next year, the eighth of his reign, the sum was less, only £86.<sup>8</sup> Again, we may

<sup>1</sup> *Exchequer Accounts Various*. MS., Public Record Office, Bundle 415, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, p. 75 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 21481, fol. 25 *bis*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 88.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 119.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 216 *bis*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 255.



take an instance from a later manuscript, this of the King's twenty-first year, 1529: "Delivered to the King's Almshouse to be by him distributed in the way of King's Alms to d'ves pore people at the holy tyme of Easter—C<sup>li</sup>,"<sup>1</sup> and compare it with Henry's thirtieth year, from another manuscript, when an insignificant sum is shown, namely, "Paid in Almesse by the King's Commandement on Good Friday xl<sup>s</sup>."<sup>2</sup> Yet again, in 1545-6, when Henry's reign was drawing to a close, an item appears in a general account of money to be paid by the Treasurer, "To the Kinges Almenor upon good friday C<sup>li</sup>."<sup>3</sup> But although I have quoted passages taken at random amongst the various manuscripts, would that I had time or strength to renew the more systematic search made in my earlier years. I would draw attention chiefly to the mention of a specified sum in Henry's thirty-first<sup>4</sup> and thirty-second years, when to the poor on Good Friday the Almoner distributed the sum of £133 6s. 8d., probably, as we shall see later, based on 200 marks: "Item pd to the Revnd. fader in God Nicholas Bishop of Rochester by the Kinges ward dated viij Aprilis Anno xxxij to be employed and bestowed in the K's Almes uppon Goodfryday in full of the same ward the somme of cxxxiiij<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>."<sup>5</sup> So runs the latter of these entries, and the payment is exclusive of the Maundy, which appears on an earlier page.<sup>6</sup>

The *Exchequer Accounts* of Edward VI, so far as I have studied them, throw little light on a special Good Friday Dole. We have the items of his Maundy, of his Privy Alms dispensed by Dr. Cox, his "Almosiner," and his Daily Alms of 37s. 11d. a week.<sup>7</sup> His Good Friday offering in Church was twenty shillings, and on Easter Day an

<sup>1</sup> *Exchequer Accounts Various*. MS., Public Record Office, Bundle 420, No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 20030.

<sup>3</sup> *Trevelyan Papers*, part ii, published by the Camden Society in 1863, vol. 84, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Arundel 97, fol. 69.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 185.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 183 bis.

<sup>7</sup> *Exchequer Accounts Various*. MS., Public Record Office, Bundle 426, Nos. 5 and 6; and *Miscellaneous Books*, 439. These are printed in the *Trevelyan Papers*, to which I have so often referred, and I have collated them in the hope of finding more details, but in vain.



angel, just as on other Sundays, and on the Monday and Tuesday in Easter week he added a special offering of a mark (13s. 4d.) when he was present at "High Mas."<sup>1</sup> There are in these *Exchequer Accounts* many allusions to Dr. Cox concerning the "Pryvie Almesse" at £20 a month.<sup>2</sup> But a reference kindly copied for me by Mr. Henry Symonds from the *Acts of the Privy Council*, under date "10 Apr, 1552," brings the Easter Dole before us in a particularly interesting form, for, instead of the usual cxxxij<sup>li</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>, the wording is changed to 200 marks, which explains the origin of so curious a sum



SOVEREIGN OF EDWARD VI, VALUE TWENTY SHILLINGS.

as £133 6s. 8d.—"Warrant to Mr. Cavendish to pay to Dr. Cox 200 marks for alms on M<sup>y</sup> Thursday." We shall notice that at a later period, under Charles II, £200 took the place of the 200 marks, the mark—two-thirds of £1—being money of account; but of this more anon. That Maundy Thursday is here mentioned instead of Good Friday emphasizes the fact, as appears later under Mary, that the choice of the day was optional at the Royal convenience.

As regards Mary I, I have several times referred to a computation of the probable expenses of her first regnal year—"The Queenes Almese on Maundy Thursday next comyng are set down at clxxvij<sup>li</sup> xix<sup>s</sup> xj<sup>d</sup>," and this is suggestive that the usual £133 6s. 8d. and the Maundy expenses are here massed.<sup>3</sup> In the poverty of her

<sup>1</sup> *Exchequer Accounts Various*. MS., Public Record Office, Bundle 426, No. 5, fol. xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. xii, xvi, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Trevelyan Papers*, part ii, p. 36.

youth in 1536-7 Mr. Madden finds "Item geuen amonges pore people vpon good Frydaye xij<sup>s</sup>."<sup>1</sup> With this we may contrast the account given by Marco Antonio Faitta, secretary to Cardinal Pole, writing to Ippolito Chizzuola, and describing Mary's Easter in 1556.<sup>2</sup> After a lengthy description of the Maundy Thursday washing of feet and the blessing of cramp-rings on Good Friday, he returns to the exhausting ceremonial of the Thursday: "I will not omit telling you that on Holy Thursday were distributed here in this Court to a great amount, to upwards of 3,000 persons."<sup>3</sup> He goes on to say that "the Lord Legate gave provisions to 2,000 persons at Canterbury besides other alms," and it is not clear whether Mary herself took part otherwise than in providing the money for this Easter Dole.



SOVEREIGN OF MARY I, VALUE THIRTY SHILLINGS.

We have seen from the sum set aside in the above provisional lists of money likely to be needed at Easter, 1554, namely, £178 19s. 11d., that the Maundy gifts may have been included with the usual larger Dole to be distributed as the Queen's Dole. Mary was born on February 15, 1516, and came to the throne on July 6, 1553; therefore, at her first Easter Pedilavium in 1554 she would be in her thirty-ninth year, and the pence demanded for 39 women for her actual age plus the year

<sup>1</sup> *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary* (edited by Frederick Madden in 1831, from an old MS., fol. 14 bis), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi, part i, pp. 428-37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 437.

of grace would be covered by £6 6s. 9d. To this we must add the gold in redemption of her robe, £39, and the white and red bags to contain the pence and the twenty shillings respectively, and the money above the usual £133 6s. 8d. is fairly represented, as the purses cost about 1d. each.<sup>1</sup> Marco Antonio Faitta says that Mary bestowed her robe on the poorest of the women when he witnessed the Pedilavium in 1556, two years after the above computation was made, but it appears that each recipient had £1 in redemption of the robe, and Mary, in addition, gave the furred gown to the poorest. The beautiful new sovereign figured above cannot have been used, as it was valued at thirty shillings; but her brother's twenty-shilling sovereigns were available, or two angels, or his half-sovereigns.

But we are on much surer ground when we come to the time of Elizabeth, whose eleemosynary accounts are set down in great detail by Sir Thomas Henneage, her Treasurer of the Chamber, month by month, from her twenty-third to her twenty-fourth regnal year, namely, from Michaelmas, 1581, to the same date in 1582.<sup>2</sup>

From these accounts we see that, apart from the Maundy, the expenses of which Charity are particularized as amounting to the sum of £58 5s. 4d.,<sup>3</sup> there was a further distribution at the hands of "The Right Reverend Father in God, John Pyers, Bishop of Sarum," the Queen's Almoner, as follows:—"cxxxiiij<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> to be by him distributed and geven by way of Her Highnes' Almes to dyvers pore people on Maundye Thursdaye Good Friday and in the Tyme of Ester next day." This amount is stated to be "by virtue of a warrant under the Prvy Signet dated at yr Majs Mannor of Greenw<sup>ch</sup> primo Marcij Anno xxiiij of yr Ma'y." It is particularly stated that Elizabeth gave the Maundy "by Her Highnes owne Handes," and that she gave to 48 women "fortie eight pens in memorye for Her Ma<sup>tes</sup> aige," coming to £11 12s., "in single pence and to every of the said women in a redd purse Twenty Shillings in lieu of her Ma<sup>tes</sup> owne

<sup>1</sup> It would work out exactly if six and a-half dozen purses were ordered in the two colours, white for the silver, red for the gold.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS., Addit. Harl.* 1644.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 4, April 6, 1582.

gowne." The total, including the payment for purses, was, as we have seen, £58 5s. 4d. Elizabeth's sovereign, of £1 value, was of later date, and her gift was probably of two angels. In 1564, owing to the present time of contagious sickness, *i.e.* the plague, the Queen did not herself hold the usual Maundy celebration, but, said the Proclamation announcing this fact, "Alms will be given to the poor of Windsor and Eton."<sup>1</sup>

We have, however, another account of Elizabeth's distribution of Largesse on Holy Thursday, and on this occasion we notice that the almsgiving was personally performed. Nichols,<sup>2</sup> after describing her Maundy service in 1559-60, proceeds: "The same afternoon she gave unto poor men women and children whole and lame, in St. James' Park being two thousand people and upwards, 2d. apiece."



HALF-GROAT OF ELIZABETH (MINT-MARK, MARTLET).

A fine manuscript on vellum, kindly shown me in 1914, when in the possession of Mr. Walter V. Daniell, then of 33, King Street, St. James's, brought before me a much larger sum than the ordinary £133 6s. 8d., and by his permission I describe this oblong folio on vellum. It was dated St. James's, it bore the Privy Seal, and it assigned to the Bishop of Worcester as chief Almoner, under date April 10, 1593, certain sums, and bore the Queen's signature and portrait. Elizabeth in this document addressed an order to the Chancellor of Lancaster to pay for this distribution "on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and the Easter week ensuing the sum of £433 6s. 8d."<sup>3</sup> We may, I think, fairly assume that the usual

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Miscellaneous State Papers*, 1564, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. of 1825, vol. i, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Catalogue of Walter V. Daniell, *Autograph Letters and Historical Documents*, No. 286, 1914.

£133 6s. 8d. is included, and the remaining £300 covered the other charitable grants such as the "Privy Almes" at £240 and the Maundy gold, for we may notice that the grand total mentioned in the Bishop of Salisbury's list in 1581-2, inclusive of the Daily Alms at 37s. 11d. a week, Privy Alms at £20 a month, Maundy and Easter Dole reached £530 2s. 1d.

It seems fairly certain there was no positive rule that the distribution should immediately follow one or the other fatiguing ceremonials at Eastertide, but the more usual day was Good Friday in the afternoon. A manuscript written in the time of Henry VIII, by Thomas Hawley, Rouge Croix in 1509, and afterwards Clarencieux, a rank which he held in 1539, was probably written somewhat before this date. This manuscript gives us the certainty that Henry superintended, if he did not actually handle, the Dole. After describing the "Seruyce hallowing of the Cramp Ringes" on Good Friday morning, followed by the "Creeping to the Crosse" of the King and Queen and the whole Court, Hawley proceeds thus: "Item at afternone at suche tyme and place as shall please the Kyng to Appoynt the Almoner shall have the pore people redy to receave the kinge's Dole and the gentilmen hushers shall cause a place to be made redy for the Kyng to stand in at the Dole that to be garnyed and Carpettes and Cusshyns layde for the Kyng to lene upon the Tresurer of the Kynges Chamber for the tyme beyng to be there redy w<sup>t</sup> mony for the dole. And the Kynges Almoner to be there in lykewyse redy to delyuer hit to the pore people."<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately the Herald does not give the amount or form of the Dole, but, as we have seen, the amount varied, and the specie used was either the groat or the half-groat; whereas in the times of Elizabeth and her successor James, only the latter coin appears to have played a part in this scattering of small coin.

We have several times in our earlier articles referred to the special

<sup>1</sup> *College of Arms MS. 7*, by Hawley, who became Clarencieux in 1539, and died in 1557. The late Mr. Keith Murray, Bluemantle, who kindly looked through this manuscript with me, told me that he thought from internal evidence it was compiled between 1517 and 1534. It includes the christening of Elizabeth in 1533.



striking of coins to meet the needs of the royal Doles,<sup>1</sup> and although, so far as our present knowledge takes us, James I gave only single pence with his gold at the Maundy Service, there is evidence that half-groats were struck by his order for the Easter Dole. A letter from the Lord Almoner to Conway, Secretary of State, written in the last month of the monarch's reign, makes it clear that both "pence and twopences" were required for this distribution.<sup>2</sup>



JAMES I HALF-GROAT.

"My Lord," writes the Bishop of London, "ye Maundy Thursday draws on and ther wilbe I suppose some difficulty to gett ye Kings Hand whilst his Ague holds him w<sup>h</sup> I hope in God shall not be long. I am bold therefore to goe ye first way beseeching y<sup>r</sup> Ldp to gett his hand as soone as it shall please yr Ldp for ye money gotten by warrant must be coyned into pence and twopences for ye Maundy distribution to ye poor w<sup>h</sup> will require some tyme, it is a thing of course and done every yeare, but ye indisposition of ye King requires such a Mediator as yr Lordship. So w<sup>th</sup> my harty prayer for yr Ldp's health and happinesse I remayne ready for your Comandements.

"GEO. LONDON.

"Mr. Subalmoner will wayte uppon youe w<sup>th</sup> ye bill,  
"London House, March 16, 1624."

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, p. 227; *ibid.*, vol. xvi, "Royal Charities" (second series), part i, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Public Record Office MS., *State Papers Domestic*, vol. 185, No. 63, directed "To the Right Honorable Sir Edward Conway, Kt. Principal Secretary to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> at Court or elsewhere," and endorsed "March 16, 1625—Bishop of London for his Mat Warrant for Maundaie money." This is March, 1624, according to the old style, and 1625 according to the new.



James died on March 27, 1625, eleven days after the Bishop had written the letter, and the coins must have been distributed by or for Charles I on April 17 following. It is clear that they were charged to the latter King's account, in so much as a Signet Office warrant of the 2nd of that month was delivered to the Treasurer of the Chamber "to pay £133 6s. 8d. to Lord Almoner or his Subalmoner to be distributed this Easter in Alms."

Moreover, on the 7th another warrant to the Master of the Wardrobe provides for the clothing. Of this sum, even if £2 12s. for the Maundy pence and £26 in golden unites were included, which, as I have shown, was not usually the case, a large sum remains for the King's Dole. The Signet Office Docquets show that £133 6s. 8d.



CHARLES I UNITE (MINT-MARK, LIS).

was the sum usually bestowed by Charles I, and Mr. Symonds has been so good as to call my attention to an entry under date of April 20, 1641, and in one or two other adjoining years, of a Warrant to the "Treas of Chamber to pay to Bishop of Winton, Chief Almoner, or to the Subalmoner £133 6s. 8d. to be distributed in alms on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Easter week next, as hath been accustomed."<sup>1</sup> At this date Charles I must have used his father's gold coin, as his own unite as figured above was not yet made. The *Pells Order-Books* also show on March 22, 1642, "£250 for the service of Maundy and Wardrobe of robes."<sup>2</sup> This sum would no doubt

<sup>1</sup> *Signet Office Docquets*, vol. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Pells Order Books* (40 and 41).

include the £42 in gold and £7 8s. in silver, as well as the clothing and the Good Friday Dole.

Whether Oliver Cromwell continued the Dole, I have not been able to ascertain. That he was charitable we know, and that he aped Royalty we know; and, possibly, had I delved more deeply into his accounts I might have discovered more; but, as I am dealing with Royal Charities, I will pass on to the Restoration, and give an extract from the Treasury Books under date March 19, 1662-3.<sup>1</sup> "Money Warrant for £169 14s. 9d." we read: "To Sir Edward Griffin Treasurer of the Chamber to be by him paid to the Lord Almoner or his deputy for the allowance usually distributed every Maundy Thursday and Easter following." Here we have obviously the £32 in gold and £4 5s. 4d. required by a King in his thirty-second year, the money for the bags at about 1d. each, and our old friend the £133 6s. 8d. for the Dole.<sup>2</sup> Turn we to the year 1664, we shall find a somewhat larger sum, namely, "200<sup>li</sup> for the usual distribution,"<sup>3</sup> and so forth, when Charles, in his thirty-fifth year, would need £40 and 2d. for the Maundy besides the Dole, and, therefore, the surplus of some £27 must have gone to the expenses of the Wardrobe or to a charity now called the "Discretion Bounty" (of which more anon), unless, as I have suggested, the 200 marks or 400 angels of the Tudors had been no longer used as a basis of reckoning after the Restoration, a fact corroborated by the Treasurer of Chamber's Accounts under Queen Anne,<sup>4</sup> as follows: Due to "compleat the allowance of £200 for her Ma<sup>ty</sup>s alms on Monday [*sic* for Maundy] Thursday, £100."

The reign of James II was short, and the available State Papers are comparatively few. Of his devotional exercises both in England and abroad much has been written, and we know that he was the last of our Monarchs to wash the feet of the poor in person—a thing

<sup>1</sup> *Treasury Book IV*, fol. 152, and *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1660-7, p. 508.

<sup>2</sup> The *Treasury Books* prefix the certificate of Jon Clark, clerk of the Treasurer of the Chamber Office, of the amount paid for the above.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, April 6, 1664, p. 594.

<sup>4</sup> *Danny MS.*, March 5, 1702-3.

that, as Pepys remarks, Charles II, after a while, did by deputy.<sup>1</sup> But, as regards the Good Friday Dole, Pepys and Evelyn are silent, and we have no evidence beyond the monthly payments made to the Almoner and the continued accounts of Chamberlayne, Miede, and Delaune, that the twopenny dole went on. These writers take us through the days of James II, of William and Mary, of Anne, even of George I and George II; but it is a parrot-like repetition, and we look in vain in the newspapers then coming into being for a description of personal Largesse in the Parks by Charles II and his successors.

As regards the money grant, it is clear that by the time of Anne £200 had taken the place of the 200 marks, and, besides the private manuscript already quoted, the official Treasury Papers<sup>2</sup> immediately after the death of William contain almost the same words. Amongst "billes due in the Treasury Office since March 8, 1701-2," we read "Due to compleat ye 200<sup>li</sup> on the Establish<sup>t</sup> for her Ma<sup>t</sup>'s Almes on Maundy Thursday next 100 : 0 : 0." Anne must have used William's coins, for her half-groat, figured below, was not struck until 1703.



ANNE'S FIRST HALF-GROAT.

A manuscript collection made by Lady Banks,<sup>3</sup> the wife of the well-known Sir Joseph Banks, contains useful references to many old news-sheets. The Collection commences with a letter from Sir Richard Kaye the Almoner, dated November 5, 1800, in which a careful description is given of the Maundy Service as then performed, but no mention is made of the supplementary Dole. Another paper, however, under date March, 1798, bound in with the above, states

<sup>1</sup> *Mercurius Politicus*, of April 23, 1663, and April 18, 1667, notes the King performing the rites in person. Pepys, in 1667, notes that "on March 4 in that year the King did not wash the poor people's feet himself," thereby suggesting a departure from usual rule (*Pepys*, vol. iii, p. 188).

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxv, No. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Addit. 6305.

that "Petitions are received at the Almonry Office during the last Fortnight in November when the Lord Almoner has allotted to each Petition their respective Proportion of the King's Alms, the money is paid on the Monday preceding Christmas Day.<sup>1</sup> Petitions are again received in the same mode during the last Fortnight in February and the Petitioners receive his Majesty's alms on the Monday in Passion Week and on Maundy Thursday. The sums given to the Different Petitioners at Christmas are 5<sup>s</sup> to some, 10/6 to others, and a guinea to very few. At Easter the same mode of Distribution is followed, but with this Addition that as many men and as many Women equal in number to the years which the King has lived adding a year of Grace are admitted as Maundy men and as many Maundy women." The writer, apparently by the endorsement a Mrs. Gaunt, then proceeds to give a detailed account of the Maundy ceremonial, with distribution of clothes, money and provisions, ending with the drinking of the King's health by each recipient in "a very small wooden Cup."

It is of interest to learn from a manuscript kindly lent me from the Royal Almonry Office,<sup>2</sup> that the food dole was not commuted for money until 1837, whilst the gifts of clothes continued until 1882. But I am wandering into the province of the Maundy proper as distinct from the King's Dole, which now takes the form of several allowances known as "Bounties," called, respectively, "The Discretionary," "The Minor," and "Common" Bounties. Mr. Bidwell, writing in 1893, explained that the "Common Bounty" was at the time he wrote distributed in sums of 10s. each to 1,300 persons annually in two moieties, one at Christmas, the other at Easter, together with other Doles, called the "Minor Bounty" and the "Discretionary Bounty," of varying sums.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Fund now called "The Common Bounty," and clearly a survival of the King's Dole.

<sup>2</sup> *Royal Almsgiving*, by H. J. Bidwell, kindly communicated to me by Mr. Bidwell's successor in office, at the request of the late Sir Edgar Sheppard, and also published in the *Guardian*, April 5, 1893, No. 2470, pp. 545 and 546.

<sup>3</sup> The "Discretionary Bounty" consists of payments of £3 a year to certain persons who may at any time be transferred to the Maundy list or had been on the list of a former Monarch. The "Minor Bounty" also supplied various pensions.

Mr. Bidwell, then Secretary to the Almonry, tells us that at the above date £1,600 a year "out of the Queen's dotation" was paid to the Lord High Almoner, part of that sum being a commutation of certain fines and fees, the Monarch's Special Alms and so forth, and partly from "about £400 a year" which he believed had "always been a direct money grant" for the Maundy to the Lord High Almoner, eventually rising to £800. Possibly £400 may be a doubling of the Dole, consequent on a distribution at Christmas as well as Easter, but probably Mr. Bidwell included in these sums not only the £133 6s. 8d., plus the Maundy expenditure, which, as we have seen, rose from 200 marks to £200, but also the "Privy Alms," which by the time of Edward VI stood at £240 a year, for certainly these were "direct money grants." The "Daily Alms," as we saw in our last volume, was succeeded in due course by a Bounty still known as "Gate Alms," being an allowance of 6d. a week to 150 persons.



VICTORIA NEW TYPE SIXPENCE, 1893.

Hence we may assume that the "Common Bounty" to which I have just referred, and the "Discretionary" and "Minor" Bounties are the survival of the "King's Dole" in a more sensible and systematic form.

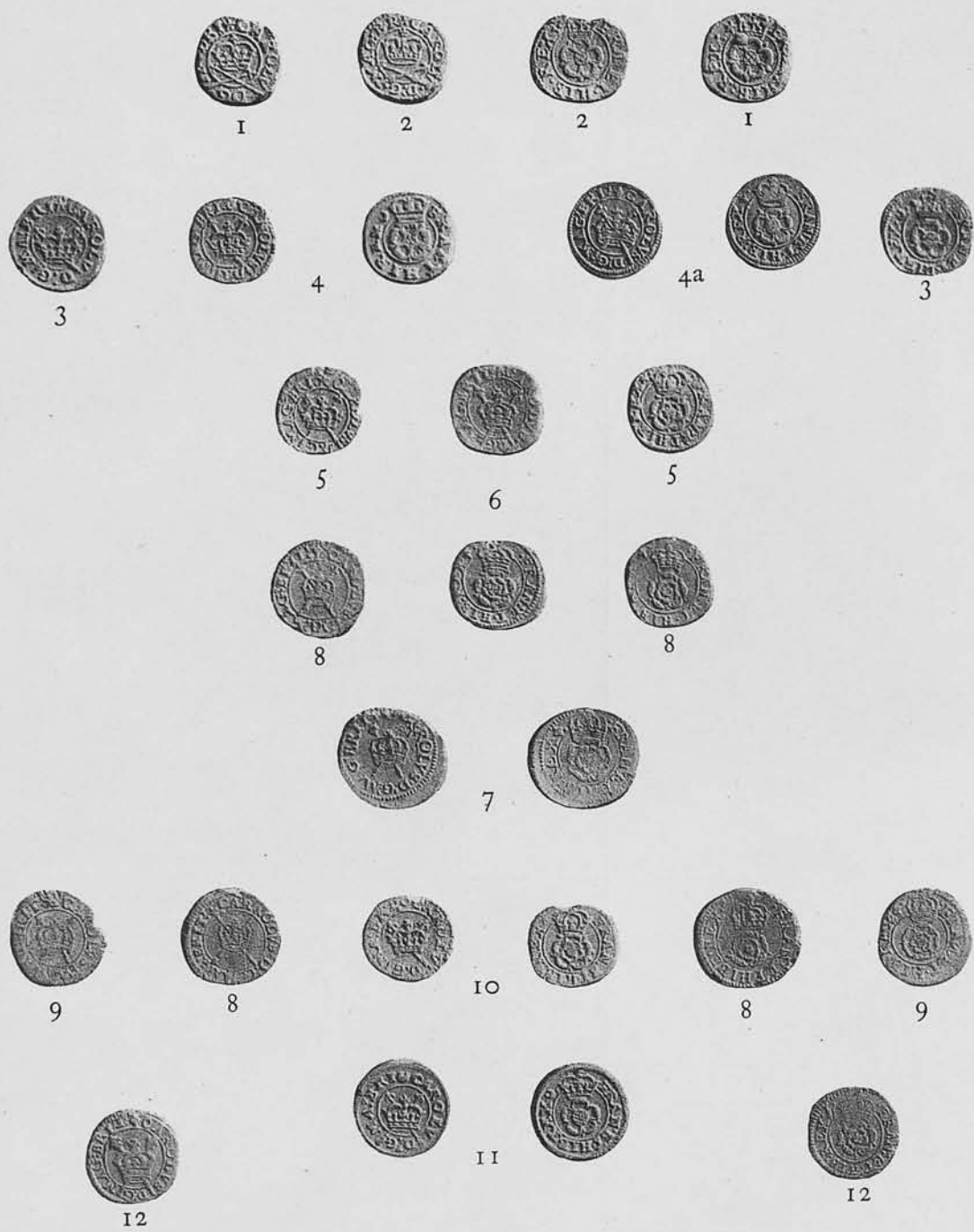
I do not propose to enquire beyond the year 1893, when Mr. Bidwell published his article on "Royal Almsgiving." Since then two generous and wise Monarchs have passed away, and one not less generous and wise than his predecessors graces the Throne.

Long May He Reign !










ROSE FARTHING TOKENS

## THE ROSE FARTHING TOKENS.

BY THE REV. EDGAR ROGERS, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

### *Foreword.*

 HERE is a certain melancholy satisfaction in printing this paper after the death of Surgeon-Captain Weightman, O.B.E., R.N. When it was originally planned, it was meant to be the joint work of Captain Weightman and the actual writer. Both of these had been engaged upon a study of the Rose Farthing Tokens, and when the writer came across Captain Weightman's paper, published in the *British Numismatic Journal*, he naturally offered to withdraw. Captain Weightman would not hear of it, and when, after a conversation, it was clear that the conclusions at which each had arrived were identical, a compromise was hit upon—the paper was to be a joint-production.

As it happened, the paper was written and read to the Society before Captain Weightman saw it, although it was his wish that it should be so. After the reading, the writer sent the paper to Captain Weightman, and, on his death, Miss Ruth Weightman returned it.

Beyond the fact that Captain Weightman wrote that he agreed generally and had corrected one or two typing-errors, he made no alterations at all. The writer, therefore, must bear on his own shoulders whatever is amiss. Except to add one or two new varieties, which have come into his collection, the paper is exactly as it was written and read.

That it would have been immensely improved if Captain Weightman had had the opportunity to revise it thoroughly, none can doubt, least of all the writer, who would like to be allowed

to use this opportunity, not only to say how much he owes to Captain Weightman's extraordinary numismatic knowledge, but to pay a tribute to his many kindnesses, and record a deep gratitude for the privilege of a personal acquaintance of one who did all he undertook with thoroughness and insight.

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#### THE ROSE FARTHING TOKENS.

The first expedient to provide a copper currency of small change for England was doomed to failure from the beginning.

The reluctance of Elizabeth, who was properly proud of her success in reforming the coinage which the extravagance of her father had debased, held up the project of a regal copper currency, and it was only the urgent representation of Lord Buckhurst, the Lord Treasurer, of the need of money to pay the army in Ireland, which won from her, among other concessions, permission to issue the pence and halfpence in Ireland which bear the dates 1601 and 1602. Most of these, says Gerard Malynes some twenty years later, were "lost and consumed."

James I came to the throne already acquainted with the convenience of a small copper coinage in Scotland, but appears to have been as chary as his great predecessor in sanctioning any innovation in England. He refused to entertain the entirely sensible proposals of Sir Robert Cotton in favour of an issue of small copper money, which would prove alike profitable to the King and serviceable to the public.

There was every need for such an issue by authority in the common business of life, which even Elizabeth had recognized by granting permission to the cities of Bristol, Worcester and Oxford to strike farthing tokens. These went current for small things in the cities themselves and within a radius of ten miles.

What the State refused to do in the person of the King, private traders had no scruple in doing to their own advantage and the serious loss of their customers. "Everie chandler, tapster, vintner,

and others," says Malynes, "made tokens of lead and brass for halfpences."

The extent of the evil, and the personal profit to the King in correcting it, were forcibly pointed out by Sir Robert Cotton in his proposals :—

"The benefit to the King," he says, "will easily fall out, if he restrain retailers of victual and small wares from using their own tokens ; for, in and about London, there are above three thousand, who, one with another, cast yearly five pounds apiece of leaden tokens, whereof the tenth remaineth not to them at the year's end, and when they renew their store, that amounteth to above 15,000 L and all the rest of this realme cannot be inferior to the city in proportion.

"For the prejudice (since London, that is not the twenty-fourth part in people of the Kingdom, had in it, as found by a late inquiry by order of the late queen, above 800,000) so falleth out to be twopence each person in the entire state ; it may be nothing, either of loss, by the first uttering being so easy, nor burthen any with too great a mass at one time, since continual use will disperse so small a quantity into so many hands ; but, on the other side, will be of necessary use and benefit to the meaner sort, except the retailers, who made as much advantage formerly of their own tokens as the king shall now ; for the buyers hereafter shall not be tyed to one seller and his bad commodities, as they are still, when the tokens hereafter made current by authority, shall leave him the choice of any other chapman ; and to the poore, in this time of small charity, it will be of much relief, since many are like to give a farthing almes, who will not part with a greater sum."

When neither the economic nor moral reflections of the worthy Sir Robert convinced the King, he gave his approval to a scheme, which promised him a richer return, and the Royal Farthing Tokens were the outcome. As these have been already dealt with exhaustively in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, 1908, by Fleet-Surgeon A. E. Weightman, there is no need to dwell upon

them now, except to remark that it sorted ill with the "divine right of kings" for the divinity's features to appear upon the base metal, and therefore the whole series is without the monarch's portrait.

The original grant passed through the hands of several patentees, until it reached those of Henry Frederick Howard, Lord Maltravers, and Sir Francis Crane, who, by a Proclamation in 1634, were authorized to issue what are known as the "double-ring" farthings.

At the same time, in consequence of the innumerable complaints of the abuses which were attendant upon the use of the Farthing Tokens, the Court of Star Chamber attempted to remedy matters by a decree, which enacted that not more than two pence in farthings should be paid at one time, and that it was unlawful to force the Farthing Tokens upon any poor labourer, or workman, or other persons, in any payments, either in great or small sums. This regulation was aimed at those who bought the Farthing Tokens at low rates—they were normally vended at 21 shillingsworth for one pound—and then paid their labourers a whole week's wages with them at the "par" rate, and so made a handsome profit for themselves.

The Court also declared it illegal to buy or barter any farthings at or for any lesser rate than they were usually vended by His Majesty's patentees, and that the Court was resolved to punish the offenders severely. And it withal held fit and desired that His Majesty should be moved to declare and command the same by his Proclamation to be published throughout the Kingdom, that so the true use of the Farthing Tokens, which were intended for the good of the poor, might be continued and the abuses either prevented or punished.

On September 14th the decree was proclaimed at Dublin by the Lord-Deputy Wentworth and the Council.

Despite these precautions, the wholesale counterfeiting of Farthing Tokens went on, and the patentees added to the general dissatisfaction and to their own profits by repudiating their own previous farthings and issuing the double "rings" in their place.



It is worth while to record, in passing, that the patentees attempted to foist their farthings on the New England colonists, but the opposition was so effectual that on March 4th, 1634-5, the General Court of New Town forbade the use of the brass farthings and, inversely prophetic of one of our war phrases, "bullets were made to pass as farthings." Complaints continued and the Farthing Tokens stood condemned.

The experiment, however, was not to be given up without another effort. To this two causes contributed:

First, the advantage of a copper coinage was in the minds of the King's best advisers on money matters. "The Seauenth proposicion,"<sup>1</sup> in a document attributed to Nicolas Briot about this time, entitled "Proposicions made to the King concerning what is necessary and profitable to be done for the good of his Maj<sup>st</sup> and of his subiects about the ordering of his Coines," discusses at length the advantage of bronze or copper money, not for the paying of great amounts, but for almsgiving, and for the use of the poor, and is illustrated by references to the practice prevailing in France, Holland, and Spain. In this document, Briot considered that a farthing of 11 or 12 grains was good weight and would realize a profit of 33 in the 100 for the King.

It would seem as if the next step taken had been influenced by this suggestion, if attention is paid to the weights of the Rose Farthings. Briot further put his finger upon the real source of the difficulties when he suggested as a remedy the transfer of the control of the irregular issues of these small coins from private traders and speculators to the King.

Secondly, side by side with such theoretical advice was the fact that immense quantities of farthings, both genuine and counterfeit, did actually exist, so that the decrying of them at large would have resulted in considerable loss and hardship.

The effort was made and the reform took place, when on February 18th, 1635-6, a grant was made by the King to Henry,

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers Domestic*, Car. I, vol. 124, No. 68.

Lord Maltravers and Sir Francis Crane for a period of twenty-one years to make Farthing Tokens of copper, "with a distinction of brass for the use of subjects in England and Ireland." There was reserved for the King a rent of 100 marks per annum.

On the strength of this, the Rose Farthing Tokens were produced of copper with a splash of brass inlet, in order to avoid counterfeits.

How common counterfeits were may be illustrated from a footnote on p. xlviii of Burn's Descriptive Catalogue of London Traders' Tavern and Coffee-House Tokens. "Counterfeit farthing tokens," he says, "were so generally blended in all payments with those issued under the supposed authority of the patent, that in many instances they were scarcely distinguishable. A bad farthing went as far as an authorised one in charity, and the alms-plate received many. The Churchwardens' accompts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, under the year 1637, notice a disbursement of 1*l.* 7*s.* 'to Mrs. Stone, the wife of John Stone, for bad farthings, which her husband received when he was overseer for the poor' as part of the stock brought in by his predecessors."

Contemporary literature is full of abuse of the Farthing Tokens and has hard names for their makers, as the following passage from *Merry Passages and Jests*, compiled by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, shows:—

"The Earl of Arundell, lord marshall, had the sole patent for coining of new farthings, with a distinct mark for their currency, because many were counterfeited before; and when he went ambassador to the emperor, the mint-house, well stored, was locked up till his returne. The sickness being then in London, and poore people wanting their coine, some knave or other, in the night, clapped a redde cross upon the dore, and underwritt it thus: 'Lord have mercy upon us, for this house is full of tokens.' "

The jest, though gruesome, was certainly neither without point nor justification, as the after history abundantly proves.

On March 1st following, a Proclamation was made to the effect that no Farthing Tokens should be paid or received, except such as

had been made, or should thereafter be made, by the late King or his present Majesty. Penalties were attached to the making and uttering of counterfeits or the introduction of copper coin made in Scotland or abroad, and it was made illegal to compel any to take the farthings against his will. The Proclamation authorized the tokens to pass current in England, Ireland and Wales as farthings for payments in small sums to those who were willing to accept them, and, finally, that all authorized farthings should be, from time to time, rechanged for current money.

Neither the reform of the Farthing Tokens nor the terms of the Proclamation did much beside increase the unpopularity of the tokens and the profits of the vendors.

For the moment the story of the Farthing Tokens fades before the tremendous issues which were gathering for the conflict in England, but it is obvious that the old abuses connected with them must have continued and resulted in serious financial difficulties; for while the King raised his standard at Nottingham on August 22nd, 1642, a month later, on September 24th, a Petition was presented to the House of Commons with reference to the Tokens, which was read and referred to a Committee for Propositions, in order that the whole bad business might be thoroughly sifted.

On February 15th following (1642-3) a further step was taken, when the sequestering of the rents and profits of the Farthing-token Office, and the calling the officers thereof to account for arrears, were referred to the Committee for the Advance of Monies at the Haberdashers' Hall.

It is, perhaps, worth while to remark here that the mint-house or Token Office for the issue and rechange of the farthings was situated on the north side of Lothbury, and the name still survives to-day in Tokenhouse Yard.

The Committee set to work and deputed the investigation of the Office to Mr. James East, who was to examine the patent in the Rolls Office and make a report. Although this report was on April 14th ordered to be presented on the morrow, it does not appear to have been presented, or, if it was, the record is lost.

On April 12th, 1643, the House of Commons ordered Mr. Playter, who was apparently responsible for the issue of the farthings, to cease striking, and the Committee at the Haberdashers' Hall was ordered to seize all the farthings which had been made and were in the possession of Mr. James East, also apparently a responsible person at the Office, together with all the plant for their production. But after the seizure on April 17th all the farthings in the Office were ordered to be placed to the account of Mr. East, and he was to continue making the farthings, pay the workmen, and render a strict account of the weekly profits, while Mr. Playter was to render an account of the transactions of the Office since the previous July ; and, lastly, on April 21st, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Peter Hasard were appointed with Mr. East to be overseers of the accounts of the Office.

A further order was issued on May 9th, adding Mr. William Harrington, a merchant, to the number of the overseers, and it was directed that all profits were to be paid over to Mr. William Strickland, M.P., who was to hold them for the benefit of the Prince Elector Palatine, who had the right to them, until such time as they might be handed over to the Prince, who was the son of the King's sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

The efforts of the Committee do not appear to have been singularly successful, for another Petition was presented to the House of Commons concerning the grievance by the inhabitants of London and Westminster, and referred in true official style to the Committee, who were further to have the assistance of the knights and burgesses of Middlesex, Surrey, London, and Westminster to help them to solve the problem.

This galaxy of wisdom and business acumen fared no better than its predecessors, and on December 16th, 1643, a new Committee was appointed to deal with the pressing problems of better striking, the preventing of counterfeits, and of the importation of false farthings from abroad ; and also how to use the Office to the best advantage of the State.

Six months or so later the matter cropped up again, despite the

fact that the Civil War was then at its height. This time the petitioners to the House of Commons were no less than the Lord Mayor of London and the Common Council, which is sufficient proof that the farthing scandal was causing a serious inconvenience to trade and a real financial loss. The Petition preferred on the third of August was as usual passed on to the Committee, to aid whom were added the members for Westminster, for the City itself, and for the borough of Southwark.

A further Petition was presented by the citizens and the poor on September 7th, 1644, not without good reason. The transference of the Royal authority from the Token Office to the Parliamentary Committee at the Haberdashers' Hall had resulted in a total cessation of the exchange function of the original Office, and these last petitioners complained that there was no rechange for their farthings, which was resulting in sheer loss or complete ruin.

Following the usual custom, a Committee of members of the House was appointed to report to the Common Council how the House had debated the question, and to ask their opinion how the inconvenience might best be removed and the least hardship inflicted upon them.

The Common Council replied on September 10th with commendable modesty, to the effect that they conceived it to be a thing of such consequence that it was above them to present a remedy. They pointed out their dilemma, that the inconvenience would be equally great if the tokens were suddenly decried or if they were continued. They, however, offered certain considerations to the House. That patentees had formerly proclamations for decrying of them without rechange; that traders were more willing to have them decried than continued; and that there was a sum of £1,500 in the hands of the patentees in farthings which might be melted down. If this were done, and the estates of the patentees distrained upon, it would go a long way to satisfy the poor, who were in great straits not knowing to whom to trust.

They recommended that, if the farthings were decried, steps might be taken to coin new farthings, according to their intrinsic



value, and that small monies, pennies, twopennies, and such like, might be coined at the Tower.

This, of course, was the obvious remedy, and two copper patterns of "Farthing Toakens," one especially for the "Cittie of London," of this year exist, which lend colour to the opinion that the recommendation was seriously entertained. But, in fact, it came to nothing, and it is worth noting that until the current issue of the farthings of Charles II in 1672, the only Farthing Token intrinsically worth a farthing is one issued by Edward Nourse, "Next the Bvll in Bishop Gate Street 1666" (*cf.* Burn, No. 173).

Parliament replied to the Common Council on September 14th by passing a resolution to raise five thousand pounds from the estates of the patentees, etc., and required the Lord Mayor to call a Court of Aldermen to see how that sum might be raised and best applied to the relief of the poor in the Cities of London and Westminster and the lines of communication in order to stop the clamour of the poor upon the rumour of decrying the Farthing Tokens.

The City Authorities pursued the usual course of masterly inactivity, and the whole matter fizzled out in an undignified manner, after a riot, largely composed of old women from the City, at the Houses of Parliament, on September 26th, when the House ordered a servant to be appointed to the Serjeant-at-Arms to take the names and addresses of the women who came to the House to complain of the tokens, and note what they desired.

Certainly leaden tokens dated 1644 exist, and presumably the House suppressed their issue, for nothing more is heard of them after 1644, and the contemporary published arguments for and against them are dated the same year.

Although they have been quoted at length before, they may perhaps bear re-quoting, because they sum up the opinion of the time, and summarize the history of the whole matter in the crispest way.

A pamphlet, entitled *A Remedy against the Losse of the subject by Farthing Tokens*, says:—

"Our projectors soon found the advantage that accrued to a private tradesman by his farthings being sometimes lost



and under pretence of the good of the subject and of the poor, obtained a patent to make thousands of pounds worth ; and amongst other ways to get rid of them, some merchants would sell unvendible commodities for tokens, and then would press them upon their workmen whom they dealt with, and by that means, even chandlers, bakers and victuallers had their hands full. Their profit was exorbitant, as out of 1 oz of copper, which cost them one penny, they made 20 pence in tokens. This could not hold long, but others more eminent persons, must have a share, and so the first makers were dismissed, and their patent disannulled, and all the tokens left on the subjects' hands, who were to sell them to the braziers at 10 or 12 pence a pound, for they had a patent to make and distribute them, but the poor subjects had no patent to force the makers to take them again.

“ The next token makers, we all know who they were, the public farthing token offices in London do witness it, and this was done with a more large profit to the makers ; they had their officers to attend the sale of them daily, and had a pretty way to vent them, by giving one shilling over in twenty to those that came to buy them, which occasioned many to fetch them, and force 5, 10, yea 20 shillings at a time away ; so that in a short time there was an infinite quantity dispersed abroad, to the excessive profit of the makers, but the excessive loss of the takers, as shortly after did appear, as it inticed many that had no patent to become farthing makers ; but the City of London, and the adjacent counties of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk are so loaded with them, that there was scarce even any silver or gold left, but all was farthing tokens. But when farthings began to come in faster than they went out, the patentees did not like it, but soon found out a device ; that is that none was theirs but double ringed ; a pretty device, for very few were double rings, most single, and not theirs ; and who could prove the contrary ? and so upon a sudden, all farthings were left upon the subjects' hands. This was the second cheat, and a grievous one it was ; many poor persons lost all they had ;

for they who got their living by selling fruit, herbs, fish and other commodities, had all their stock in farthings, some 6, 8, 10 to 20 shillings ; which was all lost to their utter undoing. Tradesmen of a higher degree had at that time 10, 20, 40, yea 60 L worth of farthing tokens in their hands ; which almost all proved clear loss or single rings. It was conceived that there was at least 100,000 L dispersed throughout the kingdom, which was all lost, and no remedy could be had against the farthing makers. And this was the lamentable issue of making farthing tokens for the good of the subject.

“ But these pretenders, who do all for the good of the subject, would by no means forsake their excessive profit, but contrived another sort of tokens, that none should be able to counterfeit, as they pretended ; and that was, with a little yellow spot in the copper ; a good mark to know their own, but a better mark to make another cheat of 100,000 L more upon the poor subject, but all for their good, as is pretended. This hath gone on certain years ; but at first, because that great loss did lie so heavy upon many, and so fresh in the memory of all, they could not vent so many as they expected. In the mean time, this now sitting parliament began, and presently all patents were put down, because they were illegal and pressing to the subject. But (to the great admiration of many) this, so illegal and pressing a patent, did stand upright in its full power. When they perceived they were not questioned, they went on cheerfully, and began to use several means to vent their tokens, and, amongst other devices, they used many poor women as their factors to go about the city and suburbs and all other places where any resort of people was, and there would by entreaty and importunate begging, get and persuade many to change them sixpence in tokens for silver, which of late hath dispersed an infinite quantity of tokens ; by which means they are become so plenty, that every retailing tradesman is so pestered therewith that almost half of what they receive is farthing tokens ; and all adjacent counties are become so full

of them, nay more than ever they were before ; so that of necessity these tokens must go down again, which will prove a greater loss than those formerly, except the authority of this honourable parliament doth compel the token-makers to attend to their office, with ready money, to take in and exchange to the subject all the tokens for good current money, as in conscience and equity the token-makers ought to do, or else it will prove a very great loss to the subject.

“ It is very true that farthings are useful and necessary, both for rich and poor, we cannot well be without them, and in silver they are so small, that many cannot feel them between their fingers ; therefore, we ought to have farthings, either in copper or some metal mixed with copper, and they ought to be so much in value as may be worth a farthing ; all copper without any mixture is likely to be best, to prevent counterfeiting of them ; for it is certain, if it be so big and so weighty, as with the coining and other charges, they cost a farthing, we are sure none shall be counterfeited, nor brought in from foreign parts ; for it was the great profit that made the increase. Therefore we ought to make our farthings worth a farthing, that the subject may be no more deceived with unlawful tokens. These farthings will be very beneficial to all tradesmen, especially retailers, and very comfortable to the poor people.”

An answer to this pamphlet appears in a Petition addressed “ to both the high and honourable houses of parliament, 4to, printed in the yeare 1644.” It runs :—

“ The humble petition and remonstrance of some hundreds of retaylers, who have sparkes of charity and reason in them ; and of country chap-men in the associated counties, and of thousands of poore people besides, for the restoring of the farthing tokens, who are extremely damnified, and are like to perish by the suppression of them.”

The Petitioners are very frank in dealing with their opponents, and do not scruple to impute personal motives to the opposition

to the patentees, and say "That this very point is the gulph of their conceipts, and the mystery of their griping iniquity, mixt with vaine-glory, viz., to suppress these farthing tokens, that so they may advance their owne tokens, stamps, seals, names, signes and superscriptions, if not images, as now appeares, though they be far inferior to Caesar's." And there the story may well end.

When, however, so much has been said, and the actual coins—the so-called Rose Farthings—are examined, there is a very strong temptation to think all this muchado about nothing, such insignificant examples of numismatic art do they appear.

The whole bygone scandal serves to illustrate an aspect of human nature, which, unhappily, is not unknown to-day; it proves how easily unscrupulous profit-seekers did, and may still, exploit a long-suffering public, and how difficult it is for those in authority to do more than give a crying abuse a careful consideration, and, no doubt, forms a venerable precedent for that policy of "wait and see," which remains a cardinal doctrine of imperial politics.

#### *Authorities.*

The authorities consulted for the above sketch are the *State Papers*, Snelling, and Ruding, and, lastly, J. H. Burn, whose account, with the exception of certain valuable footnotes, appears to be almost a verbatim transcript of Ruding, to say the least quite inadequately acknowledged.

#### *The Name.*

The Farthing Tokens under consideration are conveniently known as Rose Farthings to distinguish them from the earlier Royal Farthing Tokens, by reason of the design, which they all bear upon their reverse. This design, a rose, takes several forms.

Upon the earlier pieces it is a double rose, of which there are two varieties: the ordinary heraldic rose; and a second, with more numerous petals, infolding upon the centre, which may be, called the botanical rose. Upon the later pieces the rose is single with a large seeded centre; but in some cases—presumably from

careless or inefficient workmanship—the centre presents the appearance of a large pellet.

*Weight, Size and Fabric.*

The average weight of the Rose Farthing pieces is about 13 grains, ranging from  $9\frac{1}{2}$  grains to 17 or 18. Exceptionally heavy pieces occur and are known to weigh 21, 25 and 26 grains.

The size of the Farthing Tokens is very uniform and is generally about .55 inch.

The fabric is considerably thicker than is the case with the Royal Farthing Tokens, and in some pieces the edges have been hammered.

*Mint-Marks.*

Unlike the Royal Farthing Tokens, which are distinguished by a lavish profusion of mint-marks, the Rose Farthing Tokens show but few.

Six in all have been recorded, viz., cross pattée,<sup>1</sup> martlet, lys, crescent, mullet, and mullet pierced. Of these the first two and the last are exceedingly rare, and marks other than these should be received with care, either as appearing upon forgeries, which are unhappily only too common, or being but crude examples of the above six. Both the cross pattée and the martlet seem to occur only on early currency experimental pieces, and Fleet-Surgeon Weightman makes the ingenious suggestion that possibly "martlet" was misread for "mullet" in some written instruction to the die-makers. The lys, crescent, and mullet only appear in the tokens issued for general circulation. They are used either singly or in combination.

Type I (of the present classification) shows lys and mullet, either separately or together.

Type II presents crescent and mullet, either separately or together.

Type III presents mullet only.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible, and, in my own opinion, certain, that the alleged cross pattée is only a badly formed mullet.

It should be observed that the Farthing Tokens were a private speculation. Although under a Royal Patent, and as has been seen, with the King personally interested, they were not produced by the Royal Mint. The marks upon them are not therefore mint-marks in the same sense as similar marks upon the gold and silver coinage of the day and, of course, did not go through the pyx. It seems, however, better to retain a name which is generally understood for these privy marks than to strain after a pedantic accuracy.

*Classification.*

The Rose Farthing Tokens fall naturally into three main types, which are most readily distinguished as follows :—

- I.—Imperial crowns on either side : double rose on reverse.
- II.—Monarchical crown on either side : single rose on reverse.
- III.—Monarchical crown on obverse : above sceptres in saltire, and not passing through as in I and II ;  
monarchical crown and single rose on reverse.

The order of the types probably represent the order of issue, which may, perhaps, be further determined by the sequence of mint-marks.

As this classification is diametrically opposite to that usually accepted on the authority of Montagu, it requires that the grounds for its adoption should be clearly set out.

The Rose Farthing Token, it is agreed, followed upon the “double ring” or Maltravers Farthing Token, and was obviously intended to be an improvement upon it.

A comparison with a Maltravers Farthing of any of the three types of Rose Farthing Tokens, either as they are set out in Montagu or as it is proposed to set them out here, suggests at once the similarity of type I, which Montagu puts last of all, to the Maltravers.

The following particulars may be singled out :—

The legends are identical.

Obverse.—CAROLVS D G MAG BRIT.

Reverse.—FRAN ET HIB REX.



This obverse legend never occurs upon either types II or III, on which BRI or even BR is always used instead of BRIT ; while the commonest form of reverse legend is FRA ET HI REX. Unfortunately Montagu makes a confusion of this by recording together all the variations of legend, as if they were used indiscriminately.

The Maltravers Farthing Token exhibits an imperial crown upon obverse and reverse. So does type I of the Rose Farthing Tokens and no other. Types II and III always show the monarchical, and mules exist which seem to mark the progress of the change.

The Rose, which appears as a mint-mark upon one variety of Maltravers Farthing, is identical with the double Rose upon type I of the Rose Farthing. The single Rose on types II and III is quite a new form and is to be found nowhere else upon English coinage.

And, lastly, while the sceptres on the obverse of the Maltravers Farthing Tokens are wholly within the inner circles, there exist Rose Farthing Tokens of type I (mint-mark, lys, or martlet, or cross pattée) with the same characteristics, and others whereon the sceptres barely cut the inner circle ; but in type II the sceptres invariably reach to the edge of the coin, and in type III are disposed in an entirely different fashion.

Such a classification covers the facts more naturally than the opposite one. The substitution of the monarchical crown for the imperial, the single rose for the double, and the marked contraction of the legend point to more slipshod, and possibly fraudulent, work than could be expected in a new type, which was meant to correct the deficiencies of its predecessors. It is difficult to believe that the Rose Farthing Tokens began with the almost "barbarous" work of type III, and gradually improved until the best work of type I was reached, when, year by year, the times became more troublous and the complaints against the tokens increased. That the whole

Four quite exceptional pieces, and probably unique, from the cabinet of Captain Weightman deserve special notice.

No. 1 is of the ordinary type, but the reverse legend reads FRAN ET HIBER REX. The mint-mark is a lys on both sides.

No. 2 is also of the ordinary type, but the reverse legend reads FRAN ET HIBE REX. This legend should be compared with the silver Briot pattern, described by Montagu, p. 24, No. 11; where HIBER should be read HIBE. There is a stop between the E and the following R. The special interest of this coin lies in the possibility it suggests, that Briot had a hand in designing the Farthing Tokens. The Farthing Token has a lys on the reverse and no mint-mark on the obverse. (Pl., 8.)

No. 3.—Obverse.—CARO-LVS D G M-AG BR

Reverse.—FRAN ET. HIBER. REX

No mint-mark on either side. The sceptres are longer above the crown than usual, extending beyond the inner linear circle. In this variety there is a different arrangement of the legend, which begins in the centre above instead of to the right above. The sceptres are so long that they break the legend, and the letters CARO are between the sceptres. The handle of one of the sceptres breaks the word MAG—a distance existing between M and AG. Instead of BRIT there is only BR, and on the reverse HIBER instead of the usual HIB.

No. 4.—This piece presents a similar condition of things, but only CAR is between the sceptres and MAG is not broken. The reverse is the usual FRAN ET HIB REX, and there are no mint-marks upon either obverse or reverse.

It is difficult to account for such pieces. They may have been experiments on the part of the Token House Mint or they may have been some of those forgeries of the day, which were so skilfully made as to succeed now, as then, in their sinister purpose.

D.

Exactly similar to A, B, and C, except that the ends of the sceptres nearly reach the outer circle, and BRI is used instead of BRIT in the obverse legend.

The mint-marks are as follows :—

Obverse.	Reverse.
Lys.	Mullet.
Mullet.	Lys.
Mullet.	Mullet. (Pl., 5.)

In one case in my collection the mullet, in the mullet-lys type, is pierced, and the work is generally finer.

All Farthing Tokens of type I are rare and some are excessively so. It would seem that their time of issue was comparatively short, and that they soon gave way to type II, which is distinguished by the single rose.

There is no direct evidence as to when the change was made, but it appears to have been made deliberately, because the British Museum has a finely executed silver pattern of type II, and copper proofs also exist.

It is tempting to conjecture that perhaps a change was made soon after the death of Sir Francis Crane, which took place in Paris on June 26th, 1636. This would give type I about six months of issue, which would sufficiently account for the rarity.

Mules of Types I and II.

Before going on to describe type II, notice should be taken of certain transitional pieces, of which I am able to classify the following :—

Obverse.—Type I. D.	Reverse.—Type II.
Mint-mark.	Mint-mark.
Mullet (in one case pierced).	Mullet (in one case pierced).
Lys.	Crescent.
Crescent.	Crescent.
Crescent.	Mullet. (Pl., 10.)

In all these cases the obverse reads CAROLVS D G MAG BRI, and the reverse FRAN ET HIB REX.

Obverse.—Type I. D.

Reverse.—Type II.

Mullet.

Crescent.

While the obverse legend remains as the previous, the reverse reads FRA ET HI REX.

Obverse.—Type II.

Reverse.—Type I. D.

Crescent.

Mullet.

Crescent.

Mullet.

The legend on the obverse of the former reads CAROLVS D G MAG BRI; the latter, which I only know in my own specimen, CAROLV

## Type II.

Obverse.—CAROLVS (or CAROLV) D.G. MAG (or MA) BRI.

A single monarchical crown, through which pass two lys-headed sceptres in saltire with ornamented handles, which reach to the edge of the coin. The legend is between an inner linear circle and an outer circle of dots.

Reverse.—FRAN (or FRA) ET HIB (or HI) REX.

A single rose surmounted by a single monarchical crown.

Legend between linear inner circle and outer circle of dots.

The jewels in the crowns are oblong on the obverse and square on the reverse.

The varieties of legend are disposed in the following six groups :—

1. Obverse.—CAROLVS D G MAG BRI  
Reverse.—FRAN ET HIB REX
2. Obverse.—CAROLV D G MA BRI  
Reverse.—FRAN ET HIB REX
3. Obverse.—CAROLVS D G MAG BRI  
Reverse.—FRA ET HIB REX
4. Obverse.—CAROLV D G MA BRI  
Reverse.—FRA ET HIB REX

5. Obverse.—CAROLVS D G MAG BRI  
Reverse.—FRA ET HI REX
6. Obverse.—CAROLVS D G MA BRI  
Reverse.—FRA ET HI REX

The British Museum silver pattern is No. 1, and would appear to be the standard. It weighs 12 grains, and has the lys mint-mark on both obverse and reverse. (Pl., 4A.)

There are copper proofs of No. 2 (a beautifully executed piece, weighing 27·8 grains), and of No. 6, weighing 21·8 grains; in each case with mint-mark crescent on both sides.

No. 6 is by far the commonest of the whole series, and must have been struck in enormous quantities. The die varieties are innumerable, and there is every variety of punctuation. One example of this exists with the mint-mark upon the obverse only. The work is coarse and in high-relief.

Two very exceptional pieces read respectively: CAROLV D G MAG BRI and CAROLVS D G MAG BRI on the obverse and FRA ET HIB REX on the reverse—mint-marks, crescent on both obverse and reverse.

The mint-marks are :—

Obverse.	Reverse.
Crescent.	Crescent. (Pl., 4, 11.)
Crescent.	—
Crescent.	Mullet.
Mullet.	Crescent. (Pl., 3.)
Mullet.	Mullet.

While the mint-mark crescent on both sides shows all six varieties of legend, the remainder have only the last legend.

Two interesting pieces worth noting: the first has a double crescent upon the obverse with crescent upon the reverse; the other has a mullet overstruck upon a crescent on the obverse and a crescent upon the reverse.

Too much stress ought not to be laid upon such varieties.

Careless workmanship or unusually skilful forgeries probably account for them.<sup>1</sup>

Full-stops, colons, and the apostrophe occur, and sometimes a combination of two or three different sorts of stops. Probably pieces on which no stops occur at all are contemporary forgeries.

The mint-mark is sometimes modified by a stop or pellet before or after or both, but the explanation suggests itself that this was due to the idiosyncrasy of different die-makers, who chose to fill up blank spaces in their legends in this way.

A typical illustration will be found in Appendix II to this paper.

### Type III.

Obverse.—CAROLV D G MAG (or MA) BR (or BRI)

A single monarchical crown above two sceptres, placed horizontally in saltire. Inner linear circle, through which the sceptres pass and reach an outer circle of dots.

Reverse.—FRA (or FR) ET HIB REX

A single rose surmounted by a single monarchical crown. Legend between plain inner circle and outer circle of dots.

The mint-mark on both sides in all cases is a mullet. The punctuation of the legends is so erratic that no classification is possible. Apparently, however, only a colon or full-stop is used. There is no inlet of brass, as is the case with the other types.

There are two varieties in which the handles of the sceptres are either ornamented or plain.

(a) Ornamented handles to sceptres. There is no variation in legend, which is always :—

Obverse.—CAROLV D G MAG BRI

Reverse.—FRA ET HIB REX

<sup>1</sup> I have a specimen of the mullet-mullet type, which has no inner linear circle on the obverse.



(b) Plain handles to sceptre. The variations in the legend are as follows :—

Obverse.—CAROLV D G MAG BR

Reverse.—FRA ET HIB REX

Obverse.—CAROLV D G MAG BR

Reverse.—FR ET HIB REX

Obverse.—CAROLV D G MA BRI

Reverse.—FRA ET HIB REX

Obverse.—CAROLV D G MA BRI

Reverse.—FR ET HIB REX

In sub-type (b), with legends CAROLV D G MAG BR and FR ET HIB REX, a variety presents an orb only, instead of the usual cross on orb above the crown of the obverse.

The design and workmanship of this type are both miserably poor, while the fabric is irregular and the metal sometimes so short that it has worn completely through in parts in the striking.

It has already been suggested that this type was in the nature of money of necessity, especially coined for the purposes of Army pay at the instance of the King—which might well account for the variation in design.













A quotation from the newspaper called *The Diary*, of September 13th, 1644, with reference to the proceedings of the House of Commons on the previous Friday (September 6th), runs :—

“ The business of Farthing Tokens was again taken into consideration ; and it was declared how great a damage the Kingdom sustained by their increase, some of them being made and minted beyond the seas, the brasse no way countervailing the worth of the farthing ; which, as it was a hindrance to our kingdom, was a great benefit to strangers. It was also declared, that His Majesty payed his army for the most part with farthing tokens which were minted at Bristol ; and, being cunningly and secretly conveyed by sea to London, they oftentimes received silver for them

Captain A. E. Weightman had a small hoard of thirteen farthings of this type, practically in mint condition, just as they were issued, which were found in the pocket of a soldier who was buried in Somerset. This evidence would seem to point to the year 1644 as the time of issue and Bristol as the place of minting.

## APPENDIX I.

*Table to Illustrate the Sequence of Mint-marks.*

			Obverse.		Reverse.
Type I—					
(a)	..	..		..	
				..	
				..	
				..	
(b), (c)	..	..		..	
(d)	..	..		..	★
			★	..	
			★	..	★
Muled types I and II—			★	..	☾
			☾	..	★
Type II—			☾	..	☾
			☾	..	★
			★	..	☾
			★	..	★
Type III	..	..	★	..	★

} Mules of type I (d).

} Mules of type II.

*Note.*—In the above table only main marks are included. Varieties, *e.g.* mint-mark on one side only, pierced mullet, double crescent, no mint-mark, are omitted.

APPENDIX II.

*Table to Illustrate Punctuation and Modification of Mint-marks by the Presence or Absence of Stops or Pellets.*


In the following table, only one type is set out at length, viz. type II (a) (4), which is the commonest. This will serve to illustrate all the rest, though in no other type are so many variations to be found.

1. Obverse.—CAROLV D.G MA:BRI: ∽  
Reverse.—FRA:ET·HI:REX· ∽
2. Obverse.—CAROLV D:G MA:BRI: ∽  
Reverse.—FRA:ET·HI:REX ∽
3. Obverse.—CAROLV D:G MA:BRI ∽  
Reverse.—FRA:ET·HI:REX ∽
4. Obverse.—CAROLV D' G MA' BRI' ∽  
Reverse.—FRA:ET·HI:REX· ∽
5. Obverse.—CAROLV D:G MA:BRI ∽  
Reverse.—FRA:ET·HI:REX: ∽
6. Obverse.—CAROLV D:G MA:BRI: ∽  
Reverse.—FRA:ET·HI:REX· ∽
7. Obverse.—CAROLV D:G MA:BRI ∽  
Reverse.—FRA:ET·HI:REX· ∽
8. Obverse.—CAROLV D:G MA:BRI ∽  
Reverse.—FRA:ET·HI:REX ∽
9. Obverse.—CAROLV D:G MA:BRI: ∽  
Reverse.—FRA:ET·HI:REX ∽



## THE DRESS OF ELIZABETH AS SHOWN ON HER EARLY SILVER COINS, 1558-61.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

HE great change in fashions which took place about the time of Mary's death in 1558 is well illustrated in the coinage. On her late groats, those struck after her marriage, Mary is depicted as wearing the usual Tudor dress, square cut and slightly décolletée at the neck, with a pearl necklace having an ornamental pendant. Elizabeth, on the other hand, carefully covered up all that was exposed by her predecessor, for she is represented in a low bodice with a close-fitting yoke of tulle or lace, with an elaborate high collar and ornamental braid where the yoke fastened down the front. The bodice is supported by straps which vary in number passing over the shoulders, where they are connected by another strap. There is also a ruff round the neck, and on her head, under the crown, a cap of similar material to that of the ruff. The yoke, which is the principal feature, is at first plain and then becomes more ornamental and, on the milled coins, most elaborate. The bodice, whenever it appears, is, with one exception, always ornamented.

The Queen evidently was interested in her portrait, and expressed her opinion upon it. In October, 1560, Thomas Stanley, the Comptroller of the Mint, writes to Lord Cecil: "I am sorry the Queen's Majesty misliketh her stamp of her fine moneys; I have sent your honour to show her highness a pound's weight here enclosed, trusting in God that the next stamp shall be better, which the graver is now about." (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.*, vol. XIV, No. 8; *Num. Chron.*, vol. XVI, 4th Series, p. 64.)

The changes are particularly presented on the shillings. Taking the three early mint-marks, viz., Lis, Cross-crosslet and Martlet, in order, the following changes appear :—

Mint-mark, Lis.—No. 1: The earliest coin has no inner circle. The yoke is quite plain and the straps are beaded. The collar has a diamond-shaped embroidery. No. 2: The yoke is plain and the straps are plain, but in pairs, and the collar ornamentation has lozenges. No. 3: The yoke is now of lace with a slightly worked pattern, the straps are single tapes, and the collar has the lozenge pattern. The top of the bodice appears and it is embroidered. The so-called pattern milled half-crown has a somewhat similar dress to No. 3.

Mint-mark, Cross-crosslet, which was that of the nether mint, from November, 1560, to November, 1561.—No. 4 corresponds with Lis No. 1. No. 5 differs from No. 4 by the straps being composed of a double line of beads. No. 6, the yoke is of spotted net, the straps of tape and the collar has lozenges. The bodice is ornamented. No milled coins were struck in this mint.

Mint-mark, Martlet, which was that of the upper mint which was closed in 1562.—No. 7 corresponds with No. 6. No. 8, the lace work of the yoke has a decided pattern, straps and collar as before. The bust on the milled shilling with this mint-mark is similar.

The Queen or her advisors appear to have been satisfied with this bust No. 8, for when the recoinage of shillings began again in 1583 with the Bell mint-mark, this die was used and continued till the end of the reign, the only alteration being that with and after the scallop mint-mark her ears are shown.

No. 9: Mint-mark, Star on the milled coinage only. Everything is very elaborate, the corsage having two rows of pearls.

There was no issue of shillings after the stoppage in November, 1561, until 1583.

Less trouble was taken over the lower denominations.



The groat has the yoke, and straps plain; and the collar and bodice, where shown, ornamented. There are exceptions, for one without inner circle, mint-mark Lis, has the straps in pairs; and another, with inner circles, has the bodice plain. The milled groat mint-mark Star is similar to the shilling with the same mint-mark.

The half-groats are *like the majority* of the groats *without exception*. The milled half-groat mint-mark Star is like the groat and shilling.

The pence are different. Those with small bust with mint-marks Lis, Cross-crosslet, and Martlet, have a yoke of spotted net like shilling No. 6; and those with the large head, mint-marks Cross crosslet and Martlet, have a decorated lace yoke.

It is curious that so much detail should have been put into these pence; perhaps the reason may have been that they came especially under the Queen's notice when distributing the royal maundy.

The elaborateness of the Queen's dress on the milled coins makes it appear that the engraver was anxious to flatter Her Majesty's vanity by representing her as attired in her most gorgeous gowns, which might be appropriate to such a special coinage.



## THE SHREWSBURY MEDAL.

*A Note upon Military Medals of the Mid-Seventeenth Century.*

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

**I** FEAR the readers of the *British Numismatic Journal* will be tired of my series of badges issued in the reign of Charles I, many of which I have already exhibited at various times at our meetings.

My theory concerning these medals is not new to those who have read my articles, namely, that these badges were the forerunners of the War medals of the present day and appeared upon the breast of Cavalier or Puritan, just as many of our medals decorate the uniforms of those of our Members who fought in the Great War still so present to our memories.

I do not therefore purpose to dwell upon this definition of the portraiture of the King or the Parliamentary Generals. But an unpublished document has fairly recently come to my notice on the subject of Charles I's presentation of his portrait and that of his elder son, combined on the face of one medal and ordered at Oxford, January 23rd, 1642-3. This medal, which was given to certain persons who had rallied to the Royalist cause, is therefore my theme, and is my excuse for bringing the seventeenth-century war-decorations again under discussion.

When in 1885 our great text-book on the British Historical Medals antecedent to the reign of George III was compiled by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks and Mr. Herbert Grueber from the

notes of the late Edward Hawkins, it became clear that the last-named distinguished antiquary considered certain badges, or oval medals with loops for suspension, to be definitely "Military Rewards," and it is with some of these that we are now concerned. Other badges were regarded by him as personal presentations, and were grouped without date as memorials treasured in remembrance of Charles I after the King was beheaded. The evidence afforded by certain pieces dated 1642, proving that they were designed during the Civil War, was not then available, but the editors were of opinion that many of these undated badges were in truth War Medals in the sense that they were made for presentation to those who upheld the King's cause.

In the time of Charles I, a portrait of the King, or of one of the Parliamentary Generals, was not necessarily a *reward* given *after* a battle to those who had participated in it. In many cases, worn upon a coloured ribbon or scarf, it was practically a regimental badge. When the buff coat was worn by the soldiers of both parties, when a certain amount of armour was still in use—when fighting was to a great extent hand to hand—a badge upon a coloured ribbon was the natural way of marking the difference between the combatants. Uniform, which crystallized under Charles II, had been more or less established by Cromwell; but in the early years of the Civil War it was rare. Newcastle, it is true, dressed his men in white coats, telling them to dye them red in the blood of their enemies. They fell bravely fighting for the King in such numbers that the Parliamentarians boasted that their threat had recoiled upon their own heads. The Royal Guards wore a special red cloak, but many troops were raised at a moment's notice by loyalists, and the custom prevailed to don the colours of the commander in the form of a scarf or ribbon—a regiment "wearing green colours," for instance, is noted—and the story is well known of the orange scarf worn by the men under the Parliamentary General, the Earl of Essex. It is worth repeating here and now, because it bears upon the medal granted on June 1st, 1643, to Sir Robert Welch, or Walsh as he commonly spelt his own name, an Irish Officer, for rescuing the Royal

Standard at the Battle of Edgehill on October 23rd, 1642.<sup>1</sup> The story runs that the King's Standard-bearer, Sir Edmund Verney, being borne down and killed by the enemy, the Standard was seized by Colonel Middleton, of Essex's men, and given into the charge of Mr. Chambers, the General's secretary. Two officers and a trooper of the Royalist Cavalry under Rupert's command, discarding their own regimental symbols, tore the "orange-tawny scarfs" from some of the fallen enemy and, thus disguised, made their way through the ranks of their foes. Telling the secretary that "it was unfit a penman should have the honour to carry the Standard," Smith<sup>2</sup> of Grandison's Horse, or Welch of Wilmot's contingent, seized it, and they galloped back to their own regiments carrying their trophy with them. Whether all three escaped history does not relate; the third horseman, whose name is reported as Chichley,<sup>3</sup> did not, we fear, live to reap the reward of the victory, for we do not hear of him again. Smith later died of wounds received at Cheriton in 1644, but Welch, who in 1679 wrote a lamentably boastful memoir of himself, although he gives credit to Smith's part in the affair, claimed to have been the actual rescuer of the King's Regimental Standard and also of two cannon and of Essex's waggon. He presented his capture next day to Rupert, who in turn brought both officers to the King when

<sup>1</sup> On the medal and warrant for making it, preserved at the College of Arms, the name is spelt "Welch," and to avoid confusion I have adopted this spelling in agreement with *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, vol. i, p. 302, No. 124. In the Grant-of-Arms, however, ratifying the above warrant under James II, in August, 1685, and also to be seen at the Herald's College, we find the change of the "e" to "a"—"Walch." In Sir Robert's autobiography, "printed for the author in 1679," and entitled *The Narrative and True Manifest set forth by Sir Robert Walsh, Knight and Batt. [Banneret]*, we notice the further substitution of "s" for "c," and as "Walsh" he is mentioned by Clarendon. Yet another form is adopted in a pamphlet of 1680, where it is stated that "he calls himself Sir Robert Welsh." The spelling of those days was little regarded, but Sir Robert claimed to belong to a very ancient family of Walsh in Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> John Smith, sometimes spelt "Smythe," was the son of Sir Francis Smith and brother of the first Lord Carington. Most historians impute to Smith the actual recapture of the Standard.

<sup>3</sup> *Britannicæ Virtutis Imago*, by E.W. [Edward Walsingham], pp. 13 and 14. Thomason Tracts, E, 53, 10.

Welch and Smith were both made knights bannerets as Sir Robert and Sir John, respectively.

The gold medal ordered from Rawlins and afterwards presented to Welch and Smith was worn by both knights on a green ribbon. It appears from the Memoir of Welch that it might be worn on green, blue or black; but of Smith, it is expressly stated by Bulstrode, that his medal was suspended from "a large green watered Ribband cross his shoulders."<sup>1</sup> The medal has been identified by a careful



MEDAL PRESENTED TO SIR ROBERT WELCH.

(BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.)

(*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xv (1853), p. 80.)

drawing of both sides on the Grant-of-Arms to Sir Robert Welch in the Herald's College—M.S.I. 26, folio 90. It was figured in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xv, 1st series, in 1853,<sup>2</sup> and one or

<sup>1</sup> *Narrative and Manifest*, final page; also Sir Richard Bulstrode's *Memoirs and Reflections*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> I have compared the plate in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, here reproduced, by the courtesy of the Royal Numismatic Society, with the pen-and-ink sketch at the College of Arms. The copy is excellent, but the cross-hatching in the original is rather finer.



more specimens of the medal,<sup>1</sup> as it must have appeared, were then made, and gilt electrotypes exist, but no contemporary specimen has been so far discovered in its entirety.



OBVERSE OF THE MILITARY REWARD.

(IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 302, No. 123. Probably ordered for the County of Salop.)

The Medal Room at the British Museum contains, it is true, a shell, contemporaneously struck in thin silver of the obverse which was specified in the College of Arms warrant as "our own figure and that of our dearest sonne." And there also, cast and chased in silver-gilt, is an example wherein two pieces of the Jugate busts' design intended for the obverse have been soldered together back to back. It seems likely that hastily struck clichés were either intended to be combined with some specially designed reverse, like that of the Royal Standard granted to Welch, or the die was meant to produce *solid uniface* medals on which some dedicatory words could be engraved, as is implied by the document I am about to bring before you.

It is said that Sir John Smith is represented in a picture wearing his decoration, but although I have been privileged to examine the Welch Grant-of-Arms and the warrant for the medal at the College of Arms, I have not succeeded in discovering the whereabouts of the Smith portrait. This is the more regrettable, in

<sup>1</sup> *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, pp. 302-3, No. 124.

that it is likely that he would be depicted wearing his medal with the side bearing the Standard towards the spectator, just as the picture of Sir Thomas Tyldesley is represented at the National Portrait Gallery wearing his medal on a chain, and showing the equestrian figure usually regarded as the *reverse* of the Edgehill medal, rather than the *obverse* portraying the King, in order to differentiate from other commoner medals with which Charles's crowned head is more usually combined. Sir Thomas, who was killed in battle fighting for Prince Charles in 1651, had fought with distinction at Edgehill commanding a troop he had himself raised for the King.



THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL MEDAL.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 299, No. 119.)

However, so rare is the Jugate portrait of Charles I and his son, which forms the obverse of the Welch and Smith medals, that it has always been a subject of doubt whether it was made solely for these two loyal followers of the King or was merely adapted to their use on the lines which I have suggested. It is a rough hurried piece of work far inferior to the Forlorn-Hope Medal ordered on May 18th, 1643, which shows the King's bust in high-relief three-quarter to right on the one side, combined with a charming profile to left, a portrait of the little Prince, adapted by Rawlins on a slightly smaller scale from a medallion which he had executed and signed at Oxford. Was the "Military Reward," as

the Jugate portrait is called in *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, p. 302, No. 123, given for other services than No. 124, the rescue of the Standard? This is the question I hope to answer.



THE FORLORN-HOPE MEDAL.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 301, No. 122.)

In turning over the pages of Lord Crawford's splendid Calendar of Proclamations, and reading the introduction by Mr. Robert Steele, my eye fell upon the words "medal hitherto unknown to students." This directed my attention to No. 2353, of January 23rd, 1642-3, addressed to Parkhurst and Bushell at Oxford.

The abstract, necessarily brief, merely informs us that a gold medal was ordered for the "County of Salop," with a note to the effect that: "In addition to the verbal expression of his thanks, the King orders a gold medal with the effigies of himself and his son to be presented to the chief personages of the County of Salop who have aided the Royal cause."

It was stated that two copies of the proclamation were known, the one in the Privy Council Office, the other in the collection of Mrs. Wentworth.

By the kindness and courtesy of the Clerk of the Council, I received a copy in full of the order for the medal, and by the subsequent chance of the Wentworth folios coming into Messrs. Sotheby's sale-room on June 21st, 1922, I was further able to satisfy myself as to details of type and spelling by collating No. 4 of the Wentworth

collection with the copy of No. 477 at the Privy Council Office which I now reproduce :—

“CHARLES R.”

“Trusty and wel-beloved We greet you well. Finding much  
 “Reality and Worthynes in the resolution of Our truehearted  
 “Subjects from Our County of SALOP, first by them expressed  
 “in their late concurrent association against the unnaturall  
 “Rebells now on foote in this Our Kingdom, We are not  
 “satisfied by having imparted to them the true sence We conceive  
 “of their dutifull affections in Our Letters, and Our Verball  
 “thanks for the same, without leaving amongst them some more  
 “durable Monument of Our Royall Grace, and favour, to remaine  
 “in after ages, as an Evidence of their Fidelity to their Prince,  
 “and Country. We have therefore caused Our owne Royall  
 “Image, with that of Our dearest Sonne, Prince Charles, to be  
 “impressed on a Medall of Gold, and a Commemoration of his  
 “well-deservings to whom it is designed, to be inscribed on the  
 “Reverse, whereby his Posterity may assume the Glory That  
 “their Ancestor stood Loyall to their Sovereigne when the  
 “Malignty of Rebellion had neere covered the face of this  
 “flourishing Kingdom. These Medalls We require that you  
 “present in Our name with your owne hands to those worthy  
 “Personages, as they are severally nominated, and to certifie Vs  
 “who are remayning more in Our said County, which have  
 “deserved such Memorials, to whom We shall thereupon  
 “accordingly confer the same. Provided that none, who have  
 “actually assisted, or contributed to this present Rebellion  
 “against Vs receive any such Honour from Vs. Given at Our  
 “Court at Oxford this 23 day of January 1642.

“To Our trusty and well-beloved S<sup>r</sup> William Parkhurst,  
 “Knight, and Thomas Bushell, Esquire, Wardens of Our Mint.”

The King, according to a manuscript in the Bodleian Library,<sup>1</sup> after setting up his Standard at Nottingham on August 23rd, where

<sup>1</sup> See *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. ii, pp. 425-56, published in 1781 from Sandcroft's manuscripts.

he was staying with the Earl of Clare some five weeks, went on September 13th to Derby, thence on the 16th to Uttoxeter, on the 17th to Stafford, the 19th to Wellington, and thence to Shrewsbury, arriving the 20th and remaining three nights. On the 23rd he went to "West-Chester"—reference to Clarendon shows that this should read Chester—for four nights, and returned on the 27th to Shrewsbury making it his headquarters until October 12th. Clarendon remarks on the excellent behaviour of the troops whilst at Shrewsbury and the great loyalty to the King, "the free loans and contributions of the gentlemen and substantial inhabitants, but especially by the assistance of the nobility," so that there was not the least "discontent for want of pay; nor was there any cause, for they seldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid."<sup>1</sup> On the 12th the King went by Bridgenorth and Wolverhampton, Aston, Packington and Southam to Edgcott, where he arrived on the 22nd. The battle of Edgehill was fought on the following day.

We see from the "Narrative" of Welch that although knighted the day after the battle, the medals were not promised to him and Smith until the King should be settled in Oxford, and the warrant to Rawlins was dated June 1st, 1643. This warrant informs us that the engraver was desired to "make a medal in gold with Our own figure and that of Our dearest sonne Prince Charles. And on the reverse to insculp y<sup>e</sup> form of Our Royal Banner," etc., etc.

This is suggestive that the obverse die was already in existence for Rawlins was only "to insculp" the reverse. We may, I think, therefore rest assured that the Shropshire Medal, ordered in the preceding January, 1642-3, bore the same obverse as that afterwards presented to Welch and ordered on June 1st, 1643, whilst the far more beautiful Forlorn-Hope Medal, which was executed more at the leisure of Rawlins, intervened in point of date, being ordered May 18th, 1643. This was, however, unsuitable, as was also the Edgehill Medal, for the Welch and Smith presentation, in that the portraits occupied the two sides of the badge.

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's *History*, pp. 303-5, edition of 1843.

I hope in bringing this document into notice that extant examples of the gold medal may be brought to light in some of the beautiful old houses in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury. But such evidences of loyalty were after the King's death a danger to the owners, and the temptation to melt the gold was strong—although, when their services had been called for by Charles, not only their plate, but their lives, had been proffered for his cause.



## THE COINAGE OF BRISTOL, 1643-1645.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.



ON July 27th, 1643, Bristol was taken by the Royalists under Prince Rupert, and on August 3rd Charles I made his entry into the City.

The possession of this, the second city and port in England, was of great importance, as it gave the King a stronghold in the West, and access to the Bristol Channel. A garrison was assigned to it, and it became, after Oxford, the second capital, and it remained so until it was surrendered to the troops of the Commonwealth under Sir Thomas Fairfax on September 11th, 1645.

Pay was required for the troops, and the expenses of the civil administration had to be met, so money had to be provided. Owing to the disturbed state of the country, there were difficulties in supplying the necessary cash from Oxford: such as the Mint not being large enough to provide the increased number of coins, and the danger the specie would run of being looted during its conveyance. The bulk was provided by weekly requisitions on the neighbourhood. The King could easily establish a Mint in Bristol, as he had with him his expert Mint-master, Thomas Bushell. This he did, and directed Bushell to proceed there for that object. It was an advantage for Bushell to have a branch of the Mint at Bristol, as he would be able to bring his silver from Aberystwyth direct by sea.

Doubts have been thrown from time to time on there ever having been a Mint at Bristol. Harl. MS. 6833, which contains the dossier of Bushell's claims to the Privy Council after the Restoration for the repayment of the money advanced by him for the King's

service during the years 1642 to 1647, settles the matter. The following is some of the evidence produced:—

(Page 4.) “I was at great expense of . . . repairing the Castle of Bristol by his Majesty’s command and setting up a Mint there by his Majesty’s command.”

(Page 43.) “The account of Thomas Bushell Esqre, for several disbursements in his late Majesty’s service, presented to the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Ashley Chancellor of the Exchequer 1643—For repairing the Castle of Bristol and setting up a Mint there by his Majesty’s special command £1,020.

“Anno 1642, 1643, 1644 he weekly supplied with fine silver the mints of Salop, Oxford and Bristol 100 L.”

(Pages 40, 41.) “Richard Nichols a moneyer trusted by the Corporation of H.M.’s Mints at ye Tower of London, Shrewsbury, Oxon and Bristol, states that Bushell at Bristol ‘was at great charge in repairing the Castle and setting up a Mint therein’ and supplied silver till the enemy took his mines.”

(Page 45.) “Sir J. Knight of Bristol in his report to Lord Ashley states, ‘I will not trouble your Lordship with his (Bushell’s) repairing the Castle of Bristol and setting up a mint to coin £100 a week of his own silver brought from the mines in Wales.’”

There is also a letter under the Royal sign manual concerning clothing, and dated 17th May, 1644, addressed to “our trusty and well beloved Thomas Bushell Esqre one of the Wardens of our Mint at Bristol.” Who was the other Warden? I can only presume that Sir William Parkhurst was he. In that case it may be surmised that Bristol was more or less in connection with the Oxford mint, as for want of other evidence both would appear to have been worked under the original letters patent for Aberystwyth.

During his residence in Bristol he lived at the house of Mr. Edwards, an apothecary, on Bristol Bridge. The house was accidentally burnt down, and his vouchers perished in the flames.

Any that may have escaped were, together with other papers, afterwards seized by order of Cromwell. Consequently, in his petition he could only produce secondary evidence.

*The History of Bristol*, by John Corry, states that "In the year 1646 a fire broke in the house of an apothecary on the bridge and burnt all the houses from the Chapel to St. Nicholas Gate" (Vol. I, p. 462). If this is the fire referred to, it must have occurred some seven months or more after Bushell had left Bristol. Cromwell, who was with Sir Thomas Fairfax, would certainly have seized the papers of such an important person as soon as possible. In that case the loss of the vouchers would not have been due immediately to the fire. The Privy Council reported in his favour, but he never received any compensation.

From the foregoing it will be gathered that a Mint was established in the Castle of Bristol which was able to strike money at the rate of £100 per week. The question of the establishment of a Mint having been settled, the next is to decide what coins were struck. An examination of the coins dated 1643 or 1644 discovers the initials OX · EX · W · CHST · HC ·, which have been severally assigned to the cities or towns of Oxford, Exeter, Weymouth, Chester and Hartlebury Castle for Worcester. In addition to these, there is a series bearing the monogram of BR. (B<sub>n</sub>), and dated from 1643 to 1645, these being the years that Bristol was occupied by the King's forces. These are now assigned to Bristol, and rightly, too, as the regular gradation from those of the mother-mint of Oxford can be followed. In the cases of Shrewsbury and Oxford, Bushell took some of the dies with him as proved by the mules that have come down to us, and this happened in that of Bristol. Bushell must have taken some of the Oxford dies with him to Bristol, for there are some coins, principally half-crowns, which have the well-known Oxford obverse with the B<sub>n</sub> reverse.

Bushell, when he went to Bristol, presumably in August or September, 1643 (for in all his papers he is exasperatingly negligent in giving dates), must have taken with him one of the assistant engravers, as the dies are of a distinctly different work from those of Oxford, first crude and finally of excellent finish.

The coins having the **B** are easy to arrange, as they have distinctive features which appear on the reverse. These are the legend commencing on the top instead of on the left, larger plumes, and a different abbreviation of the Declaration, at first RELIG : PRO or PROT : / LE : AN : LI : PA : in two lines; later REL instead of RELIG. These coins will be taken as those of the third period. There are others on the border-line which have to be placed. These occur among the half-crowns and shillings.



FIG. 1, OXFORD TYPE. FIGS. 2 AND 3, BRISTOL, 1ST TYPE.  
FIG. 4, 2ND TYPE. FIG. 5, 3RD TYPE.

In the first case there are those peculiar reverses which have hitherto been assigned to Oxford. In my paper<sup>1</sup> on the coins of that mint, I drew attention to certain dies, viz., half-crowns Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and shillings Nos. 5 and 6, which have the legend commencing at left, very large plumes, and the Bristol wording of the Declaration, instead of the RELIG : PRO : LEG / ANG : LIBER : PAR, and of entirely different workmanship.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 143 sqq.

In the second case, there are others which have no *Bh*, but the legend commences at the top, and there are large plumes and the Bristol Declaration. These three types are found with the Oxford obverse 1643. If the three types are placed side by side it will be seen how harmoniously the first and second blend into the third type, and how they differ from the Oxford type of half-crown.

The same applies to the shillings, with the additional point in Case I that there is no line under *LE AN* of the Declaration.



FIG. 6, OXFORD SHILLING. FIGS. 7 AND 8, BRISTOL, 1ST TYPE.  
FIG. 9, 2ND TYPE. FIG. 10, 3RD TYPE.

I divided the Oxford issues of 1643 into three periods, and those of Bristol can be arranged in the same manner, viz.:—The First Period, 1st type: Reverse, legend commencing left. Second Period, 2nd type: Legend commencing at top; and Third Period, 3rd type, with *Bh*.

These types or periods correspond with the three periods of Oxford coinage of 1643. The first case, which must have occurred when Bushell first arrived at Bristol, matches the Oxford period with the first obverses, with the Shrewsbury horse with its off hind-leg

raised. The second case corresponds with the Oxford second period, that with the Briot horse, and the pure Bristol with the B<sub>1</sub>, with the third period with OX on the reverse.

In describing the coins, I will follow the manner used in my papers on Shrewsbury and Oxford, by indicating, for each year, the obverses by the letters of the alphabet and the reverses by numerals. The word "plume" denotes the Oxford variety with bands, the Shrewsbury plume being without; "plumelet," a peculiar, small, compact plume of the Shrewsbury type. Both gold and silver were struck.

#### GOLD.

It is to be presumed that Bushell was empowered, as at Oxford, to strike gold. Very little indeed can have been struck, as the two denominations, viz., the Unite and Double Crown or half-Unite, are very rare, especially the latter. The design is very similar to the Oxford coins, but the B<sub>1</sub> makes the difference. The two classes were coined only in 1645, so they may have formed a part of a very limited issue for some special occasion.

#### THE UNITE.

##### *Obverse.*

A. Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>, with pellet each side. Half-length figure of the King to left, crowned, holding sword and olive branch; behind XX; legend, CAROLUS · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX · (Plate I, 11), B.M.

Found with reverse 1.

B. As A, but the sword is shorter and the orb of the crown cuts the Inner Circle, H · for HIB · in the legend, and the flan is smaller (Plate I, 12), B.M.

Found with reverse 2.

##### *Reverse.*

1. Mint-mark, plumelet, with pellet to left. Plume between two plumelets. The legend and Declaration are in one continuous scroll, viz., EXURGAT · DEUS · DISSIPENTUR · INIMICI, small Shrewsbury





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plume, three pellets (••), REL : PROT : LEG : ANG : LIB : PAR : ; 1645 below, the 4 retrograde (Plate I, 13), B.M.

Found with obverse A.

2. No mint-mark. Shrewsbury plume between two plumelets. Legend and Declaration in one continuous scroll, EXVRGAT · DEVS · DISSIPENTUR · INIMICI · ☞ : (horizontal), REL : PRO / LEG : AN · / LIB · PA : ; 1645 below (Plate I, 14), B.M.

Found with obverse B.

#### DOUBLE CROWN OR HALF-UNITE.

##### *Obverse.*

A. Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>, with pellet each side between two Shrewsbury plumes. Half-length figure of the King in armour to the left, crowned, holding a sword and an olive branch; behind, X. Legend, CAROLUS · D · G · MAG : B : F : ET · HIB : REX · (Plate III, 67), B.M. Kenyon, Plate XVIII, 124.

##### *Reverse.*

Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>, with pellet each side between legend and Declaration. A plume between two Shrewsbury plumes. Legend and Declaration in one continuous scroll, EXURGAT · DEUS · DISSIPENTUR · INIMICI REL : PRO : LEG : ANG : LIB : PAR : ; 1645 below (Plate III, 68), B.M. Kenyon, Plate XVIII, 124.

#### SILVER.

The denominations struck were the half-crown, shilling, sixpence, groat, threepence, half-groat and penny. The halfpenny, if struck, was probably from old Aberystwyth dies, as at Oxford and Shrewsbury. They are all of the Oxford design, differing only in peculiarities.

#### HALF-CROWNS.

Half-crowns, as at Oxford, appear to form the largest bulk of the coins struck, and the habit of casual or promiscuous minting was followed. The legs on some of the horses are thicker than on others, but this, I think, is merely incidental. They all have the plume behind the King. The reverse legend is always EXURGAT · DEUS · DISSIPENTUR · INIMICI.

1643.

*Obverses.*

## First Period.

A. Oxford "A": mint-mark, plume, no line under horse. Legend, CAROLUS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HIB : REX (Plate I, 15).

Found with reverse 5.

B. Oxford "F": mint-mark, pellet, line under horse. Legend as on "A" (Plate I, 16).

Found with reverses 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 10.

## Later Periods.

C. Mint-mark, acorn between four pellets. I call this object an acorn, but it might be a pear or anything similar as it is so indefinite. No line under horse. Legend, CAROLUS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIBER : REX (Plate I, 17).

Found with reverses 7, 8, 9 and 10.

This is probably of the third period, as it is minted only with the second and third period reverses.

D. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume with pellet each side. No line under horse. Shrewsbury plume behind King. Legend, CAROLUS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX (Plate I, 18). Hawkins No. 3.

Found with reverse 10. There are several dies of this, the pellets by the mint-mark varying in number.

*Reverses.*

## First Period.

1. Oxford 13. Mint-mark obliterated. Three large square plumes. The Declaration has no line above or beneath it, RELIG : PROT •• / LE : AN : LIB : PA • / 1643. Legend, EXURGAT : DEUS : DISSIPENTUR : INIMICI (Plate I, 19).

Found with obverse B (B.M.). This was probably the first of the reverse dies, as the lines by the Declaration are omitted. It has LIB instead of LI.

2. Oxford 12. Mint-mark, four pellets (•••). Similar to 1, but has a line above and beneath the Declaration (Plate I, 20).

Found with obverse B (B.M.).

3. Oxford 11. Mint-mark, four pellets (•••). Similar to 2, but PROT : PA (Fig. 2).

Found with obverse B.

4. Oxford 8. Mint-mark, four wedge-shaped pellets (⚔). Three large plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : / LE : AN : LI : PA / 1643. A wedge-shaped pellet between the words of the legend, and two of these pellets for S in DEUS, 1643 (Plate I, 21).

Found with obverse B.

5. Oxford 9. As No. 4, but PROT and two pellets between the words of the legend, 1643 (Plate I, 22).

Found with obverse A.

6. Oxford 10. Mint-mark, five pellets (••••). Three large plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : / LE : AN : LI : PA : / 1643. Two pellets between the words of the legend (Fig. 3).

Found with obverse B.

#### Second Period.

7. Mint-mark, four pellets (•••). Three large plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : / LE : AN : LI : PA : / 1643. Pellets between the words of the legend, which begins at the top (Plate I, 23).

Found with obverse C.

8. Mint-mark, two pellets (••). Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : / LE : AN : LI : PA : / 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend, which begins at the top (Fig. 4).

Found with obverses B and C.

9. Mint-mark, a pellet. Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT / LE : AN : LI : PA : / 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend, which begins at the top. Date in small figures (Plate I, 24).

Found with obverse C.

## Third Period.

10. Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>, with pellet each side. Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG:PROT:/LE:AN:LI:PA:/ 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend (Fig. 5).

Found with obverses B, C and D.

There are at least two different dies varying in the position of the B<sub>1</sub>: on the first the space at each side is wide; on the other, close, and is higher up, nearer the outer circle. They also vary as to number of pellets after PA.

1644.

*Obverses.*

A. Same as 1643 C (Plate I, 17).

Found with reverse 1.

B. Same as 1643 D (Plate I, 18).

Found with reverses 1, 2 and 3.

C. Similar to B, but has a rose beneath the horse (Plate II, 25).

Found with reverse 1 (Murdoch Sale, 1903, Lot 143).

The question arises, why is the rose there? The only supposition I can make is that it was in this year Bushell had the lease of the Welsh mines extended, and was further granted Lundy Island and the working of the mines at Combe Martin; so, to mark any silver from these mines, he stamped the coins made of it with a rose. This rose was in later years, up to 1747, employed to denote that the coins bearing that mark were composed of silver from the mines in the West of England.

D. Mint-mark, plume. The pellets by mint-mark vary in number. Legend, CAROLUS · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HI · REX · B<sub>1</sub> beneath horse (Plate II, 26).

Found with reverses 4, 5 and 6.

E. Mint-mark, pellet. Legend, CAROLUS · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX · B<sub>1</sub> beneath horse (Plate II, 27).

Found with reverses 4, 5 and 6.

*Reverses.*

1. Similar to 1643 "10," but 1644. The pellets by the mint-mark and after PROT vary in number, also the space each side. On one of the dies the bottom compartment is larger than the others — PA: (Plate II, 28). Hawkins No. 4.

Found with obverses A, B and C.

2. Mint-mark, pellet similar to 1, but B<sub>1</sub> beneath date (Plate II, 29). Hawkins No. 6.

Found with obverse B.

3. Similar to 2, but PRO: for PROT (Plate II, 30). Hawkins No. 6.

Found with obverses B and D.

4. Similar to 3, but PA and date in small figures (Plate II, 31).

Found with obverses D (Murdoch Sale, 1903, Lot 145) and E.

5. Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>, with pellet each side. Declaration, REL: PROT/LE:AN:LI:PA:/1644. B<sub>1</sub> beneath date. Pellet stop in legend (Plate II, 32). Hawkins No. 5. There are two dies.

Found with obverses D and E.

6. Mint-mark, pellet. Similar to 2, but has REL: for RELIG: There are three dies (Plate II, 33).

Found with obverses D and E. On one of the dies the sinker struck the B<sub>1</sub> upside down and then corrected his error.

1645.

*Obverses.*

A. Same as 1644 D (Plate II, 26). Hawkins No. 8.

Found with reverse 2.

B. Same as 1644 E (Plate II, 27). Hawkins No. 7.

Found with reverses 1, 2 and 3.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>, with pellet each side. Similar to 1644 "5," but 1645 (Plate II, 34).

Found with reverse B.

2. Mint-mark, pellet. Similar to 1644 "6," but 1645 (Plate II, 35). Hawkins No. 8.

Found with obverses A and B.

There are two dies, one having a wide space each side of mint-mark, and the centre plume raised. On the other, not so much space, and the plumes more in a line.

3. Mint-mark, pellet. Similar to "2," but the lettering in the Declaration is large, and reads PRO: instead of PROT: (Plate II, 36).

Found with obverse B.

#### SHILLINGS.

The shillings of 1643, as before stated, are found mixed up with those of Oxford. There is only one Oxford obverse, 1643 C (Plate II, 37), and I have not found this with a typical Oxford reverse. This obverse is found with the reverses of each of the three periods and continued into 1644. It can always be distinguished by the blurred cross of the crown and the little crescent in the inner circle just over the XII. There is always the value XII behind the King's head. The principal difference in the reverses of the first period from those of Oxford are the size of the plumes and the absence of the line above and below LEG:ANG: in the Declaration.

1643.

#### *Obverses.*

##### First Period.

A. Oxford 1643 C. Mint-mark, plume. Crowned bust of the King in armour, with lace collar. Legend, CAROLUS:D:G:MAG:BR:FR:ET:HI:REX. (Plate II, 37).

Found with reverses 1, 2, 4 and 5.

##### Second Period.

B. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume, with pellet each side. The whole of the work is very coarse, and the collar is elaborate, but roughly done. Legend as on A (Plate II, 38).

Found with reverse 3.

I give this to the Second Period, as it has the proper reverse.



Third Period.

There are none known, but I expect 1644 C with a 1643 reverse will appear.

*Reverses.*

First Period.

1. Oxford 1643 "5." Mint-mark, two pellets (?) (•). Three very large plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO . / LEG : ANG / LIB : PARL : / 1643. Pellet between words of the legend, which begins on the left. The whole of the work is coarse (Fig. 7).

Found with obverse A.

2. Oxford "6." Mint-mark, four pellets (••). Three large plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO / LEG : ANG : / LIB : PAR : / 1643. A wedge-shaped stop between the words of the legend, which begins on the left (Fig. 8).

Found with obverse A.

Second Period.

3. Mint-mark, pellet (•). Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT / LEG : ANG : / LIB : PAR : / 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend, which begins at the top (Fig. 9).

Found with obverse B.

4. Mint-mark, four pellets (••). Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO / LEG : ANGL : / LIBER : PAR : / 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend, which begins at the top (Plate II, 39).

Found with obverse A.

This is the least abbreviated Declaration of the whole series.

Third Period.

5. Mint-mark, B, with pellet each side. Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : / LEG : ANG : / LIB : PAR : / 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend, which begins at the top (Fig. 10).

Found with obverse A.

1644.


*Obverses.*

A. Same as 1643 A (Plate II, 37).

Found with reverse 1.


B. Practically the same as 1643 B, as the bust is slightly different (Plate II, 40).

Found with reverse 1.

C. Mint-mark, five pellets, the centre one being large (). Crowned bust of the King in armour, with lace collar, not so elaborate as on B; small plume in front. Legend, CAROLUS · D · G · MAG : FR : ET · H · REX. (Plate II, 41). Hawkins No. 3.

Found with reverses 1, 2, 4 and 5.

All the shillings after this have this bust without the plume in front.

D. Mint-mark,  (horizontal), with two pellets each side. Legend, CAROLUS · D · G · MAG : BR : FR : ET · HI · REX (Plate III, 42).

Found with reverse 3.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>. Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO / LEG : ANG / LIB : PAR : / 1644. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate III, 43). Hawkins No. 4.

Found with obverses A, B and C.

There are two dies, one with and one without pellets each side of mint-mark.

2. Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>, with a pellet each side, similar to "1," but has REL : for RELIG : in Declaration.

Found with obverse C (G. Hamilton Smith).

3. Mint-mark, pellet. Three plumes. Declaration, REL : PROT : / LEG : ANG : / LIB : PAR : / 1644 in small figures, with B<sub>1</sub> which separates 6 from 4 in the date. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate III, 44).

Found with obverse D.

4. Mint-mark, pellet. Plume between two plumelets. Declaration, REL:PROT:/LEG:ANG:/LIB:PAR:/ 1644 in large figures / B<sub>1</sub>. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate III, 45).

Found with obverse C.

5. Mint-mark, pellet. Similar to "3," but has PRO: for PROT, and the date is in small figures, and the B<sub>1</sub> breaks in between the 6 and 4 of the date, as in "3" (Plate III, 46).

Found with obverse C.

1645.

*Obverses.*

A. Same as 1644 C (Plate II, 41).

Found with reverse 1.

B. Same as 1644 D (Plate III, 42).

Found with reverse 2.

C. Mint-mark, pellet, otherwise as B (Plate III, 47).

Found with reverse 1.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>, with pellet each side. Similar to 1644 "2," but dated 1645 (Plate III, 48).

Found with obverses A and C.

2. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••). Three plumes. Declaration, REL:PRO:/LEG:ANG:/LIB:PAR:/ 1645 / B<sub>1</sub>. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate III, 49).

Found with obverse B (Miss H. Farquhar).

SIXPENCES.

There is none dated 1645.

1643.

*Obverse.*

A. Mint-mark, pellet. A coarse crowned bust of the King in armour, with lace collar, with VI behind the King's head. Legend, CAROLUS.D:G:MAG:B:F:ET:H:REX. (Plate III, 50). Hawkins No. 1.

*Reverse.*

1. Mint-mark, B, with pellet each side. Three Shrewsbury plumes. Declaration, RELI:PRO/LEG:ANG:/LIB:PAR:/1643. Legend, CHRISTO·AUSPICE REGNO· (Plate III, 51). Hawkins No. 1.

Snelling XI, 20, and Ruding Sup. V, 14, read RELIG.

1644.

*Obverse.*

A. Mint-mark, pellet. Bust corresponds to shilling 1644 B. Plume in front of King's face and VI behind his head. Legend, CAROLUS·D:G:MAG:B:F:ET·H:REX (Plate III, 52).

*Reverse.*

1. Mint-mark, 3 (horizontal), with a pellet each side. Three small plumes. Declaration, RELIG:PRO:/LEG:ANG:/LIB:PAR:/1644. Legend, EXVRGAT·DEVS·DISSIPENTUR·INIMICI· (Plate III, 53). Hawkins No. 2.

## GROATS.

The groats were struck in 1644 only.

*Obverses.*

A. Mint-mark, pellet. The bust corresponds with that on the sixpence of 1644. IIII behind the King's head. Legend, CAROLUS·D:G:MAG:BR:FR:ET·HI:REX (Plate III, 54).

Found with reverse 2.

B. Mint-mark, pellet, similar to "A," but has a plumelet in front of the King's face (Plate III, 55).

Found with reverse 3.

C. Mint-mark, pellet, similar to "B," but the plumelet is larger and the legend reads CAROLUS·D:G:MAG:B:F:ET:HIB:REX. Hawkins, Plate XLVII, 535.

Found with reverse 1.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, B<sub>1</sub>, with pellet each side. Three Shrewsbury plumes. Declaration, REL:PROT:/LEG ANG:/LIB:PAR:/ 1644. Pellet between the words of the legend, which is EXURGAT etc. Hawkins, Plate XLVII, 535.

Found with obverse C.

2. Mint-mark, pellet. Three plumes, otherwise as 1 (Plate III, 56).

Found with obverse A.

3. Mint-mark, pellet. Plume between two plumelets. Declaration, REL:PRO:LEG:ANG:/LIB:PAR:/ 1644/B<sub>1</sub>. A pellet between the words of the legend (Plate III, 57).

Found with obverse B.

I have one which has jumped in striking, which gives it the appearance as if it had a B<sub>1</sub> as a mint-mark.

THREEPENCES.

These were struck in 1644 and 1645.

1644.

*Obverses.*

A. Same as Aberystwyth "C" and Oxford 1644 "A." Mint-mark, open book. Legend, CAROLUS:D:G:MAG:B:F:ET:H:REX (Plate III, 58).

Found with reverse 1.

B. Mint-mark, pellet. Crowned bust of the King in armour to the left, with a small plume in front of the face and III behind his head. Legend, CAROLUS:D:G:M:B:F:ET:H:REX (Plate III, 59).

Found with reverse 1.

*Reverse.*

1. Mint-mark, pellet. Three plumelets. Declaration, REL:PRO/LEG:AN:/LIB:PA:/ 1644. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate III, 60). Hawkins uncertain 1.

Found with obverses A and B.

1645.

*Obverse.*

A. Mint-mark, pellet. Crowned bust of the King in armour, with lace collar to the left, with a plumelet in front of his face and III behind his head. Legend, CAROLUS · D : G : M : B : F : ET · H : REX. (Plate III, 61). Hawkins uncertain 2.

*Reverse.*

1. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). One plumelet. Declaration, RE : PR : / LE : AN : / LI : PA : No line above 1645. Legend, EXVRGAT · DEVS · DISSIPENT · INIMI (Plate III, 62). Hawkins uncertain 2.

This may properly belong to Lundy Island, as the threepence of 1646 has, like this, one plumelet only.

## HALF-GROATS.

There is only one, and that is without date, and is peculiar, as it is without any sort of plume, either on the obverse or reverse.

*Obverse.*

A. Mint-mark, pellet. Crowned bust of the King in armour, with lace collar, and II behind his head. Legend, CAROLUS · D : G : M : B : F · ET : H : REX. (Plate III, 63).

*Reverse.*

1. Mint-mark, pellet. Declaration, RE : PR / LE : AN : / LI : PA : / B. Legend, EXURG : DEVS · DISSIP : INIMICI. (Plate III, 64).

## PENNY.

I attribute to Bristol those pennies which have the bust of the King similar to that on the half-groat. These were doubtless afterwards struck at Lundy Island.



*Obverse.*

A. Mint-mark, pellet. Bust of the King as on the half-groat, with I behind. Legend, CAROLUS · D : G : M : B : F : ET · H : REX . (Plate III, 65).

*Reverse.*

1. Mint-mark, pellet (?) Large plume. Legend, IVSTITIA · THRONUM · FIRMAT (Plate III, 66).

## EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

## PLATE I.

*Unites.*

- 11. 1645. Obverse A. Mint-mark, **Bh**, with pellet each side.
- 12. 1645. Obverse B. Mint-mark, **Bh**, with pellet each side.
- 13. 1645. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, plumelet, with pellet to left.
- 14. 1645. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, nil.

*Half-Crowns.*

- 15. 1643. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume. Oxford A.
- 16. 1643. Obverse B. Mint-mark, pellet. Oxford F.
- 17. 1643. Obverse C, and 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, acorn (?) with two pellets (•) each side.
- 18. 1643. Obverse D, and 1644. Obverse B. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet each side.
- 19. 1643. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, obliterated. Oxford 13.
- 20. 1643. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••). Oxford 12.
- 21. 1643. Reverse 4. Mint-mark, four wedge-shaped pellets (✕). Oxford 8.
- 22. 1643. Reverse 5. Mint-mark, as Reverse 4. Oxford 9.
- 23. 1643. Reverse 7. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••).
- 24. 1643. Reverse 9. Mint-mark, pellet.

## PLATE II.

*Half-Crowns.*




- 25. 1644. Obverse C. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet each side. Rose below horse.
- 26. 1644. Obverse D, and 1645. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume; pellets by it vary.
- 27. 1644. Obverse E, and 1645. Obverse B. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 28. 1644. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, **Bh**; pellets by it vary.
- 29. 1644. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 30. 1644. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 31. 1644. Reverse 4. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 32. 1644. Reverse 5. Mint-mark, **Bh**, with pellet each side.
- 33. 1644. Reverse 6. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 34. 1645. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, **Bh**, with pellet each side.
- 35. 1645. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 36. 1645. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, pellet.

*Shillings.*



- 37. 1643 and 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume. Oxford C.
- 38. 1644. Obverse B. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume, with pellet each side.
- 39. 1643. Reverse 4. Mint-mark, four pellets (•••).
- 40. 1644. Obverse B. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume, with pellet each side.
- 41. 1644. Obverse C, and 1645. Obverse A. Mint-mark, five pellets (••••).

PLATE III.

*Shillings.*

- 42. 1644. Obverse D, and 1645. Obverse A. Mint-mark,  (horizontal).
- 43. 1644. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, .
- 44. 1644. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 45. 1644. Reverse 4. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 46. 1644. Reverse 5. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 47. 1645. Obverse C. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 48. 1645. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, , with pellet each side.
- 49. 1645. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, four pellets.

*Sixpences.*

- 50. 1643. Obverse. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 51. 1643. Reverse. Mint-mark, , with pellet each side.
- 52. 1644. Obverse. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 53. 1644. Reverse. Mint-mark, , with pellet each side.

*Groats.*

- 54. 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 55. 1644. Obverse B. Mint-mark, pellet ; plumelet in front of face.
- 56. 1644. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 57. 1644. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, pellet.

*Threepences.*

- 58. 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, open book. Aberystwyth C. Oxford A.
- 59. 1644. Obverse B. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 60. 1644. Reverse. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 61. 1645. Obverse. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 62. 1645. Reverse. Mint-mark, two pellets.

*Half-Groat.*

63.	—	Obverse.	Mint-mark, pellet.
64.	—	Reverse.	Mint-mark, pellet.

*Penny.*

65.	—	Obverse.	Mint-mark, pellet.
66.	—	Reverse.	Mint-mark, pellet.

*Half-Unite or Double-Crown*

67.	1645.	Obverse.	Mint-mark, B.
68.	1645.	Reverse.	Mint-mark, B.

TABLE I.—OBVERSES WITH REVERSES.

Date.	Half-Crowns.								
1643	{	Obverse with Reverses	A	B			C	D	A is Oxford A.
			5	1, 2, 3	4, 6, 8	10	7, 8, 9, 10	10	B is Oxford F.
1644	{	Obverse with Reverses	A	B	C	D	E		
			1	1, 2, 3	1	3, 4, 5, 6	4, 5, 6		
1645	{	Obverse with Reverses	A	B					
			2	1, 2, 3					

Date.	Shillings.							
1643	{	Obverse with Reverses	A	B				A is Oxford C.
			1, 2, 4, 5	3				
1644	{	Obverse with Reverses	A	B	C	D		A is Oxford C.
			1	1	1, 2, 4, 5	3		
1645	{	Obverse with Reverses	A	B	C			
			1	2	1			

TABLE II.—REVERSES WITH OBVERSES.

Date.	Half-Crowns.											
1643 {	Reverse with Obverses	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1643. 1 is Oxford 13. 2 " 12. 3 " 11. 4 " 8. 5 " 9. 6 " 10.
		B	B	B	B	A	B	C	B, C	C	B, C, D	
1644 {	Reverse with Obverses	1	2	3	4	5	6					
		A, B, C	B	B, D	D, E	D, E	D, E					
1645 {	Reverse with Obverses	1	2	3								
		B	A, B	B								

Date.	Shillings.						
1643 {	Reverse with Obverses	1	2	3	4	5	1 is Oxford 5. 2 " 6.
		A	A	B	A	A	
1644 {	Reverse with Obverses	1	2	3	4	5	
		A, B, C	C	D	C	C	
1645 {	Reverse with Obverses	1	2				
		A, C	B				





# TABLE OF THE SILVER COINS OF THE TOWER MINT OF CHARLES I.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

**T**HIS table was compiled originally to accompany Mr. Francis's paper on the Silver coins of this Mint (*British Numismatic Journal*, Vols. XII to XV), but unfortunately, it was too late to be included. It may be of use to Members as a guide to their collections.

The table is based on the coins in my own collection, which are printed with an X. Others are denoted by references to other Cabinets or sources, viz., B, British Museum ; F, Francis ; HF, Miss Helen Farquhar ; H, Hawkins ; N mentioned is in the Trial of the pyx, but none are known bearing a mint-mark ; S has been seen by me. Mules and Patterns are mentioned when they have a distinct bearing on the coinage. Only one type of halfpenny was struck during the reign, viz., the one having a rose on both obverse and reverse. There are also pattern groats with mint-marks, Rose and Bell.

Mint-mark.	Date.	Description.	Types.		Crown.	Half-Crown.	Shilling.	Sixpence.	Half-Groat.	Penny.	Remarks.
			Hawkins.	Francis.							
Nil	...	(1625-30) With inner circles	I	I						X	Rose on half-groats and pence.
		Without inner circles	I	1a						X	
Lis	...	1625 Rose on housings	1a	I		X					
"	...	No rose on housings	1a, I	1a, 1a, I, I, I	X	X	X	X	X		
"	...	1st bust No inner circles	I	1a						X	
"	...	Plume over shield	1b	1b	B	X	X				

## Table of the Silver Coins of

Mint-mark.	Date.	Description.	Types.		Crown.	Half-Crown.	Shilling.	Sixpence.	Half-Groat.	Penny.	Remarks.
			Hawkins.	Francis.							
Cross on Steps ...	1625		1	1, 1			X	X			
		Plume over shield	1b	1b			X				
" " ...	1626	1st bust	1	1				NC			N.C., N.S., Vol. XVI, p. 141.
" " ...		2nd bust	1a	1a	X	X	X	X			
" " ...		Inner circles	1	1					X	N	
" " ...		Plume over shield	1b	1b, 1b, 1c	X	X	X				
Negro's Head ...	1626	2nd bust	1a, 1	1a, 1a, 1a, 1		X	X	X	X		
" " ...		No inner circles	1	1a					HF	X	Penny a mule, 1a, 1 (F).
" " ...		Plume over shield	1b	1b, 1c		X	X				
	1627		1a	1a				X			
Castle ...	1627	2nd bust	1a, 1	1a, 1a, 1a, 1		X	X	X	X		Half-groat a mule, 1, 1a (F).
" ...		No inner circles	1	1a					X	N	
" ...		Plume over shield	1b	1b, 1b, 1c	X	X	X				Two plumes on shil- ling.
" ...	1628	2nd bust	1a	1a				X			
Anchor ...	1628	2nd bust	1a	1a				X			
" ...		No inner circles	1	1a					X	N	
" ...		Plume over shield	1b	1b, 1c		X	X				
" ...	1629		1a	1a				X			
Heart ...	1629		1a	1a				X			
" ...		No inner circles	1	1a					X	N	
" ...		Plume over shield	1b	1c		B	X				Half-crown. Obv. Type, 2a. Rev. Type, 1b.
" ...	1630		1a	2				X			
Plume ...	1630	2nd bust var.	1a	1c				X			
" ...		No inner circles	1	1a					X		
" ...		Plume over shield	1b	1c			X				
" ...	(1630-31)	Different horseman 3rd bust	2a	2a, 2a, 2a, 2a		X	X	X	X	F	Bust on half-groat and penny.
" ...		No inner circles	2a	2a						X	
" ...		Plume over shield	2b	2, 2, 2b, 2b, 2b	X	B	X	X	X		
Rose ...	(1631-32)	3rd bust	2a	2a, 2a, 2a, 2a, 2a		X	X	X	X	X	
" ...		No inner circles	2a	2a						X	
" ...		Plume over shield	2b	2, 2, 2b, 2b, 2b	X	X	X	X	X		
Nil ...		No inner circles	3a	3						X	
" ...		4th bust No inner circles. No CR on rev.		3a						X	

Mint-mark.	Date.	Description.	Types.		Crown.	Half-Crown.	Shilling.	Sixpence.	Half-Groat.	Penny.	Remarks.
			Hawkins.	Francis.							
Harp ... ..	(1632-33)	4th bust	2a, 2c,	2a, 2c, 3, 3	X	X	X	X	X		
" ... ..		No inner circles	3	3					X	X	
" ... ..		No inner circles. No CR on rev.	3	3a						X	
" ... ..		Crown cuts inner circle	3	3			X	X			
" ... ..		Plume over shield	2b, 2d	2b, 2b, 3b	X	X	F				Shilling not in Hawkins.
Nil ... ..		Crown cuts inner circle. No CR	3	3						X	As shilling and sixpence mint-mark, Harp.
Portcullis ...	(1633-34)	4th bust	2c, 3	2c, 3, 3, 3,		X	X	X	X		Half-groat. No inner circles on rev.
" ... ..		No inner circles		3a					X	X	
" ... ..		No CR on rev.	3	3a				X	X		Half-groat. No inner circles on rev.
" ... ..		Crown cuts inner circle	3	3				X			
" ... ..		No inner circles. No CR on rev.	3a	3c, 3a			X		X	X	Shilling a pattern.
" ... ..		Plume over shield	3b	3b, 3b, 3c	X	X	S				Shilling a pattern.
Nil ... ..			3a	3a						X	
Bell ... ..	(1634-35)	4th bust	3a	3a, 3a, 3a, 3a, 3a, 3a	X	X	X	X	X	X	
" ... ..		Plume over shield	3b	3b, 3c		X	X				
Crown ... ..	(1635-36)	4th bust	3a	3a, 3a, 3a, 3a	X	X	X	X	X	N	
" ... ..		Plume over shield	3b	3b, 3b, 3c		X	X	X			
Ton ... ..	(1636-37)	4th bust	3a	3a, 3a, 3a, 3a	B	X	X	X	X	N	
" ... ..		Plume over shield	3b	3b, 3b, 3c	X	X	X				
" ... ..		4th bust, intermediate	3a	3a				X			
" ... ..		4th bust, small	3a	3a				X			
" ... ..		Large bust	3a	3a			X				
" ... ..		5th bust		4			X				
" ... ..	(1637-38)	{ Different horseman on half-crown	3a	3c, 4a		X	X	X			Large (F) and small XII on shillings.
" ... ..		{ Inner circles 5th bust	4	4							Do., VI on sixpence.
" ... ..		6th bust	4	4b			X	X			
" ... ..		Aberystwith bust		4			X				Large and small XII on shillings.
Anchor ... ..	(1638-39)	5th bust	3a, 4	3a, 3c, 4a, 4	X	X	X	X			
" ... ..	(1638-39)	6th bust	4	4b, 4a			X	X			
" ... ..		No inner circles	3a	3a					X		
" ... ..		3rd bust									
" ... ..		No inner circles		3a					X	N	
" ... ..		Very small bust									
" ... ..		Aberystwith bust		3a					X		Inner circle on rev.
" ... ..		7th bust	4	4c			F				

## Table of the Silver Coins of

Mint-mark.	Date.	Description.	Types.		Crown.	Half-Crown.	Shilling.	Sixpence.	Half-Groat.	Penny.	Remarks.
			Hawkins.	Francis.							
Nil ...	(No date)	No inner circles								X	
Triangle ...	(1639-40)	Very small bust Obv., Briot's horse. Rev., oval shield				X					Over Anchor. See <i>B.N.J.</i> , XII, p. 193.
" ...		Obv., Briot's horse. Rev., square shield, garnished				X					Do., obv. only.
" ...		5th bust	3a, 4	3a, 3c, 4a, 4a	X	X	X	X			Large and small shields on half- crown.
" ...		No inner circles	3a	3a					X		
" ...		4th bust									
" ...		Inner circles	3a	3a					X	X	
" ...		4th bust									
" ...		6th bust	4					X			
" ...		Ground under horse on half-crown	3a	3c		X					
" ...		7th bust	4	4c, 4c			X	X			
" ...		Briot's dies altered		4c			X				
" ...		Aberystwith horse		3c		X					
Nil ...	(No date)	Inner circle	3a	3a						X	
" ...	(1641-45)	Inner circle	3a	3a						X	
" ...		Aberystwith bust									
Star ...	(1640-41)	Ground under horse	3a	3c		X					
" ...		Aberystwith horse		3c		X					
" ...		Large horse on half- crown	3a, 4, 4	3a, 4, 4c, 4c	X	X	X	X			
" ...		7th bust									
" ...		Inner circle	3a, 4						X	N	
Triangle in circle	(1641-43)	Large horse on half- crown	4	4, 4c, 4c		X	X	X			
"		7th bust									
"		Briot's horse			X						See <i>B.N.J.</i> , XII, p. 192.
"		4th bust	3a						X	N	
(P) ...	(1643-44)	Large horse	4	4		B					
" ...		Small horse on crown and half-crown	4	4, 4a	X	X					
" ...		7th bust	4	4c, 4c			X	X			
" ...		4th bust	3a	3a					X	N	
(R) ...	(1644-45)	7th bust	4, 3a, 4	4, 3c, 4c, 4c	X	X	X	X			
" ...		4th bust	3a	3a					X	N	
" ...		Oxford bust		4b				X			
Eye ...	(1645)	7th bust	4, 3a, 4	4, 3c, 4c, 4c	X	X	X	?			? See Sun.
" ...		4th bust	3a	3a					X		
" ...		Oxford bust		4b				X			
" ...		Different bust (2nd)	3a	4					X	N	
Nil ...	(No date)	Different bust (2nd)	3a	4						X	

Mint-mark.	Date.	Description.	Types.		Crown.	Half-Crown.	Shilling.	Sixpence.	Half-Groat.	Penny.	Remarks.
			Hawkins.	Francis.							
Sun ... ..	(1645-46)	7th bust	4, 4, 3a	4, 3c, 4c, 4b	X	X	X	X			Sixpence, mint-mark over Eye.
" ... ..		Oxford bust						X			
" ... ..		Bust as on Eye 2	3a	4					X	N	
" ... ..		Large horse 8th bust	5, 4	5, 5, 5	X	X	X				
Sceptre ... ..	(1646-48)	Large horse 8th bust	5, 4	5, 5	X	X	X				
" ... ..		Different bust		5a			X				
" ... ..		Oxford bust		4b				X			
" ... ..		4th bust	3a	3a					X		
" ... ..		Bust as on Eye 2	3a	4					X	N	










RARE SPECIMENS OF THE ARMY OF INDIA MEDAL.

## THE ARMY OF INDIA MEDAL.

BY CHARLES WINTER.

FTER the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, the Government decided to confer a medal, of one design and metal, on all ranks who were present during the three days' fighting.

This decision on the part of those in high places, created among the junior rank and file a feeling of neglect and lack of appreciation of all the hard fighting and privations that they had endured in all parts of the world, both on land and sea, from the end of the 18th century until the fall of Napoleon and his exile to Elba in 1814. This led to a great deal of comment ; but, though appeal after appeal was made to the Government of the day, no medal or decoration was granted until the year 1847, when one was authorized to be given, but only to survivors still living.

The period to be covered dated, for the Navy, from 1793 to 1840 ; and for the Army, from 1801 to 1814. The earliest action recorded on a bar issued with the Naval General Service Medal was the capture of the French vessel *Cléopâtre* by the *Nymphe* on June 18th, 1793, the latter being commanded by Captain E. Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth. The last bar granted was for services off the coast of Syria, by the Fleet under the command of Admiral Stopford. No less than 230 different bars for naval services were issued ; but those for the military were only 28, recording services mostly in the Peninsula, a few in the West Indies, three in America, one in Egypt, and another for Maida.

The issue of these two medals left those noble veterans of our Indian Army who had followed General Lake, Wellesley and others, without a reward to record their arduous services under a blazing Eastern sky.

On July 20th, 1847, a letter was sent from the Government of Madras to the Court of Directors, requesting their favourable consideration of a letter from the Adjutant-General, which reads as follows :—

“ SIR,

“ In forwarding the accompanying Memorial from Lieut.-Colonel Armstrong, 19th Regiment, N.I., I have the honor by order of the Commander-in-Chief not only to recommend the subject to the favorable consideration of Government and the Honorable Court of Directors, but to request particular attention to the circumstances of the object of the decoration for the Burmese War being less favorably understood by the Native Army in consequence of the Medal being withheld from European officers and soldiers who G.O.G.G., 11th April, 1826. would highly appreciate the honor of being allowed to wear what was nobly won, and once held out to their expectations.

“ His Excellency therefore, takes this opportunity of expressing his hope that the peculiarity which attaches to the grant of an honorary reward for service in Ava may cease, and that the European portion of the Army may be allowed a distinction which will not only be gratifying to their professional feelings, but to those also of their native comrades who will perceive more clearly the estimation in which their services are held.

“ I have, etc.,

“ R. ALEXANDER, *Lieut.-Colonel,*

“ *Adjutant-General of the Army.*”

“ The Secretary to Government,  
Military Dept., Madras.”

This was followed by another letter from East India House :—

“ SIR,

“ We have the honor at the request of the Court of Directors to forward to you a Collection of Memorials lately received from the Govt. of Madras, in which the Home authorities are solicited to grant to the European Officers and Soldiers who served in the Burmese War, the honorary Decorations which were granted to the Native Officers and Soldiers who were employed in the same service.

“ 2.—The immediate cause for these Memorials appears to have been the announcement of the gracious intention of the Queen to confer a Medal upon every Officer and Soldier who was present in any Battle or Siege during the Wars from 1793 to 1814, to commemorate which Medals for the General or Superior Officers had been struck by command of Her Majesty's Royal Predecessors.

“ 3.—The Court observe that in the specification of Battles and Sieges declared to be included in the Royal Grant, there is one only, viz. Java, in which any portion of the Army serving in India is included.

“ 4.—This absence of recognition of the services of the Army in India appears to have arisen out of the fact that it had not been the practice to grant Medals specially to General or other Officers who had distinguished themselves in action in campaigns on the continent of India.

“ 5.—The Court of Directors were most anxious that the practice in this respect should be altered and assimilated to that in Her Majesty's Service ; and at the close of the Nepaul War they unanimously adopted Resolutions having this object in view. These resolutions were not, however, at that time acted upon, as it was understood that in the Military Order of the Bath, then recently enlarged, all such distinctions were intended to merge.

“ 6.—Her Majesty's Govt. having now adopted a different course with retrospective effect to Battles and Sieges in the

Peninsula, America, and (in one instance) in the Indian Ocean, the Court of Directors would submit that the survivors of those who participated in the glorious battles which were fought in India during the earlier part of this century, as at Assaye, Laswaree, Delhi (Siege and Battle), Deig, in Nepaul, at Kirkee, Maheidpore, Nagpore, Corygaum, Bhurtpore, Rangoon, etc., etc., have likewise strong claims to an honorary decoration.

" 7.—It would be most gratifying to the East India Company and to their Officers and Soldiers, if the Royal Grant of a Decoration were extended to these services; but if it should be thought preferable to follow the example of Seringapatam and the late examples of the Battles on the Sutlej, etc., and to allow of the Decoration being conferred by the Company, with permission on the part of the Crown for its being accepted and worn by H.M.'s Troops, and for its being worn by the Company's Troops, the Court would prepare for your acquiescence a plan for carrying the arrangement into effect.

" We have, etc.,

" H. ST. G. TUCKER.

" J. L. LUSHINGTON."

" The Right Hon.

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE, Bart., M.P.,  
India Board."

This resulted in authority being obtained in 1851 for the issue of the Army of India Medal to be granted (under the same conditions as the Naval and Military General Service Medals), both to Europeans and Native troops, and it was intended to cover a period from 1799 to 1826, which dates will be found in the exergue of the medal, commencing with the capture of Seringapatam, 1799, and ending with the capture of Bhurtpore, 1826. But as the Honourable East India Company had already conferred medals upon the troops, both European and Native, for services at Seringapatam, it was afterwards decided to date the services for the Army of India Medal commencing with that against the Mahrattas in the September of



1803, when the fortress of Allighur was captured. This change of date seems to have escaped observation when the dies of the medal were approved, hence the date 1799 appearing in the exergue.

The obverse of the medal bears the head of Queen Victoria, diademed to left: legend, VICTORIA REGINA. The reverse, I venture to think, is one of the finest of William Wyon's war medal designs. In the centre is a semi-nude figure of Victory, seated, facing to the left, and holding in her right hand a branch of laurel, in her left a laurel wreath under which a lotus flower is resting on the ground. On the left of the background is a palm tree, at the base of which is a trophy of Native arms: legend, TO THE ARMY OF INDIA: exergue, 1799-1826, with the initials W.W. The medals were struck at the Royal Mint, and were mounted with scroll suspenders attached to pale blue ribbons. Twenty-one different bars were granted for the following actions:—

Storm of Allighur .. ..	September 4th, 1803.
Battle of Delhi .. ..	„ 11th, 1803.
Battle of Assye .. ..	„ 23rd, 1803.
Siege of Asseerghur .. ..	October 21st, 1803.
Battle of Laswarree .. ..	November 1st, 1803.
Battle of Argaum .. ..	„ 29th, 1803.
Siege and Storm of Gawilghur	December 15th, 1803.
Defence of Delhi .. ..	October, 1804.
Battle of Deig .. ..	November 13th, 1804.
Capture of Deig .. ..	December 23rd, 1804.
War in Nepaul .. ..	1816.
Battle of Kirkee and Battle and Capture of Poona ..	November, 1817.
Battle of Seetabuldee and Battle and Capture of Nagpore .. ..	November and December, 1817.
Battle of Maheidpore ..	December 21st, 1817.
Defence of Corygaum ..	January 1st, 1818.
War in Ava .. ..	1824 to 1826.
Siege and Storm of Bhurtpore	January, 1826.

These bars are known as the Indian type, and are the usual broad pattern with a scroll at each end, and the lettering is in bold block letters. Two pairs of dies seem to have been used for the medals, differing in minor points, viz. on the obverse the letters of the legend are larger on what I will call the "English dies," and smaller on the "Indian dies"; also on the reverse of the latter the legend slightly differs in size of letters, and a long hyphen is used between the dates. Two events are recorded on the bars for which medals had been previously issued to Native troops, viz. Nepaul and Ava: but as these medals were only granted to certain of the Native troops, and not to Europeans, the former, who had received the Company's medal, were excluded from the grant of the bars.

The lapse of time from the dates of the events to the grant of the medal, and also the issue being limited to those still living in 1851, have made the Army of India Medals for the early actions exceedingly rare. The bars of the medals seem to have been made by a London firm, and the dies of same are still in existence. This, unfortunately, led to unprincipled persons adding some of the rare bars to the commoner medals. The official rolls of medals issued to the Europeans are still in existence at the India Office, but medals have been met with occasionally with names that do not appear in the list. This can be accounted for by the medals having been applied for after the original lists were completed.

Colonel Biddulph, in his book *Indian War Medals*, on p. 14, says:—

"One thing is certain, viz. that practically every medal issued to a native was sent out to India unengraved; and in that country some were rudely punched, others engraved, and probably a good number were issued plain."

My own opinion, owing to the slight difference in the size of the lettering in the legends, the length of the hyphen, and the absence of the W.W., is that the punches were prepared in England, and sent out to India for the purpose of making the dies. At least,

those medals I have seen which were issued to natives have been all struck from what I have called the "Indian dies." Another reason which may confirm this is that, although so many of the natives' medals were engraved, some were neatly stamped, and the latter process would have required the medal to have been placed in the collar under the original dies ; therefore, I think this must have been done at the Indian Mint.

When examining some medals some time ago at the India Office, I noticed that there were two types of bars used for Seetabuldee, Corygaum and Maheidpore ; and on the Kirkee and Poona bar sometimes the conjunction "and" is used in full or in the form "&".

A number of Naval officers and men received the medal with bar "Ava" for the Burmese War of 1824-6. The following ships of the Royal Navy and Indian Marine were present :—

Royal Navy—

*Alligator, Arachne, Boadicea, Champion, Larne, Liffey, Slaney, Sophie, Tamar, Tees.*

Indian Marine—

*Asseerghur, Diana, Emma, Ernaad, Exeter, Hastings, Margaret, Matchless, Nereide, Pluto, Sophia, Teignmouth, Trusty.*

Many of the vessels were very small, which makes the Naval medals rare to an individual ship's crew.


Medals with three bars are very rare, as only 13 officers, 18 non-commissioned officers, and 72 men received combinations of three bars. Medals with four bars are exceedingly rare ; as only 13 officers and 10 men received this number of bars. Medals with five and six bars are of the highest rarity, as only 3 officers, 1 non-commissioned officer, and 4 men received a five-bar medal, and 3 officers a six-bar medal. One man was able to make good his claim for the unique combination of seven bars, viz. Sergeant William Colston, of the 15th and 31st N.I., who received the first

bar of the medal for Allighur, 1803, and completed his services at the capture of Bhurtpore, 1826, thus covering the whole of the period for which the Army of India Medal was issued.

I am indebted to Messrs. Spink and Son for the loan of the exhibit of what must be a unique collection of this beautiful and rare series of medals of the Army of India.

MEDALS OF THE ROYAL FUSILIERS  
(CITY OF LONDON REGIMENT).

BY CHARLES WINTER.

HE Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, the seventh of the British Line, was formed by King James II, on the augmentation of the Army in consequence of the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, in 1685.

The Regiment was to consist of thirteen companies, twelve of fusiliers and one of miners. Its first Colonel was George, Lord Dartmouth, then Master-General of the Ordnance.

THE PENINSULAR WAR.

*Officers' Gold Medal with two bars.*

Obverse.—Britannia seated on a globe to left, holding in her right hand a laurel wreath, and in her left a palm branch; the lion of England on her right and the Union shield on her left.

Reverse.—SALAMANCA within a laurel wreath.

Fitted in a gold rim, engraved: Major J. W. Beatty, 7th Foot; with glass sides.

*Riband*.—Red, with blue edges, to which are attached two gold clasps, ORTHES, TOULOUSE, the name of the action being in the centre of a laurel wreath.

Lieut.-Colonel John Walwyn Beatty, C.B., served with the Fusiliers at the capture of Martinique, landed with them in the Peninsula, and served with them during the whole war; also at New Orleans, and with the army of occupation in France. He died at Windsor Barracks, July 2nd, 1823.

*Military General Service Medal.*

Obverse.—Bust of Queen to left, VICTORIA REGINA, 1848.

Reverse.—Queen Victoria standing on dais at the side of which is a lion. Her Majesty is in the act of placing a wreath on the head of the Duke of Wellington, who kneels before her, holding in his right hand a Field-Marshal's baton. TO THE BRITISH ARMY. Exergue: 1793-1814.

*Riband.*—Crimson, with blue edges.

12 bars.—Martinique; Albuhera; Busaco; Ciudad Rodrigo; Badajoz; Salamanca; Vittoria; Pyrenees; Nivelle; Nive; Orthes; Toulouse.

John Henry, Sergt., 7th Foot. (Afterwards Ensign (1814), and Adjutant (1816) in the 91st Foot. Wounded at Martinique. Served in the Royal Fusiliers nine years and forty-six days.)



ENSIGN AND ADJUTANT JOHN HENRY,  
91ST FOOT (LATE 7TH ROYAL FUSILIERS).

“On the return of the battalion to Halifax, Lieut.-Colonel Pakenham, to do justice to soldiers then serving, who were



worthy of reward, as well as to stimulate future Fusiliers by distinguishing merit in those whom the regulations did not permit to be mentioned in despatches, assembled a board of merit. The board agreed that a Book of Merit should be kept, in which the names and services of worthy non-commissioned officers and soldiers should be recorded."

Sergeant Henry's was the second name to appear in the Book of Merit:—"Sergeant John Henry of the Light Company, recommended by Captain Cholwich for extraordinary good conduct, particularly so on the 1st February, 1809; distinguished by eminent gallantry, after having received a wound in the right shoulder."

Ensign Henry died in Bank Street, Sheffield, August 9th, 1860, at the ripe age of seventy-five years.

12 bars.—Busaco; Albuhera; Ciudad Rodrigo; Badajoz; Salamanca; Vittoria; Pyrenees; St. Sebastian; Nivelles; Nive; Orthes; Toulouse.

John Briggs, 7th Foot. (Briggs was one of 22 volunteers from the Royal Fusiliers who formed part of the storming party at St. Sebastian.)

11 bars.—Talavera; Busaco; Albuhera; Ciudad Rodrigo; Badajoz; Salamanca; Vittoria; Pyrenees; Nivelles; Orthes; Toulouse.

James Eastham, 7th Foot.

9 bars.—Talavera; Busaco; Albuhera; Badajoz; Salamanca; Vittoria; Pyrenees; Orthes; Toulouse.

James Spencer, 7th Foot.

9 bars.—Albuhera; Badajoz; Salamanca; Vittoria; Pyrenees; Nivelles; Nive; Orthes; Toulouse.

W. Bartram, Corpl., 7th Foot: and his *Long Service and Good Conduct Medal*, William IV, 1831.

Obverse.—Trophy of Arms with shield of the Royal Arms, in centre, on a crowned escutcheon of pretence, the Arms of Hanover.

Reverse.—FOR LONG SERVICE AND GOOD CONDUCT (in four lines).

Suspender, a steel clip and ring.

*Riband*.—Crimson.

8 bars.—Martinique ; Albuhera ; Badajoz ; Salamanca ; Vittoria ; Pyrenees ; Orthes ; Toulouse.

Robert Leslie, 7th Foot.

8 bars.—Talavera ; Albuhera ; Badajoz ; Salamanca ; Vittoria ; Pyrenees ; Orthes ; Toulouse.

John Wilkinson, 7th Foot.

8 bars.—Ciudad Rodrigo ; Badajoz ; Salamanca ; Vittoria ; Pyrenees ; St. Sebastian ; Orthes ; Toulouse.

John Bacchus, 7th Foot.

8 bars.—Ciudad Rodrigo ; Salamanca ; Vittoria ; Pyrenees ; Nivelle ; Nive ; Orthes ; Toulouse.

John Rice, 7th Foot.

7 bars.—Martinique ; Busaco ; Albuhera ; Ciudad Rodrigo ; Badajoz ; Vittoria ; Pyrenees.

John Clayton, 7th Foot.

7 bars.—Albuhera ; Badajoz ; Salamanca ; Vittoria ; Pyrenees ; Orthes ; Toulouse.

G. Hunting, 7th Foot. Wm. Read, 7th Foot.

6 bars.—Martinique ; Busaco ; Albuhera ; Ciudad Rodrigo ; Badajoz ; Salamanca.

W. Harris, Sergt., 7th Foot. (Afterwards Lieutenant in the Royal Veteran Battalion. His commission is dated January 25th, 1813.)

6 bars.—Vittoria ; Pyrenees ; St. Sebastian ; Nivelle ; Orthes ;  
Toulouse.

Richd. Wheeler, 7th Foot.

6 bars.—Badajoz ; Salamanca ; Vittoria ; Pyrenees ; Orthes ;  
Toulouse.

James Rook, Sergt., 7th Foot.

6 bars.—Vittoria ; Pyrenees ; Nivelle ; Nive ; Orthes ;  
Toulouse.

William Capewell, 7th Foot. John Johnson, 7th Foot.

5 bars.—Busaco ; Albuhera ; Ciudad Rodrigo ; Vittoria ;  
Pyrenees.

Thos. Chirrington, 7th Foot.

4 bars.—Busaco ; Badajoz ; Vittoria ; Pyrenees.

Joseph Asbury, 7th Foot.

3 bars.—Martinique ; Busaco ; Albuhera.

William Barker, 7th Foot.

1 bar.—Albuhera.

Thos. Poole, 7th Foot.

The losses of the Fusiliers at Albuhera were “ tremendous, but their glory was more than commensurate with their sufferings. Their colour staves were shattered to pieces and their colours rent to rags ; their Battalions were broken up into fragments, some of their Companies were represented by units, but they had brought back the colour of the Buffs, they had secured the victory, and the army admitted that the Fusiliers exceeded everything that the usual word gallantry can convey. In the exhibition of an example of steadiness and heroic gallantry which history cannot surpass, they found a soldier's

consolation for the loss of the comrades who had fallen to win their fame."

1 bar.—Ciudad Rodrigo.

G. Conop, 7th Foot.

1 bar.—Badajoz.

Wm. Walker, 7th Foot.

#### CRIMEA, 1854-6.

Obverse.—Head of Queen to left, VICTORIA REGINA.

Reverse.—Victory crowning a Roman Warrior, CRIMEA.

Suspender of floral design.

*Riband*.—Light blue, with yellow edges.

Bars: Name of battle on an oak leaf, with an acorn at each end.

3 bars.—Alma; Inkermann; Sebastopol.

Lt.-Col. F. Mills, 7th Foot. Pte. J. Amot, 7th Foot.

1 bar.—Alma.

Pte. Geo. Battissen, 7th Foot. (Battissen was wounded at the Battle of the Alma.)

Group to William Norman, Pte., 7th Royal Fusiliers.

*The Victoria Cross.* (A bronze Maltese Cross.)

Obverse.—The Royal Crest in centre; below, a riband inscribed FOR VALOUR.

Reverse.—The date for which the cross is awarded.

Suspender, a laurel bar with V, on the back of which is engraved the name, rank and regiment of the recipient.

*Riband*.—Crimson.

*Crimea Medal.*

1 bar.—Sebastopol.

*Turkish Medal for the Crimea.*

Obverse.—A cannon resting on the Russian flag ; on the gun is spread a map of the Crimea, at the back are the flags of Turkey, England, France and Sardinia. Exergue : CRIMEA, 1855.

Reverse.—The Sultan's cypher and Turkish inscription, the whole within a laurel wreath.

*India General Service Medal.*

Obverse.—Bust of Queen to left, VICTORIA REGINA.

Reverse.—Victory crowning a seated warrior. Exergue : Lotus flower.

Suspender, scroll pattern.

*Riband.*—Three red and two blue stripes of equal width.

*Bar.*—UMBEYLA.

A photograph of Private Norman is given in Wilkin's *History of the Victoria Cross*, with the following particulars :—

“ On the night of December 19th, 1854, when placed on single sentry duty a considerable distance in advance of the others in the White Horse Ravine (a task requiring much courage and vigilance, as the enemy's picket was only 300 yards distant), three Russians crept up under cover of brushwood to reconnoitre our position. Without any noise, lest he should give the alarm, Private Norman went stealthily towards them, and single-handed captured two of them.”

Group to Surgeon-Major A. P. Lockwood, 7th Royal Fusiliers.

*Crimea Medal.*

3 bars.—Alma ; Balaklava ; Sebastopol.

*Indian Mutiny Medal.*

1 bar.—Central India.

*Badge of the Legion of Honour.*

*Turkish Medal for the Crimea.*

Mr. Lockwood served with the 7th Fusiliers in the Eastern Campaign of 1854-5, including the affairs of Bulganak and M'Kenzie's Farm; Battle of the Alma; capture of Balaklava; Battle of Inkermann; Siege of Sebastopol.

## AFGHANISTAN, 1878-80.

Obverse.—Bust of Queen, crowned and wearing veil, to left,  
VICTORIA REGINA ET IMPERATRIX.

Reverse.—Troops on the march, AFGHANISTAN.  
Exergue: 1878-9-80.

Suspender, straight bar, plain.

*Riband*.—Green, with red edges.

1 bar.—Kandahar.

2141 Pte. W. Armstrong, 2/7th Foot. 434 Pte. A. Feeney,  
2/7th Foot.

## EGYPT, 1884.

Obverse.—Bust of Queen to left, veiled, VICTORIA REGINA  
ET IMPERATRIX.

Reverse.—Sphinx to left; above, EGYPT.

Suspender, straight bar, plain.

*Riband*.—Three blue and two white equal stripes.

Bar.—EL-TEB-TAMAAI.

## BOER WAR, 1899-1902.

Obverse.—Bust of Queen, crowned and wearing veil, to left,  
VICTORIA REGINA ET IMPERATRIX.

Reverse.—Britannia with Union Jack, holding out a laurel wreath to returning troops; in the background war vessels. On the ground at the back of Britannia is the Union shield, trident, and palm branch, SOUTH AFRICA.



Suspender, straight bar, plain.

*Riband*.—Yellow, with two dark blue stripes and red edges.  
26 bars were issued.

8 bars.—Cape Colony; Tugela Heights; Orange Free State;  
Relief of Ladysmith; Transvaal; Laing's Nek; South  
Africa, 1901; South Africa, 1902.

4469 Pte. J. Weston, 2nd Royal Fusiliers.

5 bars.—Cape Colony; Tugela Heights; Orange Free State;  
Relief of Ladysmith; Transvaal.

Capt. and Adj. H. H. S. Wright, 2nd Royal Fusiliers.

4 bars.—Cape Colony; Tugela Heights; Relief of Ladysmith;  
Transvaal.

7137 Pte. H. Parke, 2nd Royal Fusiliers.

1 bar.—Natal.

9014 Pte. F. Tucker, 2nd Royal Fusiliers.

THE GREAT WAR, 1914-18.

Group of four decorations to Lieut. W. W. Stitt:—

1914-15 *Star*.

*Victory Medal*, 1914-19.

*General Service Medal*, 1914-18.

*Territorial Efficiency Medal*.

*New General Service Medal*.

Obverse.—Bust of King to left, GEORGIUS V BRITT: OMN:  
REX ET IND: IMP.

Reverse.—Britannia with wings, holding in her right hand  
a wreath over a winged sword.

Suspender, ornamented.

*Riband*.—Violet, with green centre stripe.

1 bar.—Iraq.

G-133660 Pte. B. Knapton, Royal Fusiliers.

## BEST SHOT.

Silver engraved *medal*,  $1\frac{5}{8}$ -in. diam., with raised border and loop and ring.

Obverse.—A Tudor rose crowned within a laurel wreath.

Reverse.—CAPTAIN W. HOPE'S COMPANY 7TH REGIMENT. BEST SHOT'S MEDAL 1834. Hall mark.

## NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF MONEY-SCALES AND OTHER COIN-WEIGHING APPLIANCES.

BY VERNON B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

**I**N venturing to exhibit certain diverse examples of money-scales and other coin-weighing appliances, I am under no delusion that I can make any substantial addition to our knowledge of the subject. At the same time, without having made systematic search for such things, I have from time to time acquired such examples as happened to come my way, and which seemed to illustrate varieties of type; the results up to the present are now before you.

I can show nothing earlier than the 17th century, nor do I claim that any single example is of exceptional interest or merit. In short, it is just an average collection of typical specimens, and nothing more.

Nor do I propose to dilate at any length on the objects exhibited. Anything like a detailed description of each example would be extremely tedious, and I will content myself with drawing attention to such points as may possibly be of interest. Apart from these, the exhibits really explain themselves.

What may be called the archæology of coin-weights has been admirably dealt with in the paper read before this Society by our Member Dr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., and published in vol. vi, 1st series, of our *Journal*.

Since then Messrs. Sheppard and Musham (the former a Member of this Society) have contributed a series of articles on this subject to Messrs. Spink's Numismatic Circular (1920-3), which have now been reissued (with additions) in book form under the title *Money-Scales and Weights* (1923). Though it suffers from the serious

defect of possessing no index, the book contains a vast amount of information on a subject which had previously been somewhat neglected, and obviously represents the results of much patient research. Cordial gratitude is due to these pioneers for their work.

In 1925, M. Dieudonné, the learned Curator of the Department of Coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, issued his *Manuel des poids monétaires*, a scholarly work, but one which naturally concerns itself primarily with the French series.

It seems, therefore, that the whole subject of coin-weights is at last attracting attention, and this may provide some justification for introducing the matter.

Beginning with the boxes of scales and weights, I will first dispose briefly of the foreign examples :—

- A1.—Apparently French and contains its original weights intact, but has no maker's name or label.
- A2.—Bears the label of Abraham Kruse, of Schwelm, in Westphalia, authorized scale and weight-maker to the King of Prussia. 18th century.
- A3.—A very similar box, with the label of Johann Caspar Mittelstenscheid, of Lennep, in Rhenish Prussia, under the authority of His Royal Highness the Prince of the Bavarian Palatinate.
- A4.—Also emanates from Lennep, the issuer being Johann Daniel vom Berg, or "John Daniel of the Hill." Late 18th century. Many of the original weights are missing, and have been replaced by an odd assortment of earlier Dutch and other weights.
- A5.—A Flemish box issued by J. F. Wolschot, and dated 1730. The label further bears a motto of which the translation is "A false scale is a crime with God, but an honest weight is His will." This set is clearly by the same maker as a very similar box figured and described by S. & M. on pp. 134-7, where the maker's name appears

as Jacobus Francis Wolschot living near the Meat-market, Antwerp. This maker is also referred to by M. Dieudonné, p. 167, and there are several boxes of weights by him in the museum at The Hague.

A6.—An attractive box of lime-wood, embellished with bookbinders' tooling, and fitted with a drawer, a locker in the lid, and another small one in the box. It bears a stamp "AD" in a crowned shield of peculiar form. Though it now contains various English round weights of James's reign, the box is, to my mind, typically Dutch.

A7.—A plain oak box with a very fairly complete outfit of weights, mostly stamped with the Bruges mark, which may justify us in assigning it to that town.

A8.—A plain box bearing the label of T. Melchior Kruse, of Elberfeld, in Prussia, who may or may not be connected with Abraham Kruse, of Schwelm (A2). The weights appear to be complete (with one exception, which is evidently a substitute), and are knobbed. The label bears an interesting and intricate coat of arms, which I have not yet identified. The escutcheon of pretence in the centre seems to be that of the Palatinate of the Rhine. The similarity of several of these Prussian boxes suggests that the makers of the weights did not necessarily make the boxes, but procured them from wood-workers who specialized in the manufacture of boxes for the purpose.

A9.—A German or Flemish box of stained (?) lime-wood ornamented with bookbinders' tooling. There is a locker in the lid for 8 weights, and 5 are accommodated in the box itself, with a smaller locker to contain the grain-weights. The set of weights seems to be original and complete.

The boxes of English money-scales may be divided for convenience into two classes: (1) Those cut out of the solid, or "dug-out"; and (2) those put together in the ordinary way. Of class (1), three have the labels of the makers inside the lid.

- B1.—An apple-wood box decorated with tooling and dating from about 1700. The label has been cut to fit the lid, but there is no doubt as to the reading: "Edmund Jenks at Ye Angell & Star in St. Ans Lane nere Aldersgate."
- B2.—A mahogany box of George III's reign, "made by Henry Oxly,<sup>1</sup> No. 230 Upper Thames Street London." The box-lid is embellished with 2 incised hearts of quintuple concentric lines. A similar device is figured by S. & M. on p. 61, as occurring on a mahogany box, and the suggestion is there made that a love-token is denoted. Personally, I see no sufficient reason for this sentimental interpretation of a fairly commonplace ornament. Two boxes exhibited by me have the double-heart ornament upon them.
- B3.—Label of "Henry Neale at ye End of St. Bartholomew Lane near the Royal Exchange London." Pans stamped "H. N." Contains English weights. (See S. & M. List, p. 172.)
- B4.—A 17th century box of apple-wood, with traces of ornamentation on the lid.
- B5.—A mid-17th century lime-wood box, with tooling on the lid.
- B6.—A larger mid-18th century pear-wood box, with tooling on the lid.
- B7.—A box having a distinctly German look, of stained lime-wood, and fitted up for rectangular knobbed weights. There is a brass-lidded locker stamped "I. W. Herberts—London."

Sheppard and Musham record the name of "John William Herbertz of Stidwell St. Soho" occurring on a printed label inside a box of apparently a more or less similar description.

<sup>1</sup> Not "Oxby," as in Sheppard and Musham, p. 172.



B8.—A mahogany box, fitted up for rectangular knobbed weights of which 3 only survive. There is a brass-lidded locker.

B9.—A mahogany box, with weights for guinea and half-guinea only, is in practically perfect preservation.

The chief interest of the built boxes, of which I show seven examples, lies in the makers' labels on the lids :—

C1.—A mahogany box, with the label of "Thos. Goulding at the Angel and Scales No. 15 in Queen Street, Cheapside, London." The same maker is recorded by S. & M. on a "dug-out" box of mahogany (No. 23, p. 49).

C2.—An oak box with the label of "James Kirk No. 52 St. Paul's Churchyard, London," and containing a number of weights made by John Kirk, whose place of business was in St. Paul's Churchyard. This maker was presumably one of the same family as Arthur and John Kirk, but I have not been able to ascertain what the relationship was. Mr. Forrer tells me he has not met with his name. This box has the same device of 2 hearts on the lid as the "dug-out" box, B2.

C3.—An oak box with the label of "I. & O. Westwood, Birming<sup>m</sup>." Coin-weights stamped with this maker's name are not infrequently met with.

C4.—A mahogany box with the label of "S. Read in St. Ann's Lane near Aldersgate London." There is a label of this maker recorded by S. & M. (No. 56, p. 67), from which we learn that Samuel Read worked at the Angel and King's Arms in St. Ann's Lane.

C5.—A large mahogany box with the label of "Freeman & New in Leadenhall Street London. Scale makers to his Majesty's Mint, Exchequer, Bank of England &c." S. & M. quote a label with the same reading (No. 55, p. 67), except that the name is given as "Freeman & Son," which may conceivably

be a misreading of "Freeman & New." Among the few odd weights remaining in this box is a square one stamped on both sides, "2 ounce frank wt." of which I should be grateful to learn the explanation.

C6.—A plain mahogany box bearing the label of "Basil Hunt at No. 48 in Edmund Street Birmingham."

C7.—Another plain mahogany box, with the label of "Sewell & Young, at the Hand and Scales, No. 5 in Bear Street Leicester fields." A similar box, but of somewhat larger size, is described by S. & M., pp. 46-7, where an illustration of the label is given.

Of the 5 boxes covered with real or imitation shagreen, two have the labels of the issuing firms, one reading "Henry Neale at y<sup>e</sup> end of St. Bartholomew Lane near the Royall Exchange, London"; the other "Henry Neale Franting of St. Bartholomew Lane near the Royal Exchange, London." A third label with a slightly varying legend is recorded by S. & M., but all three must refer to the same place of origin. In the 2 boxes exhibited the Royal Arms on the labels will be seen to be those adopted by William III, with the escutcheon of Nassau in the centre of the shield. In one box the motto appears as the usual "Dieu et mon droit," while in the other it is "Je maintiendray," which, as Mr. Andrew has kindly pointed out, was introduced by William III, being the motto of the House of Orange. The labels, therefore, provide us with an approximate date for the boxes. Another of the boxes has a table of weights for the Georgian guineas in the lid, and all 5 differ from each other in details which I will not weary you by commenting upon.

We come now to what is perhaps the commonest type of box, the japanned metal boxes, usually described as "Pontypool lacquer," from its place of origin, though S. & M. inform us that a similar industry existed near Wolverhampton. All the 9 boxes exhibited are more or less complete, and differ as to their interior fittings one from another, but detailed description hardly seems necessary.

Another type of coin-weighing machine which is very frequently met with is the automatically rising balance usually in a long oblong case of mahogany or rose-wood and less commonly of brass. Of this class I am exhibiting 11 varieties in wooden cases and one in brass.

Six contain labels bearing the makers' names :—

- (a) " James Spyers No. 121 Cheapside and at No. 8 Ball Alley Lombard Str." This name is recorded by S. & M., but the number in Ball Alley is given as 28.
- (b) " De Grave & Son, Makers, London." S. & M. give the address of this firm as in St. Martin's le Grand, London, while a footnote states that it has been in continuous existence from 1603 to the present time.
- (c) } " A. Wilkinson, Ormskirk (late of Kirkby) near Liverpool."
- (d) }
- (e) " Stephen Houghton & Son, makers, Ormskirk, successors to A. Wilkinson."
- (f) " W. & T. Avery, makers, Birmingham."

Classified according to their mechanism :—

5 are furnished with pans and weights and are, in fact, merely scales.

4 are automatic balances with a single " turn," for weighing guineas and half-guineas, with the addition of a movable slide to register variations of weight. The all-brass specimen falls in this class, but is provided with what seems to be an additional indicator, the precise purpose of which I confess I cannot explain.

1—that by Stephen Houghton—has a double " turn," so that by various combinations of " turns " and slide it is possible to weigh guineas, half-guineas, and one-third guineas; and sovereigns and half-sovereigns.

The two balances by De Grave and the Averys, respectively, are single-turn machines for weighing the sovereign and half-sovereign.

Of the miscellaneous coin-weighing appliances, the first I would draw attention to is a simple, flat balance of brass, with a sliding weight. The bar is marked to weigh the Portugal piece or Dobra, and the moidore and their fractional parts, as well as the guinea and half-guinea. It bears a stamp "C P 265," and the case into which it fits has the initials "H.A.P." embossed upon it. This instrument seems to be identical with one described by S. & M. (No. 312, p. 155), where the writer suggests that the 2 small screws in the centre are "for securing to base (which latter is missing)." My own view is that these screws are merely the fulcrum of the balance, and I cannot see where room could be found, in the cardboard case which contains my specimen, for anything in the shape of a "base."

The next example is a well-made balance of brass and steel, fitting into a cardboard case. It bears the maker's name, "Sutton, 85 Cheapside, London," and is furnished with a sliding weight, as well as a gauge, for the guinea and half-guinea. The balance is put in action by depressing a spring release.

No. 3 is a balance and gauge for sovereign and half-sovereign. No maker's name appears on it and it closely resembles one for weighing half-crowns, shillings and sixpences figured and described by S. & M. (No. 310, Fig. 75, p. 155).

No. 4, by Henry Laxton, of Liverpool, is a simple steelyard for sovereign and half-sovereign, fixed in a velvet-lined case.

No. 5 is "Charles Simmons's Improved Balance," of 14, New John St., Birmingham. It is for sovereign and half-sovereign.

No. 6 is a triple brass balance and gauge for crowns, half-crowns and shillings. A somewhat similar one in iron, from the York Museum, is figured by S. & M. (p. 149, Fig. 65), but this is for guineas, half-guineas and one-third guineas.

No. 7 is a small pocket-balance and gauge of brass for sovereign and half-sovereign, made by Paine & Simpson, whose name (with G. R. crowned) is stamped on the lid. It is identical with S. & M. No. 302 (p. 149).

Nos. 8 and 9, brass balances for sovereign and half-sovereign, call for no detailed description.

No. 10 is Cotton's balance, apparently made by Bate of London. A beautifully made little instrument of brass and steel in a mahogany case. It seems to be for weighing the sovereign and half-sovereign, but lacks the additional weight which I imagine fitted into the hollow of the half-sovereign weight when a sovereign was to be weighed.

The round gauge for testing the guinea, half-guinea and one-quarter guinea is, perhaps, rather outside our subject, but I have ventured to include it. It is of steel, and has the name of "S. Henry Inventor by Royal Patent" stamped upon it, with a crown above. A similar one is figured on p. 98 (Fig. 44) of S. & M.





## AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COIN-CLIPPER.

BY VERNON B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

**N**OT long ago there came into my possession, among a miscellaneous lot of coins and tokens which had belonged to an old friend, now deceased, a much-worn shilling of William III, wrapped in a paper bearing the following inscription: "Shill<sup>s</sup> milld by Mr. Guests Engine 15th Octo<sup>r</sup> 1767 who was executed the day before for filing and milling Guineas." The nature of the paper and the style of hand-writing suggest that the document is contemporary with the date stated.

In the hope of obtaining some further information as to the episode referred to, I betook myself to the British Museum Reading Room, where, in a bound volume of Reports of "Proceedings on the King's Commissions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery for the City of London; and also the Gaol Delivery for the County of Middlesex, held at the Justice-Hall in the Old Bailey" for the years 1765-7, I found the account of the trial of William Guest. It took place on some day during the week, September 9th-16th, 1767, before "the Hon. James Hewitt, Esq., one of the Justices of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas," and a London (as distinguished from a Middlesex) Jury, the Lord Mayor at the time being Sir Robert Kite, Knt. The Report states that "William Guest was indicted for high treason, in filing, impairing, lightening, and diminishing a guinea and a half-guinea, the current coin of this Kingdom, against the form of the Statute."

As to the particular Act on which the charge against Guest was based, it would appear that the Statute 8 and 9 William III, chap. 26, "for the better preventing the counterfeiting the coin of the Kingdom," by making such offences high treason and punishable

by death, was first passed as a temporary measure which was to remain in force "until the end of the next Session of Parliament and no longer." By 9 and 10 William III, chap. 21, however, it was extended to 1701, and the first Parliament of Queen Anne gave it a further extension to 1709. By the Statute 7 Anne, chap. 25, it was made perpetual, and it was not till 1832 that the Statute 2 William IV, chap. 34, abolished the death penalty for this class of crime.

The quality of the Reports in the present volume falls far short of what we are accustomed to at the present day. Misprints are not infrequent; the sense is sometimes obscure and the punctuation is peculiar. In spite of these defects, it is possible to make out a fairly connected story of the trial.

The first witness called is John Leach, who describes himself as "a teller in the Bank," which presumably means the Bank of England. He states that William Guest had been a teller in the Bank between two and three years. His evidence continues as follows :—<sup>1</sup>

*Q.* : Did you ever observe any conduct in him different from the rest ?

*Leach* : I have seen him pick new guineas from the old ones.

*Q.* : How long ago is that ?

*Leach* : Six months ago at least.

*Q.* : Did you attend to this after to see whether it was a frequent practice ?

*Leach* : I did. It was his frequent practice : it created a suspicion in my mind and I communicated my suspicions to some others. On July 4th he paid some money to Mr. Richard Still, a servant to Mr. Corner, a dyer on the Bank-side, Southwark ; at the time, I saw Mr. Guest take some money out of a bag in the drawer and put it among the rest on the table, and when he had paid the man, I went out after him and asked him if his money was right and

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of passages enclosed in square brackets, the following is a verbatim copy of the printed Report.

begged the favour of him to walk into the pay-office and let me tell the money over, which he did, and out of the thirty guineas there were three of them seemed to me to be newly filed; he said that was all the gold he had about him. I carried them [*sic*] three guineas into the hall and showed them to Mr. Robert Bell; he looked at them; then I desired he would carry them up to Mr. Race, the cashier.

*Q.* : Did you go up with him ?

*Leach* : No, I did not then.

*Q.* : How did they appear to you to have been filed ?

*Leach* : They appeared to me as if the right milling had been taken off and then filed.

*Q.* : You say, when he paid some money, you observed he took some out of a bag in the drawer. Is not that what is commonly done ?

*Leach* : That is very seldom done in the Bank ; it is sometimes done ; this was not the whole of the money, but part ; it was mixed with the money on the table ; we put our guineas in one drawer, silver in another, moidores in another, ports in another.

*Q.* : What was done with the three guineas ?

*Leach* : Mr. Race weighed them in my presence ; they all three weighed fifteen pennyweights nine grains ; the weight should be sixteen pennyweights four grains and a quarter.

*Q.* : What is the difference ?

*Leach* : Nineteen grains and a quarter, that is three shillings and a penny according to the standard.

*Q.* : Did you weigh them separately ?

*Leach* : Yes ; one of the guineas weighed five pennyweights, three grains and nine-sixteenths ; that was a guinea of the late King's ; there were two of his present Majesty ; one wants about tenpence, the other about thirteen or fourteen pence.

[*Richard Still* is then called and is identified by *Leach* as the man from whom he received the three guineas. He corroborates *Leach*'s evidence and states that all the money he had about him when he received the thirty guineas from *Guest* was some halfpence

and eighteenpence in silver. *Robert Bell*, another teller at the Bank, is the next witness.]

*Bell* : I remember on Saturday, the 4th of July, Mr. Leach brought me three guineas which appeared to me to be recently filed, two of his present Majesty's and one of George IIId. I carried them to Mr. Race by Mr. Leach's desire, and Mr. Race with great deliberation looked at the edges of them in his custody. He closed them in a paper and wrote 4th of July upon them and said to me, "You will carry these to Mr. Leach and desire him to keep them in his custody." I delivered them back to Mr. Leach.

[*Daniel Race* is called, and confirms the evidence of the previous witness, after which *Leach* is ordered to produce the three guineas in question. This he does, and testifies that they have been in his custody and locked up (except when submitted to Mr. Race) during the whole period since July 4th, and are in the same condition as when he first received them. *Jeremiah Thompson*, one of the Cashiers at the Bank, then gives evidence as to the procedure in connection with collecting the tellers' bags.]

*Thompson* : The method is, every cashier, in his turn in waiting, takes the tellers' bags and locks them up in a particular place every night ; every teller has his name put to his bag, as they are all set down in a book.

Q. : Are the bags sealed ?

*Thompson* : No, they are not ; the Cashier in waiting that takes the bags, he finds so much money upon every bag, and we examine the book to see that they agree, that they make a balance, and then we lock them up and they are delivered out the next morning.

Q. : Are there anybody else besides yourselves as a check ?

*Thompson* : There are two locks upon the door of the cupboard where they are locked in ; the Cashier in waiting has one and some one of the indoor tellers have [*sic*] the other key ; the Cashier cannot come at these bags without the teller. That indoor teller is one that is in waiting for the night and we keep a check for them all.

Q. : Who are the waiting indoor tellers ?

*Thompson* : They take it by turns.

*Q.* : Who were in waiting that night, the 4th of July ?

*Thompson* : Kemp and Lucas were ; the key is kept by one of them, I do not know which of them. I received orders from Mr. Race, the Chief Cashier, to inspect into Mr. Guest's bag of the 4th of July, and one or two of the tellers to be with me ; Mr. Lucas and Mr. Kemp were present. The whole sum was £1,800 16s. 6d. in several bags ; there were five hundred pound bags tied together, thirteen bags in all. I was ordered to see if there were any new guineas fresh filed ; Mr. Kemp and Mr. Lucas told the money over ; there was one bag in which was forty guineas, which seemed fresher than the others did, upon the outside.

*Q.* : When you speak of fresher, what part do you mean ?

*Thompson* : I mean the edges.

*Q.* : Whether you compared these to any of the other guineas in the other bags ?

*Thompson* : Yes, they were compared, and they all appeared fresher than the rest.

[A brief cross-examination of Thompson elicits the fact that Guest's cash bags, after examination, were sealed and placed under lock and key till the day of the trial.]

*Thomas Lucas* : I am a teller in the Bank ; we take it by turns to be waiting tellers. I was in waiting on the 4th of July and Thomas Kemp was the other.

*Q.* : In what manner do you take care of the money ?

*Lucas* : We receive it from their own hands ; it is in my custody from that time till I deliver it to a porter, who puts it in a box, and from thence it is wheeled into the treasury. We found in a bag of Mr. Guest's forty guineas.

*C[ounsel] for prisoner* : I admit that with all my heart, that these forty guineas were found in Mr. Guest's bag.

*Q. to Lucas* : How did they appear ?

*Lucas* : They appeared much fresher on the edges than the other guineas.

*Thomas Kemp* : I am a teller at the Bank ; I was there that evening. I examined these forty guineas.



*Q.* : Whether you made any particular observation on them ?

*Kemp* : They appeared to me to be all fresh filed on the edges.

*Q.* : Did you weigh them ?

*Kemp* : I did ; there was a deficiency from about 8*d.* to 14*d.* one with the other. I cannot be certain to a penny ; there was a deficiency in every one of them.

*Mr. Sewallis* : I belong to the Bank ; I made a search in the house of Mr. Guest in Broad-street-buildings in the month of July last ; in a two pair of stairs room was a mahogany nest of drawers, the top of which was forced open in the presence of Mr. Hall, Mr. Humberton, and my Lord Mayor's officer ; there we found a vice, files and other things.

*Thomas Humberton* : I am a servant in the Bank ; I was present at a search made at Mr. Guest's house ; I asked him, while he was at the Bank, for his keys of his bookcase and a cupboard ; I told him I was going to search his house. This was on Monday, the 6th of July ; there were warrants out against him ; he said he did not know what authority anybody had to search his house and refused to deliver his keys. I found all the things there ; they were under seal till before the Grand Jury yesterday, and they are now under the seals of the Grand Jury.

They were opened and produced in Court. (*Note, they were such as were apt and proper to effect or contribute to the commission of the particular offence with which he was charged in the indictment on which he was tried ; and a bag with 100 guineas, and two bags of gold filings.*)

*Humberton* : We found these things under the flap of a small chest of drawers ; there were three drawers on each side and a drawer went quite cross [*sic*] at the bottom, about four inches deep. As it opened at the top, a flap before fell down and there was a skin lay at the bottom, fastened to the back part and a hole in the front part of it, to fasten to a button on his waistcoat, in the manner the jewellers use them ; in that leather lay the utensils and the smallest parcel of gold dust loose, and another parcel in a paper by it ; and



another (the largest parcel) in a secret place under the leather, in a place about six or eight inches square, under the middle of the leather ; we observed there was some yellow stuff on the teeth of the file.

*C[ounsel] for prisoner* : We do not controvert the finding these things.

*Q.* : What is the weight of the gold filings ?

*Humberton* : The weight is four pounds, eleven ounces and nineteen pennyweights ; that is the weight of all the filings together.

*Q.* : How much was in that that was concealed under the leather ?

*Humberton* : That was the greatest quantity ; that was three pounds, seven ounces and twelve pennyweights ; that seemed to be very clean, cleaner than the other two parcels ; the other parcel next to that weighed one pound, three ounces and two pennyweights ; the inferior parcel is one ounce, five pennyweights ; that was loose upon the leather, with a good deal of dirt in it ; I have delivered some of each parcel to Mr. Chamberlaine.

*Joseph Nichols* : I am one of the moniers in the Mint, that is one of the coiners.

*Q.* : How long have you been in it ?

*Nichols* : I have been employed twenty years in it, apprenticeship and all.

*Q.* : Do you know the use of these tools here produced ?

*Nichols* : I do ; here is one very capable of milling money round the edges.

*Q.* : Look at these three guineas. (*The three guineas were part of the thirty the prisoner paid to Richard Still.*)

*Nichols* : These are filed guineas ; they have had a fresh edging put upon them.

*Q.* : Look at these guineas. (*The hundred guineas found in the prisoner's drawer, put into a hat.*)

*Nichols (he looks at several of them)* : These are all artificial edges ; I do not see one but what is ; they all appear to have fresh edges on them.

*Q.* : Now look at the forty guineas found in his bag.

*Nichols (he looks at them)* : There is not one of these, as I can perceive, but what is fresh filed ; all I have seen might be edged with such an instrument as this produced ; they were not done in the Mint at the Tower.

*Mr. Chamberlaine* : These three guineas (*producing them*) are three guineas which Mr. Nichols put edges on in my presence, with the instrument found in the prisoner's room ; they were quite plain before.

*Q. to Nichols* : Compare these with the others found in the prisoner's drawer.

*Nichols (he looks at divers of them and compares them together)* : They are so near alike that I believe they were all done with the same tool.

*Q.* : Are you in the branch of milling ?

*Nichols* : I am not ; that is a particular office.

*C[ounsel] for Crown* : They in that office cannot be called upon to give evidence how money is milled ; they are strictly forbid it.

*Humberton* : I took out three small parcels of filings out of the three parcels and delivered them to Mr. Chamberlaine.

*Chamberlaine* : I delivered the same quantity of filings which I received of Mr. Humberton to Mr. Lucas.

*Joseph Lucas* : I received three parcels of gold filings of Mr. Chamberlaine to assay ; I assayed them separately and found them agreeable to the standard of our money ; that parcel that was said to be found upon the leather was mixed with a great deal of dirt ; I was obliged to wash and dry it ; when I had done that, upon the assay, I found it deviated a little from the true standard, but within the limits of our money. I think it might come from the filings of our guineas. The others were very exact to the standard.

*Samuel Lee* : I am a teller at the Bank. I think it was the latter end of March the prisoner had a bar of gold ; it was, I believe, between five and six inches long, under two inches wide, and better than half an inch deep. I asked him how he came by it ; he said he had it from Holland ; I had it in my hand ; I said I thought it

was not like a regular bar of gold, it had a deal of copper on the back of it ; he said it must be filed off, and that all bars of gold were so.

*Q.* : Did you ever see bars of gold at the Bank before ?

*Lee* : I have, but never saw any with such scum on them as that had.

*Q.* : How often have you seen bars of gold ?

*Lee* : I have seen bars of gold scores of times before I went into the Bank.

*Thomas Troughton* : I am a jeweller ; I have known the prisoner four years ; I sold an ingot of gold for him the 12th of June last ; there was about forty-eight ounces of it. I sold another ingot of gold for him about six months ago, that weighed forty-six ounces or thereabouts.

*Q.* : Did you get the price of standard gold for these ingots ?

*Troughton* : I got thereabouts.

*Cross-Examination.*

*Q.* : Have not you a great many ingots come from abroad ?

*Troughton* : We have. From different places.

*Q.* : Did this raise any suspicion in your mind at that time ?

*Troughton* : No, it did not.

*Q.* : Was it standard ?

*Troughton* : All gold ought to be standard ; there is bad and good gold.

*Q.* : Did you observe any appearance of copper or filing ?

*Troughton* : No, none at all ; this appeared like other bars of gold that came from abroad ; I understood it as such.

*Q.* : How long did they appear to be ?

*Troughton* : I took them to be about a foot long ; there are various lengths of them ; they come from abroad.

[The next witness called is a former servant of Guest's.]

*Esther Collins* : I did live servant with Mr. Guest between four and five months ; I left his service about the latter end of August or beginning of September, about a year ago.

Q. : Did you observe anything in your master's behaviour ?

E. Collins : Some little time before I came away he used to be in the back parlour.

Q. : How long before you came away ?

E. Collins : About a month before.

Q. : What was the furniture of that back parlour ?

E. Collins : A desk and half a dozen chairs.

Q. : What sort of a desk ?

E. Collins : The same sort as other people's, a writing-desk ; I saw it open one Sunday, when Mr. and Mrs. Guest went out a walking ; he left his book-case open ; I never saw the inside of it before ; I went into the room to take his clothes away ; the top being open, I looked into it ; there I saw a glass cup with some yellow dust in it, and by the cup was a file, much like this that lies here.

[This closes the case for the prosecution.]

*Prisoner's defence.*

I am innocent of the thing laid to my charge.

*For the prisoner.* [The first witness for the defence is :]

Robert Featley : I am an optical instrument maker.

Q. : Look at this tool. (*He takes it in his hand.*)

Featley : This is fit for various other uses where the edges require milling.

Q. : Have you milled edges to things in your way ?

Featley : We have, to scores of optical instruments, this is proper for several particulars, microscopes and things in our way.

*Cross-examination.*

Q. : Did you ever see any of these kind of instruments before in your trade ?

Featley : No, I never did.

John Hunter : I am conversant in mathematical instruments and clock-work both.

Q. : To what purpose is such an instrument as this applicable ?

*Hunter* : We have several milled nuts, both in the mathematical and clock way ; this is more useful than anything we use, for anything that will go into it ; it is as great an improvement as ever I saw ; the edges of jestering nuts for regulating clocks might be done with this.

*George Hodgson* : I am a c[l]ock maker ; I can make this instrument useful in several things that I do.

*Q.* : Mention some of them.

*Hodgson* : For milling the screws for regulating pendulums, that is the screw at the bottom to raise the ball, to make it go faster and slower.

*To his character.*

*Alexander Sharp, Esq.* : I took lodgings at Mr. Guest's in December, 1764, and lodged in his house six months ; I had very little opportunity of knowing him much ; I knew none of his connections so as to know his character ; I very seldom was with him.

*Mr. Greathead* : I have known him since November last ; before I went to lodge with him, I had a very good character of him ; he bore a very good character as far as I could find.

*Mr. Mowbray* : I have known him from his infancy ; he bears the character of a very honest man ; his family is in the greatest repute in the town he was born [*sic*]. I never heard any accusation against him till this charge.

*William Lewis* : My knowing and having acquaintance with him commenced when he was an apprentice at Worcester ; the universal character that he bore has been that of a diligent, honest, sober man. I knew his father and grandfather ; I have had connections with them all my life-time ; I am one of his securities since he came to be in the Bank. Everybody that had any connections with him have the same opinion with me. This thing was of the utmost astonishment to me when I heard of it. His father was a minister.

*John Eldridge* : I have known him about five years ; he is a very sober, diligent, honest man ; a man that I understood bore

as fair a character as any man in the kingdom from the goodness of his character.

[Sir Thomas Antwhistle, John Topham and William Smith, who had known Guest for three, twenty, and four to five years respectively, also testify to the prisoner's good character in general terms, and the report ends with laconic brevity.]

"Guilty. Death."

*He moved an arrest of judgment, but it was over-ruled by the court.*

A perusal of the report can leave no doubt that Guest was rightly convicted. The chain of evidence seems quite complete, while the suggestion of the defence that the "engine" might conceivably have been useful in the manufacture of clocks and scientific instruments, strikes one as very unconvincing as an argument in the prisoner's favour. It is somewhat disappointing that no actual description of Guest's apparatus emerges from the report. It must, I think, have been a mechanical contrivance of some kind and not merely a tool, in the limited sense of that word. It is described in the paper before us as an "engine," and it appears to have impressed the skilled witnesses who examined it as an efficient appliance. John Hunter's phrase: "This is more useful than anything we use, for anything that will go into it" suggests something in the nature of a machine, and, if we examine the milling on the William III shilling exhibited, it will be seen to have been applied with a perfect regularity which would be almost impossible to achieve without mechanical aid. If the milling on this coin is compared with that on a guinea of George III's first coinage, which would be the current issue at the time, it will be seen that whereas the milling on the latter consists of curved lines, that produced by Guest's machine is composed of straight lines. This difference, however, would be unlikely to attract attention, except under close examination, and it is evident that Guest was able to carry on his nefarious practices for some considerable time without detection.

There are one or two points in the report which may, perhaps, justify a word of comment, even if they have no direct bearing on the



issue. In the first place, it is a little odd that although the indictment charges the prisoner with "filing, etc., a guinea and a half-guinea," there is no mention in the evidence of a half-guinea at any point during the trial.

Then we have John Leach, the first witness in the case, describing the method employed in the Bank for sorting the cash: "We put our guineas in one drawer, silver in another, moidores in another, ports in another." It is unnecessary to remind our members of the large quantity of foreign, and particularly Portuguese, money which was in legalized circulation in this country at the period we are considering. Those of us who are interested in coin-weights are familiar enough with the weights representing these foreign currencies, such as the moidore, pistole, and their fractional parts. The well-known weight bearing the indication of current value, £3 12s. 6d., represents the Portuguese gold piece which Snelling<sup>1</sup> calls a "double Joannes," but which seems to have been known in this country as a "Portague" (also spelt *Portigue* and *Portegue*), or more familiarly as a "port." Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., has kindly furnished me with an interesting reference to Marlowe's "Jew of Malta" (I. 2):—

"Ten thousand portagues, besides great pearls,  
Rich costly jewels and stones infinite."

John Hunter, in his evidence, employs a term "jesting nut," which I have not been able to find in any dictionary. Two practical clock-makers from whom I have enquired have never heard the expression as a technical term in their trade, and one would be glad to know its origin. One of my two clock-maker friends makes the suggestion that it may be a corruption of "adjusting nut."

To revert to the story of William Guest. For the final act of the drama we must turn to the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, where, under date October 14th, 1767, we read:—"William Guest, for filing guineas; John Spires and Wm. Bryan, for the highway; [*i.e.* highway robbery], and Thomas Davis, for burglary, were

<sup>1</sup> *A View of the Coins at this Time Current Throughout Europe*, 1766.

executed at *Tyburn*. Mr. *Guest* was drawn in a sledge to the gallows, and after the three others were tied up, he got into the cart ; he was not tied up immediately, but was indulged to pray on his knees, attended by the Ordinary, and another clergyman of the Church of *England*. He joined in prayers with the Clergymen with the greatest devotion, and his whole deportment was so pious, manly, and solemn as to draw tears from the greatest part of the numerous spectators."


It is, of course, quite impossible to say anything definite as to the history of the shilling exhibited. It may be that someone who had access to *Guest's* engine after the culprit's execution thought he would like to experiment with it and selected a worn coin for the purpose, afterwards preserving it as a curiosity, accompanied by the explanatory memorandum. It is even conceivable that some enterprising person may have contrived to get a supply of coins "milled by Mr. *Guest's* engine" for the purpose of selling them to those who desired to indulge a morbid taste for criminal mementoes.

Be that as it may, the coin and the accompanying note have survived long enough to be exhibited, after more than a century and a-half, at a Meeting of the British Numismatic Society held at a spot approximately midway between the place where the crime was committed and the scene of its expiation on the gallows.

# BUCKINGHAMSHIRE TRADE TOKENS ISSUED IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY J. O. MANTON.

## PART I.

 HIS revision of the published lists of the Buckinghamshire series of the seventeenth-century traders' tokens is based, mainly, on the Bucks Archæological Society's collection exhibited in their museum at Aylesbury. The genealogical particulars given to establish the connection of the tokeners with the county of Bucks have been very laboriously extracted from parish registers and other sources by Mr. Edwin Hollis, F.Z.S., the Archæological Society's Curator and Librarian. He has also explored the field of place-names common to the county of Bucks and other counties, with the result that several tokens hitherto allocated to other counties are now shown to belong to the Bucks series.

Further, he has contributed notes concerning individuals, garnered from time to time for possible use as at present.

Place-names, we are told, make a considerable contribution to local history. Following precedent, an attempt is made in the pages of this paper to show the derivations of the names of the places which appear on the tokens. Incidentally, it may be noted that some of the names as rendered upon the tokens show that the local pronunciation of them in the tokenage period was more correct than our modernisms.

In April, 1912, the Bucks Archæological Society purchased a collection of 191 varieties of Bucks tokens from Mr. Oliver Ratcliff.

then a printer in Olney, who had catalogued 203 varieties and prepared wood-blocks for printing a large number of them. This effectually disposes of Mr. Williamson's implied reproach in the preface to his list of Bucks tokens.<sup>1</sup>

"He has been unable to find any collector specially interesting himself in the tokens of Buckinghamshire, and . . . the county has never had the benefit of systematic research as to its tokens."

Williamson's list of the tokens issued in the county totals 179, as against the 203 varieties catalogued by Ratcliff.

Assuming that, as this paper relates particularly to Buckinghamshire, it may attract some in the county whose pursuits are wide of the realm of the science of Numismatics, it may be advisable to define the word "token" as relating to money; also to insert occasional notes superfluous to numismatists—and experts must please accept with indulgence "thrice-told tales." Further, inasmuch as Williamson's *Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century* may not be available to all readers, information given by Williamson may, to make the paper sufficiently complete in itself, be usefully repeated herein.

Tokens issued for currency represent their current or stated denominations of value, for which the issuers are responsible to the holders. A pamphlet published in 1644, referring to a series of regal farthings issued under a patent granted by James I to Lord Harrington in 1613, and continued to others by Charles I, says:—

"Now to come to our Farthing tokens: the very name of them is not the name of any lawfull coyne or money, but onely a Token, or an acknowledgement that the partie which pays it out, gives it onely as a Token because he cannot otherwise change money, for want of small money or coyne, to be ready and willing at all times to take it againe."

There was a sparse regal currency of silver pennies, of half-pennies, and farthings, but these coins, even if they had been

<sup>1</sup> *Trade Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. i, p. 115.

obtainable in sufficient quantities to use as "small change," were inconveniently small for handling by "the horny hands of toil."

The regal farthings referred to were small thin inscribed discs of copper, only six grains in weight each. They were shamefully forced upon the poorer class of people, and yielded large fortunes to the patentees, also some personal profit to the Kings, until the course of events gradually ended their currency in the time of the Commonwealth.

The period of two years preceding the execution of King Charles I (January 30th, 1649) was one of conflict between the principles of liberty and despotism<sup>1</sup>; and the turmoil of civil war had diverted the attention of the Government, or those who had assumed authority, from the needs of traders and of the poorer class of people with regard to coins of small denominations for use in business. The remedy was apparent, "the people must help themselves," and so the illegal issue by "the people" of token-money, aptly defined as "a money of necessity," was established, and it is of the people the tokens speak.<sup>2</sup> In the prevailing circumstances the authorities apparently left it as a matter to be dealt with when time and circumstances permitted, and the fact that the issue and currency of the tokens covered a period of twenty-four years, 1648-72, together with the further fact that amongst those who broke the law by issuing tokens were many who, in their local official positions,<sup>3</sup> were expected to uphold the law, indicates that there was practically a tacit acquiescence in the token-money to tide over the period of strife in the country. Occasionally, there were reminders of the law in localities "here and there," but these were of little effect. In the end, the action of the people in solving a difficulty by a temporary expedient "forced a legislature to comply with

<sup>1</sup> Charles I adopted the theory of his father, James I, "*a Deo rex a Rege lex*" (The king is from God, the law from the king.)

<sup>2</sup> Williamson has catalogued 12,722 varieties. There are hundreds of others known, but hitherto unpublished.

<sup>3</sup> Civic-bodies, mayors, portreeves, feoffers, chamberlains, overseers, churchwardens, and other officials in towns, boroughs, villages and districts, issued their own tokens.

demands and requests at once just and imperative," and the issue of a regal coinage of farthings and halfpence of real intrinsic value followed in 1672.

The manufacture and circulation of the tokens was prohibited and declared a penal offence after September 1st, 1672; but "the writ of the law" travelled slowly in those days and the circulation of tokens continued in out-of-the-way places in England as late as 1675, and in Ireland until 1679.

After the prohibition, many of the issuers of the tokens refused to take them back again, either in exchange for commodities or for regal currency, "which caused widespread misery among the poor people who held them."

The Proclamation forbidding manufacture of tokens is enlightening:—

"Whereas of late years Persons and Corporations, upon pretence that there was wanted small moneys to be currant in low and ordinary payments amongst the poorer sorts, have presumed to cause certain pieces of Brass, Copper, or other Base Metals to be stamped with their private stamps and then imposed those pieces upon our subjects as Pence Halfpence or Farthings, as the makers thereof were pleased to call them, whereby our subjects have been greatly defrauded, and our Royal authority and the laws of our kingdom violated . . . believing that our subjects would not be easily wrought upon to accept the Farthings and Halfpence of these private stampers, if there were not some kind of necessity for such small coynes to be made for publique use . . . have thought it fit to cause certain farthings and halfpence of copper to be stamped at our Mint . . . so to be coyned to contain as much copper in weight as shall be of the true intrinsick value of an halfpenny or farthing, respectively, the charge of coyning and uttering being onely deducted."

The regal copper farthings issued, and a few corresponding halfpence, were inscribed CAROLVS A CAROLO (Charles from



Charles), and were made current from August 16th, 1672. They were of superior design, good copper, and intrinsically of the value they approximately represented. It was decreed that they should pass in all payments, bargains, and exchanges under the value of sixpence. This saw the exit of the seventeenth-century tokens. These farthings and halfpence were the commencement of our copper coinage, which continued until 1860, when it was superseded by the present type of bronze money.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. *Buccingahamscir* (1066). *Bucca* is an Old English personal name and *ham* signifies land in the bend of a river. *Buccinga* is a tribal name in the genitive plural. Hence *Buccinga ham* means the hamland of the sib or folk of *Bucca*. O.E. *scir* means jurisdiction, district, a group of Hundreds with a common court.

This is one of the few counties whose civic bodies, or governing officials, did not, as such, break the law by the issue of tokens, hence its token-list does not include any town-pieces (the appellation of tokens issued by town authorities), but the list includes a fair number of tokens issued by innkeepers, proprietors of posting-houses, and others who catered for "man and beast," and who, incidentally, must have profited largely by many of their tokens being carried far away from the district and never returned.

The main lines of travel in the tokenage period followed the old Roman and mediæval roads or trackways. In Buckinghamshire principally along *Watling Street* (by Brickhill and Stony Stratford); *Akeman Street* (by Aylesbury, Waddesdon and Chinnor); and the *Ickneild Way* (along the Chilterns via Ivinghoe, Wendover, Edlesborough, and Princes Risborough); the latter largely for cattle.

The county is bounded on the north by Northamptonshire; on the east by Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Middlesex; on the west by Oxfordshire; and on the south by Berkshire and the Thames.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Its greatest length is N.E. to S.E., 53 miles; its greatest breadth about 27 miles. Area, 472,320 acres or 738 square miles.

The list of Bucks tokens supplies reliable records of names of persons, and of the places to which they belonged in the period covered by them, and forms a valuable corpus of seventeenth-century Buckinghamshire names. The names are also of much interest in family genealogy and in the persistence of local personal names. The names of inns which have long since disappeared may, perhaps, induce research as to the sites they occupied, and yield pleasure in enabling one to visualize life in their days along the old routes of travel. Also the various trades typified may be instructive.

The earliest date shown on a Bucks token is 1651 (No. 81), and the latest 1671 (No. 57). The earliest date of the issue is 1648, and the latest 1672. When the value is expressed it is halfpenny (frequently spelled "Halfe Peny"), excepting Nos. 40 and 45, which show OB, an abbreviation for obolus, as their denomination. The word "obolus" is a collateral form of a Greek word signifying a spike or small obelisk. Bars or spikes of metal were used for barter before coined money was invented. The Greek obolus is equal, approximately, to three-halfpence of our money.

Williamson has indicated values of both halfpence and farthings in his list of Bucks tokens. Apparently he has classed all small-sized tokens, the field of which is too limited to show their intended currency, as farthings; however, he says, "eccentricities of size prevent the adoption of any fixed rule to determine their value."

Nearly all are circular in shape, and they are mainly of two diameters, approximately 20 and 15 millimetres. Two specimens are square (Nos. 10 and 145), one octagonal (No. 146), and two heart-shaped (Nos. 62 and 63 var.).

The devices upon the coins, as in other counties, usually refer to the occupations of the issuers, and include the arms of the great Livery Companies of the City of London and of other trading guilds. The following are shown :—

*Clothworkers* .. Amersham, Chesham, Wycombe =

A chevron ermine, between two habicks in chief, and  
a teazle in base.

- Drapers* .. Aylesbury, Newport Pagnell =  
Three triple crowns resting on clouds radiated in base.
- Grocers* .. Aylesbury, Brill, Chesham, Newport Pagnell,  
Stewkley, Fenny Stratford, Stony Stratford,  
Wendover, Winslow, Woughton-on-the-  
Green =  
A chevron between nine cloves, three, three and three.
- Haberdashers* .. Horwood, Wendover =  
Barry nebulée on a bend a lion passant gardant.
- Mercers* .. Aylesbury, Brill, Chesham, Stony Stratford,  
Tingewick =  
A demi-virgin couped below the shoulders, issuing  
from clouds, crowned, and hair dishevelled, all within  
an orle of clouds.
- Bakers* .. Iver, Ivinghoe, Lavendon, Stony Stratford,  
Winslow =  
A balance between three wheat-sheaves, on a chief  
wavy an arm issuing from clouds between two  
anchors, holding a balance.
- Brewers* .. Chesham =  
On a chevron three pairs of barley-garbs in saltire.
- Cordwainers* .. Stony Stratford =  
A chevron between three goats' heads erased.
- Joiners* .. Wycombe =  
A chevron between two pairs of compasses extended  
in chief and a sphere in base; on a chief a pale  
between two roses, on the pale an escalop.
- Vintners* .. Hitchenden =  
A chevron between three tuns.

Admiral Smyth humorously described a grocer of this period as follows :—

“ In country places a grocer comprehended a most extensive dealer in hardware, gingerbread, bobbins, laces, haberdashery, mouse traps, curling tongs, candles, soap, bacon,

pickles and every variety of grocery ; besides which they sold small coins for money changing. Tea, the staple by which grocers now make good fortunes, had not then obtained its footing, for this lymph must then have been beyond the means of most sippers, seeing that in 1666 a pound of tea cost sixty shillings, and money was then at a far higher value than in the present century. The multifarious ramifications of these traders justified the application of the term grocers, as well as to those ' engrossing ' merchandise, because they sold by the gross. Their more ancient name was Pepperers, from the drugs and spices they sold, a branch which was mostly abstracted from them not long before the epoch of the tokens by a seceding party who were incorporated by James I under the designation of Apothecaries."

Innkeepers' tokens usually portray the signs of their houses :—

A bell for the Bell Inn, Colnbrook. (70.)

A crown for the Crown Inn, Aylesbury. (11.)

Henry VIII bust for " Ye King's Head, Aylesbury." (16.)

A crescent moon for the " Halfe Mone," Brill. (35.)

A greyhound for the Greyhound Inn, Chalfont. (52.)

A cock for " Ye Cock," Eton. (78.)

A crowned rose for the Rose and Crown, Horwood. (92.)

A cock for " Ye Cock," Leckhamsted. (100.)

A lion rampant for " Ye Lyon," Stony Stratford. (160.)

A checky square for The Chequers, Wycombe. (209.)

A wheatsheaf for the Wheatsheaf, Wycombe. (198.)

A stag for the White Hart, Wycombe. (221.)

A chained-swan for the Borough Arms, Wycombe. (205.)

The Company's arms are : A chevron per pale and per chevron, between three garbs. The crest is a star of sixteen rays, hence the frequency of the Star Inn.

The oldest Tavern Keepers' signs were often of a religious character, as the Lamb and Flag, the Holy Lamb, and Crossed-Keys. These devices are shown respectively on No. 28 Beaconsfield,

No. 51 Buckingham, No. 54 Chalfont, and No. 131 Oakley; but by themselves they are not sufficient proof that the tokeners who issued them were innkeepers.

The device of a roll of tobacco may also indicate a tavern, *e.g.* the sign of "The Tobacco Roll" was to be seen "on the east side of St. John Street in the parish of St. Sepulchre without Newgate in the County of Middlesex," in and prior to 1697.

"Tobaccermen" are indicated by a hand holding a chopper over a leaf (Nos. 7 and 181); two pipes crossed (Nos. 58 and 77); a roll of tobacco between two horizontal pipes (Nos. 117 and 127); and without the pipes (Nos. 62 and 219).

Shopkeepers and others adopted devices, some appropriate to their businesses, and some otherwise. Eccentricities in regard to the size and shape of their tokens are possibly explainable by the fact that the manufacturers of the tokens employed agents to travel about the country to obtain orders, who would not be wanting in making fanciful suggestions to prospective customers. These agents may also be blamed for many of the errors in spelling in the inscriptions on the tokens. Doubtless many orders were verbal, and the agent would record phonetic renderings of the local dialect if not otherwise informed; afterwards, in some cases, a second order would follow to correct the spelling and usually for the production of an improved issue. See Nos. 1 and 2, "Barowes Amerson" and "Burrowes Ammarsham"; Nos. 59 and 60, "Guome," perhaps copied from careless writing, and "Grome Chesham"; also the reverse of No. 147, "Shirrinton" for "Sherrington." The local renderings of some of the place-names were, philologically, actually more reliable than the orthographical corrections.

Tallowchandlers' tokens may be recognized by the representation upon them of either a stick of candles (Nos. 30 and 214); a man making candles (Nos. 19, 25, 75 and 101); or a dove holding an olive branch (No. 167).

The Company's arms are: per fesse and per pale, three doves each holding an olive branch.

Feltmakers, apparently, are represented by a hat. (See Nos. 82, 174, 183 and 189.)

The Company's arms are: a dexter hand couped at the wrist, between two hat-bands nowed, in chief a hat.

The weaving industry is indicated by a shuttle. (See Nos. 5 and 112.)

A pair of shears probably indicates a tailor or a wool-cropper. (See Nos. 59 and 60.)

The lace industry in Buckingham is represented by strips of lace as figured on Nos. 48-50. The industry still lingers in and around the erstwhile county town. Catharine of Aragon, the first wife of Henry VIII (married June 7th, 1509), is said to have been the patron of the art of pillow-lace making, and to have established it in the county. Her name is perpetuated by Queen Catherine Road in Steeple Claydon, where pillow-lace experts still exist. She died January 7th, 1536.

There are thirty-one Bucks tokens upon which a pair of scales is shown. It might be conjectured that the scales indicate a grocer's or a baker's business, but the device is found on tokens of traders whose business was widely different. The issuer of Nos. 134-6, which show a pair of scales, was a ropemaker.

A sugar-loaf correctly indicates a grocer. (See No. 202.)

The Bakers' Company's arms are: a balance between three wheat-sheaves, on a chief wavy an arm issuing from clouds between two anchors, holding a balance.

A wheat-sheaf is a frequent device of the trade. (See Nos. 198-201 and 220.) It should be added that a wheat-sheaf was also a common ale-house sign.

A fleur-de-lys appears on Nos. 76 and 145. The "lys" may indicate a bricklayer's business. The Bricklayers' Company's arms are: a chevron, in chief a fleur-de-lys between two brick-axes palewise, in base a bundle of laths.

Roses are depicted upon Nos. 92 (crowned), 176 and 204. It is difficult to ascribe the design of a rose to a particular trade, bearing



in mind that frequently a single item (as already shown) from a Trade Company's arms is intended to represent the particular trade to which the arms refer. Roses are included in the arms of the following Companies:—

- Joiners* .. V. p. 213.
- Plasterers* .. On a chevron engrailed, between two plasterers' hammers and a trowel in chief, and a flat brush in base, a rose between two fleurs-de-lys.
- Upholsterers* .. On a chevron between three pavilions, as many roses.
- Weavers* .. On a chevron between three leopards' faces, as many roses.

The Arms of a borough are shown on only one Bucks token—Wycombe, No. 205—a swan with expanded wings, gorged with a coronet and chained. A chained-swan is also “the annient Armes belonginge and apperteignyng to the towne and Boroughe of Buckingham and paryshe of the same . . . ratified and recorded . . . the (eighth) day of September, 1574, J. Lee, alias Portcullis, Marshall to Clarencieux.”

Family arms are shown on Nos. 108 and 222. An unidentified shield of arms is shown on Nos. 179 and 180.

Varieties of a Carriers' token, Nos. 84 and 85, indicate an occupation that is not frequently mentioned in the series of tokens, and a Wendover token, No. 173, is the only one upon which the occupation “Chapman” is named.

Devices other than those already mentioned—some explainable, and others according to “the humour of the issuer” (as expressed by Williamson)—are as follows:—

- A unicorn (3) .. .. . Amersham.
- A malt-shovel (15) .. .. . Aylesbury.
- St. George and Dragon<sup>1</sup>(21) .. .. .

A cock (27) ; a bull (31)	..	..	..	Beaconsfield.
A heart (41-5)	..	..	..	Buckingham.
A horse-shoe (86)	..	..	..	Hambledon.
Three tuns (88-9)	..	..	..	Hitchenden.

The three tuns represent the Vintners' Arms, but the tokener describes himself as a grocer. (His business to-day might include an off-licence.)

An acorn (91)	..	..	..	Horwood.
Queen's bust, crowned (102)	..	..	..	Marlow.
Crossed guns (109)	..	..	..	„
A griffin (110)	..	..	..	„
A heart (126)	..	..	..	Newport Pagnell.
A pot of lilies (156)	..	..	..	Stony Stratford.

The Pewterers' device.

A phoenix (157)	..	..	..	„
A lion rampant (160)	..	..	..	„
A mill-rind (192-3)	..	..	..	Wooburn.
Plumes (196)	..	..	..	Wycombe.
A lion rampant (210-12)	..	..	..	„
A crown (216)	..	..	..	„

Other details which may be mentioned are :—

Six tokens, issued by women (5, 36, 40, 70, 102, 107).

One is a partnership token (181).

Two are struck in lead (14, 117).

One has a bold publication of loyalty in a period *after* “Roundhead had clashed Cavalier”—“Rather dead than disloyal” (213).

A Hertfordshire token (W. 83) of interest to the county of Bucks is—

Obv.—FELIX · CALVERD = HIS HALF PENY

Rev.—OF FVRNEXT · PELHAM = F.I.C. 1668

This Felix Calverd was a progenitor of Sir Henry Calvert, Bart. (b. December 8th, 1801; d. February 12th, 1894), who succeeded to the Verney Estates January 9th, 1827 (residence, Claydon House,

near Winslow), and who assumed the surname "Verney" only, by sign manual, February 9th, 1827.

Another Herts token is—

Obv.—FELIX COLVART = Arms of Calvert.

Rev.—IN LITTLE HADDON = F · C

Little Haddon is only four miles north of Furneaux Pelham.

The following is a list of the places of issue in the county, and shows the various spellings of the period. Parentheses enclosing a letter or word indicate that the letter or word is sometimes present and sometimes absent.

The letters I and V take the place of J and U.

The number of tokens issued at each place is shown.

AMERS[H]AM · AMERSON · AMERSAM[E] AM[M]ARSHAM ..	7
AYLESBVRY · AILISBVREY · AILLSBVREY · AL[E]SBVRY · ALE[I]SBVRY · AL[I]SBVRY · AY[E]LSBVRY · AELS- BERREY · AILSBVRY .. .. .	18
(BEACONSFIELD) BECKCONESFEILD · BECKENSFEILD · BECKINGSFEILD · BECKON[E]SFEILD · BICKCONS- FEILD . .. .	6
BRILL · BRILL POTTERIES .. .. .	6
BROVGHTON .. .. .	1
BVCKINGHAM · BVCKINGGAM[E] .. .. .	13
ST PETERS CHALFONT · PEETERS SHALFORT .. ..	3
CHESHAM[E] · CHASSHAM .. .. .	15
(COLNBROOK) COLBROOKE .. .. .	1
(EDLESBOROUGH) EDLESBORO .. .. .	2
EMBERTON · EMERTON .. .. .	2
(ETON) EATON .. .. .	4
(FENNY STRATFORD) FENNE[Y] STRATFORD · FENISTRAT- FORD · FENNISTRAT FORD .. .. .	5
(HADDENHAM) HADENHAM .. .. .	2
(HAMBLEDON) HAMELDON .. .. .	1

HARTWELL .. .. .	I
(HUGHENDON or HITCHENDEN) HVCHINDON · HVCHIN · DON	2
HORWOOD · GREAT HORWOOD · HORWOOD MAGNA · LITTLE HORWOOD .. .. .	6
IVER .. .. .	I
(IVINGHOE) IIVING[G]OE .. .. .	2
LAVENDON .. .. .	I
(LECKHAMSTEAD) LECKHAMSTED .. .. .	I
(LITTLE BRICKHILL) LITTLE BRICKEHILL .. .. .	I
MARLOW · GREAT[E] MARLOW · GREAT MARLO ..	10
MVRSLEY .. .. .	I
NEWPORT PAGNEL[L] · NEWPORT PAGNALL · NEWPORT PANNELL · NEWPORT PAYNELL .. .. .	14
NEWTON (LONGVILLE) .. .. .	I
NORTH · CRAWLEY .. .. .	I
NORTHALL · NORTH HALL .. .. .	2
(OAKLEY) OKLEY .. .. .	2
OLNEY .. .. .	9
PRINCES RISBOROVGH · PRINCES RISBROW .. ..	4
SHENLEY .. .. .	I
(SHERRINGTON) SHERINGTON · SHIRRINTON .. ..	2
(STEEPLE CLAYDON) STEPELL CLADON .. .. .	I
(STEWKELEY) STEWTLY .. .. .	I
STONY STRATFORD · STONYSTRATFORD · STON[E]Y STRATFORD · STONESTRATFORD · STONISTRAT- FORD · STONI[E] STRATFORD · STONIESTRTFORD	14
(Stow) STOWE .. .. .	2
(SWANBOURNE) SWAN BORNE .. .. .	I
THORNBOROVGH .. .. .	I
(TINGEWICK) TINGWICK · TINGEICKE .. .. .	2
(WADDES DON) WADSDON .. .. .	I

(WARRINGTON) (Hamlet of Olney) WARRINDEN .. ..	1
WENDOVER · WINDOVER .. .. .	6
WINSLOW .. .. .	12
(WOOBURN) WOOBVRNE · WOBVRNE [MIL].. ..	3
(WOUGHTON-ON-THE-GREEN) WOOFTON .. ..	1
(WYCOMBE) [GREAT] WICKHAM · WICOME · WICCOMBE · WIKCOMBE · HIGH WICKHAM · HIE WICKHAM · HEY WICKIAM · GREAT WICKOMBE · WEST WICK- COMBE · WICKVM PARRISH .. .. .	28

The total number of places of issue is 48. The tokeners numbered 179, and the number of the varieties of the tokens issued is 222.

A noticeable feature in the Bucks series is that, *with very few exceptions*, the issuer's initials and the initial of his wife's christian name are shown upon the tokens, the initial of the surname being over the initials of the two christian names. In the Derbyshire series, on the contrary, less than half of them show the initials of the tokeners apart from their names, and less than twelve per cent. include the initials of the tokeners' wife.

The combined initials are often useful when searching parish marriage registers to determine the identity of an issuer.<sup>1</sup> An illustration of this is the Hartwell token of William Church, which has the initials and date W·A·C· 1666 upon it, and which hitherto has been catalogued in the Northamptonshire series as belonging to Wold Hartwell, with parish records commencing in 1683 (!) giving the wife's christian name as Mary, but with the admission that neither the initials W·A·C· nor the dates of the parish records quite agree.<sup>2</sup> In December, 1923, a specimen of the token was dug up in Bierton Road, Aylesbury, only about a mile and a-half from Hartwell, Bucks, and this led to research which disclosed the

<sup>1</sup> Parish registers were made compulsory by an injunction of Thomas, Lord Cromwell, in September, 1538. Two Bucks registers (Stoke Hammond and Old Wolverton) contain entries earlier than 1538.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, p. 269.

existence of a William Church and his wife Ann in the neighbourhood, and baptismal records at Aylesbury, showing the continuance of the name Ann in the family contemporaneously with the date upon the token. This evidence proves that the token belongs to the Hartwell hamlet of Aylesbury, and so to the Bucks series and not to Northants. (See HARTWELL.)

In a few cases the tokens show the issuer's own initials only, and later "a variety" shows an additional initial, which indicates, presumably, the advance from "batchelor" to "benedict." (See No. 118 with E.C and No. 119 with E.F.C. Also see No. 65 with S.G.T and No. 66 with S.I.T, which, presumably, indicates that the tokener was twice married; it may be noted, too, that the later token is larger and much superior to the preceding one, as usual in the case of "varieties.")

In regard to the genealogical notes given, it may be profitable to quote a note by Sir Egerton Brydges:—

"There is no subject more difficult to be dwelt on than that of descent, and no quality to which everyone in his heart pays so great a respect."

The fascination of its pursuit is one you never relinquish. Another writer says:—

"The wife's maiden name is the one thing genealogists prize most."

This is exemplified in the genealogical notes in the following pages.

Hitherto all tokens with the place-name "Colebrook" upon them have been listed as belonging to Colebrook, Devonshire; all with "Stow" or "Stowe" as belonging to Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire; all with "Woburn" or "Wooburne" as belonging to Woburn, Beds; and all with "Wickham" as belonging to Wycombe, Bucks. These and other tokens showing duplicates of other place-names which occur in the county of Bucks have, as far as possible, and as already stated, been reviewed. There is still a wide field for research which may result in further corrections



of published lists, and the Bucks list as now revised must be subject to this.

The tokens viewed simply as peculiarities in long-past mediums of exchange for the necessities of life, may be intrinsically worthless; but historically they will undoubtedly be of considerable importance in time to come, and will appreciate in value.

Obv. = Obverse.	B. = Boyne.
Rev. = Reverse.	W. = Williamson.
m.m. = mint-mark.	p. register = parish register.

AMERSHAM. *Agmodesham*, 1066, Ægmôd's farm or manor. Three miles south of Chesham.

Amersham (with Marlow, Wendover and Wycombe) was represented in the Parliament of Edward I.

1. Obv.—ANDREW · BAROWES · IN = A · B  
Rev.—AMERSON · CLOTHWORKER = 1652  
m.m., mullet. Unpublished hitherto.
2. Obv.—ANDREW · BVRROWES · OF : = The Clothworkers' Arms.  
Rev.—AMMARSHAM · HIS · HALF · PENY = A · F · B · 1665  
m.m., cinquefoil, rosette stops. B. 1, W. 1.

No. 2 evidently was intended to correct the orthography of No. 1, which phonetically might approximate to the pronunciation of the period.

There are a number of entries in the p. register of marriages relating to the Burrowes family in the seventeenth century. One item is:—

1642. Andrew Burrough and Francis Hooper. mar.  
9 March.

3. Obv.—IOHN · COCKE · IN = an unicorn.  
Rev.—AMERSHAM · 1666 : = two flowers with stems entwined and  
nowed between I M C  
m.m., mullet. B. 2, W. 2.

Both Boyne and Williamson give the name incorrectly as COOKE.

The following entry occurs in the Wendover p. register :—

1637. John Cocke & Mary Hartwell. mar. 10 Dec'r.

and the Amersham p. register includes :—

1665. John Cock & Mary Snell. mar. 28 March.

Wendover and Amersham are only ten miles apart. Possibly the above entries refer to father and son.

4. Obv.—FRANCIS · LANE · OF = F L conjoined.

Rev.—AMERSHAM · 1666 = F · G · L

This token is not in the Bucks A. and A. Society's Museum. The description is copied from Williamson, No. 3.

5. Obv.—ELIZABETH · RVTT · IN = a shuttle.

Rev.—AMERSAME · HER · HALF · PENY = cinquefoil over E R  
1668

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 3, W. 4.

6. Obv.—WILLIAM · STATHAM = W · B · S ·

Rev.—IN · AMERSAM = cinquefoil above and below 1653.

m.m., mullet. B. 4, W. 5.

The wife's initial B is much smaller than the other initials. The surname still survives in the town.

7. Obv.—RICHARD · WEBB · AT · AMARSHAM = a hand holding a  
chopper over a leaf.

Rev.—IN · BVCKINGHAM · SHEIRE · 66 = R S · W · over ·  $\frac{1}{2}$  ·  
(cinquefoil stops).

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 5, W. 6.

The following entries occur in the p. register :—

1595 Thomas Webb & Ann Taylor . mar. 12 May.

1608 Thomas Webb & Sarah Grove . . mar. 26 Feby.

There are a number of other entries relating to the family, but Richard Webb's marriage does not appear. Probably he was married elsewhere.

The Newport Pagnell p. register yields the following :—

1610 Richard Webb son of John . . . bapt. 17 Feby.

1610 Thomas Webb et Joan Crawley . mar. 15 May.

(See Nos. 40 and 181 for "Crawley" tokens.)

AYLESBURY. *Aegelesburh* 871. Aegel's *burh*, or fortified house. It is 17 miles S.E. from Buckingham.

Aylesbury is now the county town. It was first incorporated and made a borough by a charter from Queen Mary in 1553. (*See note* under Buckingham.) This charter lapsed for a few years. The present charter is dated November 14th, 1916.

The battle of Aylesbury, between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians, was fought on Tuesday, March 21st, 1642,<sup>1</sup> near Holman's Bridge, N.N.W. of Aylesbury.

8. Obv.—IOSEPH · BELL · ☙ · ☙ · = Mercers' Arms.

Rev.—IN · ALISBVRY · 1659 = I · H · B.  
m.m., mullet. W. 7.

Williamson's No. 7 is IOHN · BELL

The following occurs in the p. register :—

1629 Joseph son of Henry Bell . . . bapt. 19 Apl.

1658 Joseph Bell & Margaret Baines.

Banns pub'd . . . . . 1, 8, 15 May

1659 Margaret w. of Joseph Bell . . . bur. 8 Aug.

1659 Joseph Bell & Hannah Dover.

Banns pub'd . . . . . 1, 15, 22 Oct.

1664 Hannah w. of Joseph Bell . . . bur. 26 Sep.

1692 Joseph Bell . . . . . bur. 9 Dec.

Joseph Bell, apparently, had a strenuous time in 1659; he buried a wife, married again and then issued his token which shows the initial of his second wife. The letter "w" in the 1664 entry should be read as "wife."

9. Obv.—WILLIAM · BVRGAS · IN = A Saracen's head.

Rev.—AYLSBVRY · 1670 · = HIS HALF PENY  
m.m., mullet. W. 8.

Williamson shows the name as BVRGHS and AYLESBVRY.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Perfect Diurnal*, March 20th, 1642, to March 27th, 1643; also see Shehan's *History of Bucks*, p. 39.

10. Obv.—*William | Burges in | Ailsbury | his · halfe | penny.*  
(Script in five lines.)

Rev.—A Turk pouring from a coffee-pot into a bowl. The date 16-70 divided.

This is a square token. Unpublished hitherto.

The following entries occur in the p. register :—

1664	Jone dau of William Burges . . .	bapt. 24 April.
1666	William son of William Burges . .	bapt. 8 May.
1680	William Burgas . . . . .	bur. 23 Jany.
1688	Widow Burgas . . . . .	bur. 21 March.

In an entry referring to the proof of a will of a certain John Keene, mention is made of a Saracen's Head, Aylesbury.<sup>1</sup>

Tradition says a shop, now 15, Temple Street, was once known as "The Turk's Head." It is assumed that people who remembered the Saracen's Head sign-board did not understand the word "Saracen's" and spoke of it as "The Turk's Head." A deed relating to this shop records that the property was purchased by William Burgesse, Licensed Victualler, from Rich'd Pryor, and that it joined the house of John Dossett (*see* No. 15), of Cobblers' Row (now George Street), and the stables of the King's Head in the occupation of John Dawney.

Usually the device of a Turk pouring from a coffee-pot into a bowl indicates a coffee-house. The transition of the Saracen's Head ale-house, adjoining back premises of the King's Head hostelry, to a Coffee Tavern, was seemingly a doubtful venture, inasmuch as a person named Farr, of the Rainbow Coffee House, in Fleet Street, London (which house escaped the Great Fire of 1666), was prosecuted for selling "the deleterious liquid called coffee."<sup>2</sup>

Coffee was introduced into this country by a Greek named Rosee in 1652, who opened a Coffee-house "in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, at the sign of his own head." The original announcement

<sup>1</sup> See *MS. Archdeaconry Book*, No. 31/34 in the Bucks County Museum Library, p. 74, 1665.

<sup>2</sup> See Williamson (*u.s.*, note 1), No. 1074, London token—James Farr, 1666, in Fleet Street.

is still preserved in the British Museum. The consumption of coffee rapidly increased, particularly when its value as a post-vinal stimulant was discovered.

11. Obv.—RICHARD · BVTLER = R·B under a crown.

Rev.—OF · AYLESBURY · 1666 = R·S·B.

m.m., a sixfoil. B. 6, W. 9.

The p. register includes an entry :—

1658 Richard Butler Chochman . . . bur. 17 Sept.

He was probably the proprietor of the Crown Inn at Aylesbury, which was one of the old coaching houses, and which still exists. He may have been father of the issuer of the token, who was buried January 16th, 1691. The following items also occur in the register :—

1650 Thomas son of Richard Butler . bapt. 3 Dec'r.

1652 Richard „ „ „ . „ 26 Apl.

buried 3 March 1661

1653 Susannah dau. of Richard Butler . „ 12 Feby.

1655 Daniel son „ „ . „ 11 Dec.

buried 20 Jany. 1674

1657 Thomas son of Richard Butler . . „ 6 Apl.

buried 29 May 1671

1697 Susannah widow . . . . . bur. 17 Feby.

The Crown Inn, the King's Head hostelry and other properties were sold in December, 1663, to provide an annuity of £210 for Sir John Packington and his wife. Sir John had been taken prisoner by Cromwell when the army of Charles II was routed at the battle of Worcester, September 3rd, 1651, and was fined £5,000 for the part he took in supporting the King against the Parliament. His mansion at Aylesbury had been demolished. He was Lord of the Manor of Aylesbury.

12. Obv.—GYLES · CHILDE · IN = Mercers' Arms

Rev.—IN · ALSBURY · MERCER = G · D · C ·

m.m., mullet. B. 7, W. 10.

Giles Child was one of those who nominated the Registrar of the Parish in 1655.

The Amersham p. register, in which there are many entries of the Child family, includes the following :—

1613 Giles Childe & Doritie Loosely . mar 11 Octr.

The Aylesbury register includes entries of the family as follows :—

1631 Giles Child & Ellen Gauderne

1636 Ann dau of Giles Child

1636 Ellen wife of Giles Child and a daughter buried together

1637 Francis son of Giles Child . . . bapt. 30 June

1639 Dorothy dau. of „ . . . „ 23 Sep'r

1642 Mary „ „ . . . „ 3 Sep'r

1644 Ann „ „ . . . „ 23 Nov.

1661 Gilles Child, Draper . . . . . buried 24 Nov

13. Obv.—EDWARD · COPE : = Drapers' Arms.

Rev.—OF · ALEISBVRY = E · D · C ·

m.m., mullet. B. 8, W. 11.

The p. register records :—

1674 Dorothy wife of Edward Coope . died 25 July.

14. Obv.—STEPHEN · DAGNALL = S · I · D

Rev.—IN · ALESBVRY · 1655 = ? A box with open top or bucket.

(Lead.) Hitherto unknown.

This token was in the possession of Mr. A. H. Baldwin.

From the records in the p. register it appears the tokener was twice married.

1643 Stephen Dagnall & Ellanor Palmer mar 8 Feby.

1644 Elizabeth dau of Stephen Dagnall borne 19 Nov.

1646 Ellanor wife of Stephen Dagnall . buried 14 Sept.

1647 Stephen Dagnall was married unto Joan Webly of Witney in the County of Oxon at Bamton in the saide County by Mr. Osbourne the minester of the same the 13th day of October.



1648	John son of Stephen Dagnall . .	borne 22 Sept.
1649	„ „ „ . .	buried 10 May
1652	Joanna borne 28 July . . . . .	„ 6 Aug.
1655	Abigall borne 3 Jany. 1657 . .	„ 23 Nov.
1657	Mary . . . . .	„ 13 „
1658	Mathais son of Stephen Dagnall .	borne 16 Sept.

15. Obv.—IOHN · DOSSET = a malt shovel.

Rev.—IN AALSBVRY · 1670 = I · I · D

m.m., cinquefoil. Hitherto unpublished.

The first A in AALSBVRY has apparently been blocked out in the die.

John Dossett occupied a house in Cobblers' Row (now George Street, Aylesbury). (*See note* to No. 10.) The p. register records:—

1618	John Dossett . . . . .	buried 12 June
1676	John Dossett . . . . .	„ 9 July
1682	Joan Dossett wid. . . . .	„ 10 Dec.

1646 John son of John Dossett . . . „ 2 Oct.

1678 Ales wife of John Dossett . . . „ 10 Jany.

The John Dossett of 1676 was probably the tokeneer.

16. Obv.—AT YE KINGS · HEAD · IN = Head of Henry VIII.

Rev.—AILISBVREY · 1657 = W · E · D

m.m., fleur-de-lys. Hitherto unpublished.

17. Obv.—AT · YE · KINGS · HEAD · IN = Bust of Hy. VIII.

Rev.—AILLSBVREY · 1657 = W · E · D ∴

m.m., lys on obv., mullet centre of right edge on rev. B. 9, W. 12.

No. 17 appears to be an improved die. It shows the King's shoulders, not shown on No. 16, AILISBVREY is corrected (!) to AILLSBVREY which commences midway on the right edge, and the initials W · E · D · are smaller, with the addition of four stops ∴ below.

The initials are those of William Dawney and his wife Elizabeth. He, with others, nominated the Registrar of the Parish in 1655. The King's Head "in the occupation of John Dawney" is referred to in a deed relating to property purchased by William Burgess. (See Nos. 9 and 10.)

The following entries occur in the Aylesbury p. register :—

1613	William son of Dunstan Dany . .	bapt. 24 Oct.
1637	William Dany & Elizabeth Horwood . . . . .	mar. 6 Feby
1685	William Dawney . . . . .	bur. 21 Nov
1692	Elizabeth Dawney wid aged 84 . .	„ 22 Aug
1639	John son William Danye . . . .	bapt 24 Nov
1641	William son of Wm Dawney . .	„ 23 Jany
1646	Elizabeth dau of Wm Daney . .	„ 23 June
1660	Elizabeth dau of Mr Wm Dawney . . . . .	bur 19 July
* 1647	Thomas son of Mr William Daney.	bapt 16 Dec
1702	Thomas „ „ „ Innkeeper . . . . .	buried 19 May

\* Upon the 11th of December in this yeare 1658 beinge Saturday a lecture beinge constantly kept there hapned to fall in the time of Sermon a greate stone which wayed about three or fourscore pounds and there was then present in thair seates neere an hundred Scoolers which stone did brake to of thier heads and part of the galery where in thay sate. So through the providence of God there was none other hurt done. I pray God wee may all eye his mercies in this and other of his deliverancies. Thomas Daney and Robert Bryan were the 2 scoolers which were hurte.

The King's Head hostelry dates from the sixteenth century and still continues. The Dawney family also is still represented in the town.

Robert Gibbs' *Local Records, 1400 to 1700, Aylesbury* (p. 201), under date December, 1657, refers to a seventeenth-century token

lettered HVGH · HESTER · IN · TH . . . 1657, H·H, and says: "Hugh Hester kept the King's Head at Aylesbury at this time and he issued his coins or tokens in copper with his name and date upon them." The token in question was issued by Hugh Hester IN · THAME · 1667. (W. 202, Ox.) Lipscombe's *History of the County of Buckingham*, vol. ii, p. 29, also wrongly attributes this token to Aylesbury. There were "Hesters" in Aylesbury about that period, hence, probably, the error in both publications.

18. Obv.—IOSEPH · FREER · MARCER = Mercers' Arms.

Rev.—IN · ALESBVRY · 1652 = I·M·F.

m.m., mullet. B. 10, W. 14.

The p. register records :—

1625	Joseph son of Henry Frier	. . .	bapt 22 Jany
1655	Mary dau of Joseph ffryer	. . .	borne 13 Jany
1657	"	"	bur 17 Nov
1660	Joseph son of Joseph ffryer	. . .	bapt 18 Dec
1660	Mary wife of Joseph Frier Grocer		buried 14 Apl.

19. Obv.—IOHN · HILL · OF · ALESBVRY = Man dipping a stick of candles.

Rev.—TALLOW · CHANDLER · 1665 = HIS HALF PENNY . . .

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 11, W. 15.

There are records in the p. register of John Hill's children :—

Hannah bapt. 10 April 1660, bur. 28 Aug 1681.

John bapt. 13 April 1664, Mary bapt 12 June 1670.

Also the following :—

1680	Mary wife of John Hill	. . .	buried 12 Feby.
1683	John Hill	. . . . .	" 2 Nov.

20. Obv.—THOMAS · HILL · IN = Mercers' Arms.

Rev.—ALESBVRY · MERCER = T·R·H·

m.m., mullet. B. 12, W. 16.

Thomas Hill was buried 12 May, 1676.

In 1723 a William Hill left charitable bequests to Bierton, in the Lordship of Aylesbury, Wendover, and other places. (See No. 176.)

21. Obv.—IOSEPH SAXTON = St. George and Dragon.

Rev.—ALSBVRY · = I·S conjoined.

m.m., mullet.

Williamson has shown this as a Wiltshire token, "SALSBVRY" (No. 224, p. 1247), in error, presumably copied from Boyne's Wiltshire list, No. 152.

The Aylesbury p. register shows :—

1629 Joseph son of Joseph Saxton . . bapt 26 Nov.

1667 Joseph Saxton „ . . buried —

In the Wycombe p. register there is an entry :—

1664 Jos Sexton & Joane Springall . . mar 4 Dec'r.

22. Obv.—THOMAS · STRATFORD : = HIS HALFE PENNY ·∴·

Rev.—IN · ALISBVRY · 1667 and two mullets = two flowers  
with stems entwined between T M S and nowed.

m.m., sixfoil. B. 13, W. 17.

The p. register shows :—

1665 Thomas Stratford & Martha Oviatts mar 23 Mch.

1699 Thomas Stratford . . . . . buried 16 May.

Also baptisms of his children :—

Mary 8 Feby. 1665, John 22 Dec. 1667, Martha 19 Dec.  
1669.

23. Obv.—ALEXANDER · TROTT · 1669 = Grocers' Arms.

Rev.—GROCER · IN · AYELSBVRY ·∴· = HIS HALFE PENNY  
A A T

m.m., cinquefoil. W. 13.

The following occurs in the p. register :—

1678 Thomas son of Alexander Trott buried 13 March.

24. Obv.—FRANCIS · WETHERED : = Mercers' Arms.

Rev.—IN · ALSBVRY · DRAPER : = 16 F · W 6 · 0.

m.m., mullet. B. 14, W. 18.

Francis Wethered was a nominator of the Registrar of the parish in 1655, and he is referred to in a deed dated 1674 as a Draper of Aylesbury. (*Munimenta Antiqua* 397/32. Bucks Co. Museum.)

The Little Missenden p. register records :—

1619 Francis Weathered & Eliz. Harding mar. 22 Nov.

The Aylesbury p. register records :—

1625 Francis son of Francis Wethered . bapt. 2 Oct.

1628 Thomas Withered . . . . . buried 17 Aug.  
(father of Francis the tokeneer.)

Pilstone register records :—

1642 Francis Wethered & Ann Brox . mar. 5 Oct.

Francis, baptized 1625, would be only 17 years old in 1642, presumably, therefore, Ann Brox—following Eliz. Harding—was a second wife of the tokeneer. She was buried February 16th, 1673.

The family is also represented at Marlow.

25. Obv.—TALLOW · CHANDLER = W · I · W

Rev.—IN · AELSBERREY = a man dipping a stick of candles.  
m.m. (?), mullet. Unpublished.

This is an addition made July, 1927. The coin was found when digging a garden within 100 yards of the Aylesbury Museum, appropriately enough by the Museum Janitor. The issuer was William Welch, who followed his father as a Tallow Chandler. See genealogical data as follows :—

William Welch of Aylesbury, Chandler, and  
Anne Church of Westcott wid.

Banns published 27 Nov. 4 · 11 Dec. 1653.

Married 8 April 1654 by C. Henn, Esq.

Signed C. Henn.

1657 Banns published : William Welch &

Jone Michael, 28 Feb. 7 · 14 March.

— A son William was born 7 June 1666

and a daughter Jone, was bapt. 28 Mch 1675

BEACONSFIELD. *Bekenesfelde* 1184, open land marked by a beacon. Seven miles n. from Slough.

Edmund Burke, the celebrated politician, had a residence in this neighbourhood.

26. Obv.—AT · BECKENSFEILD · IN = T · I · C ·

Rev.—BVCKINGHAM · SHIR<sup>E</sup> = T · I · C ·

m.m., mullet on obv. only. B. 15, W. 19.

At present there is no trace of a combination of names to correspond with the initials T · I · C ·

27. Obv.—THOMAS · COCKE •• = a cock.

Rev.—OF · BICKCONSFEILD = T · K · C · (cinquefoils as stops.)

m.m., cinquefoil. W. 22.

Williamson omits the second C in Bickconsfeild.

In the Chalfont St. Giles p. register there is an incomplete entry :—

1655 Thomas Cock & Katherine Pennell, Published . . .

28. Obv.—IOHN · FOSCET •• OF •• = Lamb with flag.

Rev.—BECKONSFEILD · 1669 = HIS HALF PENY

m.m., small cinquefoil. W. 20.

Williamson gives the name incorrectly as FOSLET.

29. Obv.—IN · BECKONSFEILD •• = I · M · G ·

Rev.—IN · BVCKINGHAMSHIR<sup>E</sup> = · B · 1658.

m.m., mullet. W. 23.

30. Obv.—HENRY · TRIPP · 1668 = a stick of candles.

Rev.—OF · BECKCONESFEILD = HIS HALF PENY H A T ·

m.m., mullet. W. 21.

Williamson omits the second C in Beckconesfeild.

31. Obv.—WILLIAM · WILLIS · 1668 = a bull.

Rev.—AT · BECKINGSFEILD = HIS HALF PENY W E W ·

m.m., mullet. W. 24.

In the Macfadyen collection sold in July, 1907, "a variety" of this token was catalogued.

*(To be continued.)*



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

SESSIONS 1925 AND 1926.



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1922. GRANT R. FRANCIS—*from June 28th.*  
1923. GRANT R. FRANCIS.  
1924. GRANT R. FRANCIS.  
1925. GRANT R. FRANCIS.
- 

## The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

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1923. H. Alexander Parsons.





# The British Numismatic Society.

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PROCEEDINGS

1925-6.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*January 28th, 1925.*

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

The President explained the position with respect to the overdue volume of the *Journal*.

*Presentation to the Library.*

By the Deputy Master of the Mint :—The fifty-fourth Annual Report ; for which a resolution of thanks was accorded.

*Exhibitions and Papers.*

The Annual Exhibition of naval, military, and other British medals, and objects of similar interest, was held under the direction of Major W. J. Freer, and included the following :—

By Major Freer :—A series of thirty stars and medals ranging from the Battle of the Nile in 1798, to the New Zealand campaign of 1861-66.

By Mr. C. Winter :—A paper upon the Campaigns and Medals of the Honourable East India Company ;<sup>1</sup> and on behalf of Mr. S. M. Spink he exhibited a very beautiful set of the medals of the Company in gold, silver-gilt, silver, bronze and tin for Seringapatam ; and in silver for Egypt, 1801, the Isle of France, Java, Nepaul and Ceylon.

By Mr. G. Hamilton-Smith :—Two groups of medals. 1. The gold medal of the East India Company struck at the Calcutta Mint, and the silver British medal awarded to Colonel Hugh Sutherland for Seringapatam. 2. The Order of the Bath, C.B. ; the Guelphic Order, K.C.H. ; the Seringapatam and Waterloo medals of Colonel Sir William Nicolary, Royal Staff Corps.

By Mr. Frank E. Burton :—Two parchment rolls, two helmets, a pair of epaulets, badge, gold and silver medals, and two prints of Thurland Hall, illustrative of a paper he read upon the history of the South Notts Yeomanry.<sup>1</sup>

By Mr. Willoughby Gardner :—A paper upon two oval portrait-plaques in silver, by Simon Passe, of James I and Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I, which he exhibited.

By Mr. Thomas G. Barnett :—A very interesting relic from the wrecked galleon *S. Catarina*, in the form of a gold finger ring with square bezel set on both the sides and shoulders with six table-cut rubies, and dated, inside, 1571. The ring was in perfect condition except that the central gem was missing.

<sup>1</sup> The papers by Mr. C. Winter and Mr. Frank E. Burton are printed in Volume XVII of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 25th, 1925.

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President, in the Chair.*

The President announced that Volume XVI of the *Journal* would be upon the table at the next Meeting.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. Thomas G. Barnett :—A series of fourteen Anglo-Saxon coins remarkable for their beauty and rarity, several of them being varieties hitherto unrecorded, and Mr. Barnett was invited to contribute an illustrated paper upon them to the *Journal*. Shortly they were as follows, the references unless otherwise stated being to the British Museum Catalogue :—

Offa.—Obverse, a variety of pl. VII, 9 : reverse, unpublished design, moneyer EDELNOD.

Athelstan I of East Anglia.—As pl. XIV, 9, but by the moneyer TVDVFINE.

Alfred.—A variety of type VI.

Halfpenny, varied from pl. VI, 15.

St. Peter of York.—As Ruding XII, 4, but an annulet after each of the letters on the reverse.

Similar obverse, but reverse a variety of type 2 of the Catalogue.

Athelstan.—Variety of type V, moneyer CEEL·MHEM of Derby.

Eadgar.—Obverse varied from series B : reverse, Ruding XXI, 9 ; moneyer, MARCER.

Ethelred II.—Type I, +CIOLNOD ON S·IDESTEB.

Type IX, as illustrated, Danish.

Canute.—Type VIII, but not issued in England.

Obverse, type XVI : reverse, type XVIIb, moneyer EDPINE of Dover.

Edward the Confessor.—Obverse, type vi: reverse type va;  
moneyer ARNGRIM of York.

Obverse, type vii: reverse, type x, moneyer  
SIGOD of Bedford.

By Mr. A. E. Bagnall :—References to Hildebrand.

Ethelred II.—Cambridge, + EDÞINE MO ÆAN, type D, 1168.

Hereford, A, 1330; D, 1335 and 1345. York, D, 890.

Canute.—Exeter, G, 409. Hereford, G, 1190. York, G, 467.

Harold I.—York, Ba, 154.

Edward the Confessor.—Four examples of the Hereford and  
York mints.

By Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton :—

Charles I.—Tower mint—two shillings with mint-mark triangle  
within a circle, showing the use of an unpublished bust  
with this mint-mark; the obverses from different dies,  
reverses from the same die.

Exeter mint.—Crown of Hawkins, type 6 with mint-marks,  
obverse castle, reverse rose, 1645: a rare combination of  
dies, and in brilliant condition.

Newark mint.—Shilling of 1646, countermarked with the  
royal arms on the reverse. Mr. Carlyon-Britton exhibited  
this piece as evidence that the rare examples of this series,  
such as that illustrated as fig. 32, p. 315, Volume II of  
the *Journal*, were not cut from pieces of a royal service  
of plate as there suggested, but purposely impressed with  
the countermark.

On Mr. Carlyon-Britton's exhibition the President remarked :—

The two shillings, although bearing the mint-mark triangle in  
circle, would appear to be from the dies of the type described as 4b  
in my paper on the "Silver Coins of the Tower Mint of Charles I,"<sup>1</sup>  
and similar to Pl. IV, fig. 7.<sup>2</sup> In my opinion the dies were

<sup>1</sup> Volumes XII-XIV of the *Journal*.

<sup>2</sup> Volume XIV, p. 64.

undoubtedly issued with an earlier mint-mark, probably the tun as there illustrated, although they do not exhibit sufficient evidence of over-striking to be quite definite.

The Exeter crown is the finest example of this rare combination I have seen. The crowns of Exeter were, of course, to all intents and purposes, siege coins, and always struck on very rough flans with very crude dies, which became still more crude as the war-troubles of the "Ever-faithful" city progressed. In 1644 the rose was the sole mint-mark on the Exeter money; and in 1645 it was succeeded by the castle, usually on both obverse and reverse, but in some few instances the old dies with the rose were used for the obverse, whilst those with the castle, generally with EX against the date, were used for the reverse. In other cases the mint-mark castle appeared on the obverse, and the rose, without EX by the date, on the reverse. Mr. Carlyon-Britton's coin is of the last-mentioned variety.

I agree with the exhibitor that the Newark shilling, and the nine-pence referred to as illustrated in Volume II of the *Journal*, were deliberately countermarked with the royal arms, and it would be very interesting if a Member could throw light on the meaning or purpose of the countermarking of these very rare pieces.

### *Paper.*

#### THE ENGLISH COINS OF CANUTE.

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons continued his Numismatic History of the Anglo-Danish period by a further address on the Anglian coins of Canute.

After referring to the first part of his subject, in which he had dealt with the five types of the reign and their order, he treated the approximate dates when they were issued. He considered that the first type, Hawkins 212, British Museum Catalogue VIII, was not issued until A.D. 1018, notwithstanding that Canute was acknowledged King of all England in A.D. 1016. The interval was still one of difficulty and confusion, and it was scarcely likely that time could be spared to consider new designs for the coinage; and it would be during it that the numerous "mules" and the hybrid coins based

upon, or copied exactly from, the types of Æthelred II were issued. But in A.D. 1018, at a witenagemot held at Oxford, the affairs of the country were put into order, and its laws included those of the coinage. Then, no doubt, it was that Canute's first issue, which differed entirely in design from preceding types, was made.

Mr. Parsons was not yet in a position to deal adequately with the actual date of the second type, Hawkins 213, British Museum Catalogue XIV, but evidence as to that of the third, Hawkins 208, British Museum Catalogue XVI, was forthcoming from Canute's Swedish coinage. The conquest of Sweden is supposed to have occurred in 1027, and he pointed out that the resultant coinage of Canute for Sweden was an imitation of his third English type in conjunction with some "muled" coins combining the second and third of the English types. It was evident, therefore, that, at the time of this Swedish conquest, the second type was just going out of circulation and the third had just come in, and this suggested the year A.D. 1026 as the approximate date of issue of the third type.

He believed that the very rare *PÆLEX* pieces of Canute were assays inspired by the great peace of the Northern nations made at Nidaros in 1028; and their designs showed that they were of the time of Canute's fourth type, Hawkins 209, British Museum Catalogue XVII. This fact, therefore, if they allowed some time for the news of the event to spread to England, approximately dated the issue of the fourth type A.D. 1029-30.

The lecturer pointed out that the fifth and last type, Hawkins 211, British Museum Catalogue XX, was of very considerable rarity, and the reason for this was that it was issued at the very end of the reign of Canute, who died quite suddenly in A.D. 1035. It was, therefore, improbable that it was issued earlier than in 1034.

In illustration of his subject, Mr. Parsons exhibited a complete series of the coins treated in his address.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

March 25th, 1925.

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

At the instance of Mr. Dale, the Members congratulated the President upon his recent election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

Copies of Volume XVI of the Society's *Journal* were distributed to the Members present, and the President announced that the remainder would be issued immediately the present strike in the printing trade permitted. Although much delayed, he thought that the volume would give general satisfaction because, both in size and quality, it had returned to pre-war conditions, and its cost represented more than double the value of the annual subscription.

Mr. Alan Garnett and Professor A. Stanley Walker were elected Members.

A resolution of appreciation of his long services upon the Council and of general regret that ill-health prevented their continuance, was passed to Mr. W. L. Pocock.

The President reported that the Council had elected Mr. F. Warren a Member of the Council in the resulting vacancy.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—

Mr. Thomas G. Barnett's penny of the time of Eadwig, the subject of his first paper.

Some coins of the reign of Stephen, and electrotypes of others in the British Museum, illustrative of his second paper.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—

Penny of David I of Scotland, \*DAVID RE[X], reverse, \*DERIN ON HE[DONBVR], Edinburgh, in unusually good preservation and of similar type to Stephen's first issue.

Half-groat of Robert III of Scotland, **VILL ꝥBED LXX**, Aberdeen, weight 19 grains. Not recorded by Burns, but referred to by Lindsay as unique.

By Mr. J. O. Manton:—Example of the Derby mint, *Hawkins* 277, of the reign of Stephen.

By Mr. R. Langford:—A remarkable reproduction in penmanship of a shilling of Elizabeth.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs:—A pendant in filigree of a man-of-war of the seventeenth century, minutely cut from a Dutch silver medal.

### *Papers.*

#### A NORTHUMBRIAN COIN OF THE PERIOD OF EADWIG.

Mr. Andrew brought to the notice of the Society the following silver penny in the collection of Mr. Thomas G. Barnett, F.S.A. Obverse + EII + DI + HIG + K, an ornament which, although blurred, resembled that on the obverse of the coin of the same type of Eadwig, *Ruding* xx, 4, set horizontally, after the letters D and K. Reverse, SEMIEDI M in two lines across the field between five crosses, arranged as *Ruding*, xix, 14, but with the addition of a large pellet, or blurred annulet, on each side of the central cross; 23 grains. The coin was in perfect preservation, of full weight and good silver, struck within a collar, from a die carefully punched with official irons in sufficient imitation of Eadwig's money to pass current with the English merchants, but evidently the work of a new or unofficial diesinker. The duplication of the crosses in the obverse legend, the two ornaments and the large pellets, which he believed represented annulets, all suggested the York mint. The moneyer's name, too, Semiledi, for there was a contraction mark over the second E which might represent the L, suggested an earlier form of Sumerledi, which occurred on York coins of twenty years later.

These conditions, taken together, indicated an issue of money by an authority at York willing to imitate Eadwig's currency for fiscal purposes, but not willing to acknowledge his sovereignty.

Anything unusual in the coinage, remarked Mr. Andrew, invariably made or corroborated history, and in this case the issue would mark the interregnum when in 956-957, as Symeon of Durham and other early chroniclers recorded, Eadwig's weak government having fallen into contempt, the men of Northumbria and Mercia rebelled against him, and finally elected his brother Eadgar to rule over them.

#### A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

Continuing his series of lectures under this heading, Mr. Andrew treated the question of the date of issue of Stephen's second type of his money, *Hawkins* 269. This, he said, would of necessity follow Stephen's release from captivity in November, 1141, because as one by one most of the fifty mint towns that were then coining the first issue, fell into the hands of the Empress Matilda's party after the battle of Lincoln in the preceding February, Stephen's dies would be ruthlessly destroyed; and as the old type had already run for more than its allotted span, namely, for over five years, the requisite new dies would naturally invite a new type. This regal issue was known of only seventeen mint towns, and not one of these towns was west of a line drawn through London from York to Hastings. In this curious limitation of issue they had a remarkable instance of the usual numismatic corroboration of history, for the anonymous author of the *Gesta Regis Stephani* (writing under the year 1143 when this type was still being issued by Matilda's illegitimate brother, Robert Earl of Gloucester, the military head of the Angevin party), tells us that nearly one-half of the whole of England was then subject to his authority and even under the shadow of peace.

About this time Robert Marmion, lord of the Honour of Tamworth, raised an independent rebellion against both factions, seized Coventry, and was killed in an affray when Stephen marched against him. An interesting coin illustrated as No. 15, Pl. LXII, in the British Museum Catalogue, for which neither mint nor explanation had been suggested, clearly marked this historical

incident, because its type was a compromise between Stephen's second issue and the then Angevin money; its legend **✠ITSEFN** on the obverse was noncommittal; and that on the reverse, **✠ALFRD ON TOM**, for *Tomeworthig*, the old name of Tamworth, proved that it could have been issued only by Robert Marmion for the purposes of his revolt. The same moneyer coined as **✠ALFRED : ON : TAM** in Stephen's last type.

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### ORDINARY MEETING.

*April 22nd, 1925.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

#### DEATH OF MR. DALE.

The President referred to this as follows:—

“ It is with deep regret that I have to announce the death of our Vice-President and old friend, William Dale. He had been a member of this Society since 1909, and one of our colleagues on the Council since 1913, and as an Antiquary and Geologist he occupied a very prominent position.

“ A Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Geological Society, he was Corresponding Secretary to the former for Hampshire, and his contributions to archæological and geological science have been invaluable. He was a Lecturer on general antiquities at the British Museum, a position of considerable distinction at so advanced an age, for he was in his eightieth year.

“ Mr. Andrew has already sent to Mrs. Dale and the family a letter of sympathy and a wreath on behalf of the Society, and he, as Secretary, and Mr. Burnett, as a Member of the Council, represented the Society at the funeral on the 21st instant.

"I therefore formally move :

"That the British Numismatic Society desires to record its sincere regret at the death of Mr. William Dale, F.S.A., one of its Vice-Presidents, and a Member of the Council for many years, and to convey its deep sympathy to Mrs. Dale and the members of his family. His loss is one which the Society will long deplore."

Passed in silence, all standing in respect to his memory.

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Mr. Brough Gurney-Randall was elected a Member.

*Presentation to the Library.*

By Mr. A. Chitty, of Australia :—"The Life of E. W. Cole and description of the medals issued by him," by A. Chitty and H. Williams.

*Exhibitions.*

In illustration of the paper:—

By Dr. E. C. Carter :—A groat of the second issue of Henry VII in fine condition, which from the similarity of the lettering he attributed to the official at the Mint who produced the two unique sovereigns in the National Collection, *Kenyon* I and II, and probably the very rare ryal. The coin showed no mint-mark and the stops were the trefoil and quatrefoil.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Henry VII. The SEPTIM shilling showing the intermediate leaves of the crown from the same punches as the fleurs to the tressure on certain full-faced groats.

Groat with the profile portrait and mint-marks lys on the obverse and greyhound's head on the reverse, showing the same features in the crown as on the above shilling.

Full-faced groat but with the single-arched crown and mint-marks greyhound's head on the obverse and rose on

the reverse. The tressure bore the same unusual fleurs to the cusps.

Two full-faced groats with mint-marks greyhound's head on both sides and the same fleurs to the tressure.

By Mr. G. H. Stafford:—Henry VII. Groat of the second coinage, mint-marks, escallop on the obverse and cinquefoil on the reverse, Roman M's and peculiar €'s in the reverse legend. Double rosette stops.

Similar groat, but mint-mark cinquefoil on both sides and the same letters in both legends. Half-groat of the same coinage but with open crown, mint-mark lys, lozenge in the centre of the reverse cross and rosette stops.

London halfpenny of the second coinage without mint-mark, and another without mint-mark, of the last issue of Henry VII, or of the first of Henry VIII.

By Mr. Andrew:—York half-groat of Henry VII's second coinage, similar to *Hawkins*, fig. 375. Found just below the surface of a shed in the yard of the old inn at Amesbury.

By Dr. Herbert Peck:—The fine gold crown of Henry VIII with mint-mark rose on both sides.

### *Paper.*

#### THE COINAGE OF HENRY VII.

Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton contributed a treatise under this heading which, in his absence, was read in part by Mr. L. A. Lawrence who, so far as was possible within the limited time of a meeting, explained the general effect of the rest.

In the silver series, and more particularly with reference to the groats, the author contended that the great recoinage of 1504 consisted of a regular issue and for a time of a concurrent experimental issue, which for convenience he termed the tentative issue. The regular series commenced with coins of the full-faced type with the double-arched crown. The coins of this type had always



previously been attributed in their entirety to the preceding, or second, coinage of the reign. The mint-mark first employed on this third or last coinage was the greyhound's head.

Concurrently with these coins of the regular issue and full-faced type, the tentative issue of coins of the profile type was struck and circulated. A satisfactory profile type having by this means been evolved, the tentative issue had served its purpose, with the result that the full-faced coinage was discontinued, and the profile type adopted for the regular issue. This change was effected during the run of the cross-crosslet mint-mark and the profile type was continued until the end of the reign.

Another new conclusion arrived at by Mr. Carlyon-Britton was that the half-groats of the mint-marks martlet and rose which do not bear the keys of York on the reverse, should be attributed to the Canterbury mint. The reasons for this suggested reattribution from York to Canterbury were given fully and, as Mr. Lawrence remarked, the paper throughout indicated careful and extensive research into all the numismatic and documentary evidence of the period. The smaller denominations, whilst still forming a continuous series, disclosed fewer changes in type, and in gold the angel series closely followed that of the groats.

In the discussion that followed Mr. Lawrence, whilst complimenting the author on the general value and importance of the treatise, with which he fully agreed in the main, questioned the continuance of a tentative issue for so long a period as probably the two years necessary for the sequence of the dies ; and thought that the absence of the keys on the half-groats was open to a simpler explanation. On the other hand, Mr. F. A. Walters was in full accord with the paper, and instanced the concurrent issue of the St. George and shield types of the sovereign under Queen Victoria, as a comparison in modern times.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*May 27th, 1925.*Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.**Presentations.*

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—Bronze plaque representing the seal of the Society enlarged.

By Messrs. Spink and Son, Limited :—Bound copy of their "Circular," volume xxxii.

A vote of thanks was passed to these Donors.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. George Hamilton Smith :—Charles II. Halfcrown, shilling and sixpence of the first, and halfcrown of the third issues of the hammered coinage. Milled halfcrowns of 1663 and 1673.

The *Reddite* crown by Simon. Pattern crown of 1662 with plain edge. Pattern crown in gold by Roettiers, 1663, with plain edge. Pattern crown in gold by Roettiers with inscribed edge. Two pattern broads in silver, 1660. Pattern broad in gold, 1662. Hammered broad of the first issue, and three unites.

The Naval Award in gold of 1665 in its contemporary case, being the identical medal presented by Charles II to his Chancellor, Lord Clarendon. It descended to the late Lady Rose S. M. Weigall, second daughter of the eleventh Earl of Westmorland.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—Charles II. Broad in silver, 1660, with inscribed edge, laurel branch, and *Simon fecit*. Broad in silver, 1662, by Simon.

Charles I. Gold broad with mint-mark lys and portrait resembling that upon "The Juxon Medal."

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—William III. Two shillings dated 1697 differing on both obverse and reverse from the normal issue, especially in the arms on the reverse, where the lions are much smaller than usual—a variety not recorded.

*Paper.*

A REVIEW OF THE PATTERN BROADS OF CHARLES II.

Under this heading Dr. Ernest C. Carter described the five types of these issues, and showed that they were all from the hand of Thomas Simon. Their designs indicated that they were intended for currency, and a careful comparison of the weights of the different specimens, with and without lettered edges, suggested that at least two of the five types were patterns for gold coins of higher denomination than the broad. Historical evidence was forthcoming to support this suggestion ; and it was again supported by the fact that the original intention materialized in the issue, in 1664 and 1668, of the two-guinea, and five-guinea pieces by Roettiers.

Dr. Carter, in illustration of his subject, exhibited a beautiful series of the coins he described.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*June 24th, 1925.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

After welcoming the presence of Dr. Hans Holst, of the National Museum, Christiania, the President announced that Mr. J. O. Manton had been unanimously elected a Member of the Council in the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Dale.

Mr. R. A. Grant was elected a Member of the Society.

*Presentation to the Library.*

By Mr. A. H. Baldwin :—"Men whose Fathers were Men, A story of a hobby"; by Centurion. Published by Messrs. A. H. Baldwin and Sons, Ltd.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Baldwin and his Firm.

*Exhibitions in illustration of the two papers.*

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—Elizabeth. Hammered shillings of the mint-mark lys without the inner circle, and of the mint-mark martlet. Milled shillings of the mint-marks lys and star. An illustration of the so-called milled half-crown with mint-mark lys.

By Miss Helen Farquhar :—Charles I. Scottish gold coins of the year 1637 by Nicholas Briot who, although appointed in 1635, did not assume office in Scotland until 1636. Unite, Burns No. 1032. Half-unite, Burns 1034. Eighth-unite, Burns 1037.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Charles I. Crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence of the first issue for Scotland, bearing his name and title, but retaining his father's portrait.

*Papers.*

THE DATE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE MILL-AND-SCREW PROCESS  
OF COINING IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

*Hawkins* tells us, said Mr. Andrew, that :—

"in 1561 a new process of coining was introduced by a Frenchman by means of the mill and screw; the name of the Frenchman is unknown, and the whole history of the process and its employment is involved in singular obscurity,"

and Ruding also believed that the introduction was some time in 1561.

But 1561 would be probably the year of its effective use at the Mint. The mill had been invented in France and brought, or sent, over by Eloye Mestrell; although it would seem that Philip "Mastrell," presumably his brother or son, operated it here, for he was hanged, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn on January the 17th, 1569, for having counterfeited gold money with it.

They could well understand the prejudices of the "Corporation of Moneyers," against the innovation from France of an invention that was destined, a century later, to entirely renovate and standardize the money of this country. No doubt, the process would be hampered and delayed; in fact he, the lecturer, had suspicions even of the justice of Mastrell's conviction.

A record which happened to be quoted by Lady Cave in her *Memoirs of Old Richmond*, he thought, threw light upon the obscurity referred to by Hawkins. It was:—

On the 10th of July, 1559, the Queen went by water from Richmond to visit her Mint, and coined certain pieces of gold with her own hands.

The story rested upon the evidently unexpected incident that Elizabeth "coined certain pieces of gold with her own hands." Being the Queen, gold would, of course, be the only metal used, but the feat was quite impossible for a woman under the old "hammered" system then in use. Under the new process, however, it would be as easy for the Queen to coin milled money as it was for a girl clerk of to-day to imprint a letter by the very similar machine, the modern copying press.

Vertue might be cited in corroboration of this inference when he records that, although the Queen liked well the way of making milled money within her Mint, when she knew that the Frenchman who coined it did also at the same time counterfeit and take money out of her Mint, all his friends could not save him.

Might they not, therefore, assume that on July the 10th, 1559, Elizabeth paid a state visit in her barge to the Tower, to be present at the exhibition and preliminary trial of Mestrell's invention upon its

arrival from France ; and tested " with her own hands " the new " way of making milled money within her Mint " ?

In 1559 the lys was the mint-mark in use, and there was a milled " piece of gold " extant bearing that mark. Was it possibly one of those coined by the Queen herself ? He was indebted to Mr. Walters for calling his attention to the example, which he believed stood alone in gold.

#### THE MILLED SILVER COINS OF SCOTLAND: CHARLES II TO ANNE.

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons read a short paper under this heading, and illustrated his subject by a remarkably complete exhibition of the coins known of the period. These included a number which were of dates unknown to, or doubted by, Burns the author of *The Coinage of Scotland*. Numerous examples also were shown which, although not seen by Burns, were referred to by him as having been in the cabinets of former collectors.

Mr. Parsons explained that his object was to exhibit and place upon record not only the additional, or previously doubted, varieties, but also all those coins of the period which, although known by repute to Burns, were not actually included in the descriptive lists in his standard work on Scotland's money.

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#### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, October 28th, 1925.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The President read the List of Officers and Council nominated for the ensuing year, and at his instance Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler were appointed Auditors of the accounts.



Lieut.-Colonel Morris Boscawen Savage, C.B.E., D.S.O., Mr. George Malone, and Mr. C. B. Wood, Q.M.C., were elected Members.

*Presentations to the Library.*

By the Editor, Mr. T. Sheppard, M.Sc., F.G.S. :—Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society, volume II, part V.

By the author, Sir John A. S. Bucknill, K.C. :—A Note on some Coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—Stephen. An exceptionally fine example of the Derby penny, Hawkins 277. From the Bateman collection, dispersed May, 1893.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence :—Edward III. Noble of the A.D. 1351 issue with the Roman M. To the end of the usual reverse legend were added the letters **π M**, for which no explanation seemed apparent.

Elizabeth. A very beautiful badge cut in open work from the Phoenix medal.

Leaden seal-matrix of the thirteenth century, **✠ S RND  
FII LAVREN** around an armorial fleur-de-lys. "The seal of Ralph Fitz-Lawrence."

By Mr. J. Shirley-Fox :—Henry IV. Noble of the heavy issue with a crescent upon the ship's rudder.

Henry V. Half-groat with annulet, unbroken, and trefoil at the sides of the crown. Half-groat, of different type, with a mullet on the King's breast.

Edward IV. Penny of the Canterbury mint with mint-mark the pall.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Henry IV. Groat ; obverse with mint-mark cross-pattée, a slipped trefoil on the breast and at the end of the legend : reverse, mint-mark cross-pattée with sunk circle, quatrefoil after the first word of the legend, and Lombardic **n** in “London.” From the Bruun, Roth, and Montagu collections. Half-groat with the slipped trefoil on the breast and reading **DEI GRAT**. From the Bruun collection.

*Paper.*

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

Mr. Andrew, continuing his course of lectures upon the new questions that arose during his preparation of this history, treated the following subjects :—

*The so-called “Countermarked Coins.”*—This series, which at Norwich bears a large cross from edge to edge of the obverse, with sometimes a small cross in its second and, or, fourth quarter ; at Thetford either the large cross on the obverse or a smaller cross in the centre of the reverse ; at Nottingham a small cross, varied, over the King’s face ; and at York a line or bar across the coin on each side of the King’s bust. These had hitherto been explained as from regal dies altered by the Angevin Party when the mints fell into its hands, or, as suggested by Mr. Brooke,<sup>1</sup> purposely erased by the authorities to prevent their re-use, just as obsolete dies of to-day were obliterated by some mark to prevent possible use for forgery. But a careful examination of the general series had convinced Mr. Andrew that these old theories must now go by the board. The coins were struck from dies specially made for the complete designs they bear. For instance, at Norwich and Thetford a space for the arm of the long cross was always left between the initial cross and the first letter of Stephen’s name, and where the arms

<sup>1</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Norman Coins*, I, lxxx, etc.

passed through the rest of the legend either space was allowed for them, or the letter intersected was left unfinished, as in the case of N of which the first upright sometimes stood alone without any sign of the attachment of the bar ; and when the smaller crosses were to be added in the quarters of the long cross, the King's sceptre was tilted forward to admit them between it and his face. At Thetford the fleurs on the reverse were reduced in size to make room for the central cross. At Nottingham the King's hair was entirely omitted, to allow for the cross over his face ; and at York the bust was turned to the left and there never had been any sceptre, because it would have interfered with one of the bars. There were many minor details in support of this view, and no coins were forthcoming from the dies in any other stage ; but the rule did not apply to the wholly-obliterated obverse dies of Bristol, nor to the addition of the small bar across the sceptre on the Stamford coins.

*The Coinage of Southampton.*—The coins of this mint were varieties of Stephen's first type, Hawkins 270, and were evidently an ecclesiastical issue, for upon the obverse the collar was composed of five annulets, and on the reverse the cross was voided, and upon it were arranged five annulets in the usual form of The Five Wounds, a large annulet being in the centre and a smaller at the end of each arm of the Cross, exactly as, for instance, upon an Abbot's ring the lecturer showed of the fifteenth century. Yet examples of the series had never occurred in hoards deposited during the issue of Stephen's first type, and it must have replaced at Southampton his second issue, which was, he believed, never coined at Winchester. It was continued by two moneyers successively until the close of the reign. The name of the first of these was Sanson, who was a wealthy merchant of Winchester, a tenant of the Bishop, and was always termed *Sanson Monetarius* in the Bishop's inquisition of 1148 whilst these coins were still in circulation. The name of his successor appeared as ✱W . . . . . but no doubt he was the William who coined at Winchester in the following reign when Southampton's mint was closed.

The Bishops of Winchester had always held Taunton with its mint, and during the short period from March to June, 1141, when Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and still plurist Abbot of Glastonbury, was in alliance with the Empress Matilda, she confirmed to him the Church of Glastonbury and the privilege of a mint and moneyers. But the locality of the mint was not stated in the charter, and no coins of Glastonbury were known, so Mr. Andrew assumed that it referred to the Taunton mint, on the coins of which annulets also occur. When, however, the Bishop revolted, and was at war with the Empress, his town and mint at Taunton would be confiscated by her party in the West, and just coincidentally with that date, 1141, coinage at Taunton ceased for ever.

Being shut out from his mint in the West, and Winchester having been desolated by fire and rapine, for it was recorded that nearly all the city had been burnt to the ground during its siege in the autumn, Bishop Henry would appear to have transferred his mint to the more prosperous Southampton, probably under charter from his brother the King. This would be granted possibly whilst the latter was on his way from Bristol to Canterbury, after his release from captivity in November, 1141.

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#### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

*November 30th, 1925.*

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The President in moving the resolution of condolence on the lamented death of H.M. Queen Alexandra, who for nearly twenty-one years had been a Royal Member of the Society, read his letter to

H.M. The King expressing on behalf of the Members the dutiful sympathy of the Society with its Royal Patron.

The resolution was solemnly passed.

Mr. James Hunt Deacon and Mr. Alexis P. Mengelle were elected Members; and Mr. H. W. Taffs, and Mr. G. Hamilton-Smith were appointed Scrutators for the Ballot that evening.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. William C. Wells :—Stephen. A series of five coins from the same obverse die of the moneyer Lefsi of Stamford, showing the evolution from the plain die of the first type to its final state bearing a bar across the staff of the sceptre and a cross upon the King's shoulder. Illustrative of Mr. Andrew's lecture at the last Meeting.

By Mr. H. A. Parsons :—Henry VII. Profile groat with mint-mark greyhound's head of the full-faced issue, a variety of which only two or three examples were known.

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—Bronze medallion in relief, nearly three inches in diameter, representing The Judgment of Paris according to the art of South Germany in the first half of the XVIth century. Paris, reclining in the foreground before the Three Graces, was being awakened by Mercury, and both male figures were curiously represented as aged men with flowing beards. Mr. O. M. Dalton of the British Museum, who had kindly identified the plaque, was aware of another example in the Berlin Museum. Originally it was No. 2143 in the Vatican Library, but had been presented from it by Pope Pius IX about 1850 in the leather case bearing his arms, which was also exhibited; and it had recently been presented by Mr. Wheeler to the Exhibitor.

By Mr. R. Cyril Lockett :—Charles I. The Oxford crown, 1644, by Rawlins, from the Evans collection ; and the Exeter halfcrown from the Dimsdale, Bergne, Marsham, and Rashleigh collections.

By Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler :—Charles I. The following selection of seventeen Newark siege-pieces illustrating varieties, and the series of dies used.

Varieties.—1. Ninepence, 1645, bearing the hall-mark for 1638-46.

2. Ninepence, 1646, showing the moulded edge of the original food vessel from which the lozenge-shaped piece of silver was cut.

3. Sixpence showing the punched outer surface of the original silver vase.

4. Sixpence engraved with leaves, etc., of the original plate.

Dies.—Halfcrowns. 5, 1645. 6, 1646.

Shillings. 7, 1645. 8, 1645, from different dies. 9, 1645, NEWARKE. 10, similar, cut from different dies. 11, 1645, with the crown drawn out of perspective. 12, 1646.

Ninepences. 13, 1645, from the same obverse die as No. 1. 14, same obverse die, reverse NEWARKE. 15, 1645, from different dies. 16, 1646.

Sixpence. 17, 1646.

Seventeen rare siege-pieces of the other mints which, it was hoped, would form the subject of a future paper by the Exhibitor.



By Mr. Winter for Mr. S. M. Spink :—

*JAMES I.—Gold.*

Rose ryal, the King enthroned, a portcullis at his feet ;  
reverse, square shield on large double rose, mint-mark,  
rose.

Thirty-shilling piece, XXX above the shield, mint-mark,  
mullet.

Unite, crowned half-length figure of the King in armour to  
right ; reverse FACIAM, etc., crowned shield between  
J. R., mint-mark, fleur-de-lys.

Double crown, mint-mark, escallop.

Thistle crown, rose on obverse ; thistle on reverse.

Laurel, laureate bust of the King to left, mint-mark, fleur-  
de-lys.

Half laurel, mint-mark, rose.

Quarter laurel, mint-mark, rose.

Angel, pierced for use as a Touch-piece. Mint-mark,  
mullet.

*Silver.*

Crown, reverse, EXVRGAT, etc., mint-mark, thistle.

Crown, of the later issue ; reverse, QVÆ DEVS, etc.,  
mint-mark, escallop.

Halfcrown, plume over the shield, mint-mark, trefoil.

Shilling, mint-mark, tun.

Shilling, mint-mark, crown.

Sixpence, 1603.

Sixpence, 1605.

Sixpence, 1624.

Large silver portrait plaque of James, by Simon Passe.

By Mr. G. Hamilton-Smith :—Charles II. The Naval-Award medal, 1665, by Rawlins.

Large silver medal, modern, with the portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, after Primavera, on one side, and that of Queen Anne, after Croker, on the other.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—Uniface portraits in bronze of Oliver Cromwell and of Queen Anne. The latter, signed and dated, by Obrisset.

By Mr. Thomas G. Barnett :—Two very beautiful gold rings of the XVth century.

1. Ring with hexagonal head set with a sapphire, and inscribed \* *in manus \* fvas \* domine || commendo spiritum \* meum in \* cri.*
2. A very heavy signet ring, with design of a bust facing above a Tau-cross, the latter being between the initials *m.w.* The inscription around was *in dno confido.* A Tau-cross was also upon each shoulder of the ring.

#### *OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1926.*

The Ballot was taken, and the Scrutators reported that the Members nominated by the Council had been elected, as follows :—

*President* :—Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents* :—V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., F.S.A. ; Miss Helen Farquhar ; Grant R. Francis, F.S.A. ; L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A. ; Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A. ; and H. W. Taffs, M.B.E.

*Director* :—Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.

*Treasurer* :—Sir William Wells, F.S.A.

*Librarian* :—H. Alexander Parsons.

*Secretary* :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

*Council* :—Thomas G. Barnett, F.S.A. ; Edgar M. Burnett ; Frank E. Burton ; Ernest C. Carter, M.D. ; Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Evans ; Lionel L. Fletcher ; G. Hamilton-Smith ; Horace Herbert King ; Richard C. Lockett, F.S.A. ; J. O. Manton ; R. Montagu Simon ; Frederick Toplis ; F. Warren ; Ernest H. Wheeler ; and Charles Winter.

## THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

The President then read the Council's report for the year 1925.

The Council presents its twenty-second annual report to the Members, and in so doing expresses its profound regret that 1925, which has in all other respects been one of the Society's most successful years, should have closed in sadness with the loss of a Royal Member dear to the heart of the Empire.

It is now nearly twenty-one years since Queen Alexandra honoured the Society by becoming a Member, and throughout that long period with her invariable thoughtfulness she has never omitted to acknowledge and express her appreciation of our proceedings. Members alike, in Britain and over the Seas, will share one deep sorrow that in their Royal Member they have lost not only a Queen but a Woman beloved of the people.

But for that sad event our lists of 24 Royal and 4 Honorary Members would have remained intact ; but your Council has suffered the loss of two of its valued colleagues. The late Mr. W. Beresford Smith had been a Member of it since 1910, and until health troubles intervened was almost always in attendance at its meetings—a man of bright tact and judgment, and popular with all. The late Mr. William Dale, F.S.A., had held office since 1913, and died a Vice-President. His remarkable knowledge of archæology and his devotion to its duties earned for him a just reputation that was reflected in the many positions he held even as an octogenarian, such as Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, Lecturer on Archæology at the British Museum, and, with 37 years' service behind him, Honorary Secretary to the Archæological Society of his native county, Hampshire.

The Council also deeply regrets the losses from the same cause of Mr. W. Alfred Barnes, a Life Member since 1903 ; Mr. G. W. Shaw, a Life Member since 1919 ; Mr. G. H. Stafford, elected in 1921 ; and Mr. H. W. Stiles, elected in 1923.

Three Members only have resigned, but the names of six have been amoved from financial causes.

On the other hand the Council welcomes the following nine new Members elected during the year :—

Mr. James Hunt Deacon.	Mr. Alexis P. Mengelle.
Mr. Alan Garnett.	Lieut.-Colonel Morris Boscawen
Mr. R. A. Grant.	Savage, C.B.E., D.S.O.
Mr. Brough Gurney-Randall.	Professor A. Stanley Walker.
Mr. George Malone.	Mr. G. B. Wood, Q.M.C.

The year has been unusually successful for the Society in many respects. The attendance at the Meetings has steadily improved ; the papers and exhibitions have been both important and interesting ; and Volume XVI of the *Journal*, which was issued in the spring, has not only returned to its pre-war size and quality but, from the numerous letters received from Members, it would appear to have received their unanimous approval.

These satisfactory conditions are mainly due to the energy and ability of your President, Mr. Grant Richardson Francis—ability which has also been appreciated elsewhere, for Members will congratulate him upon his election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

He has now presided in the Chair at every Meeting of the Society for a period of four years, for he acted as Deputy during the unfortunately short presidency of the late Mr. John Sanford Saltus. When, owing to Mr. Andrew's long illness, Volume XVI became overdue, he came to his assistance, with the prompt result that within the short period of two months the *Journal* was completed and issued. His conduct of the Meetings and popularity in the Chair have conduced to our dignity, harmony, and pleasure.

It is therefore a matter of great regret to his colleagues on the Council, and to all those who are able to attend the Meetings, that he does not feel justified in accepting re-nomination for the Chair.

A year ago, as explained in the Council's report, he expressed his strong opinion that the understood rule that "no President should be re-nominated after two years' service" should be adhered to, and it was only under pressure that he then consented to continue his office for his third complete year. He will, however, subject to your approval at the Ballot this evening, continue his support to and interests in the Society's affairs as a Vice-President.

This retirement will unfortunately also deprive us of the services of his Secretary, Miss Andrews, our Honorary Assistant Secretary, who has for four years punctually and diligently undertaken those unseen and uninteresting duties of making up, addressing, and despatching the 3,000 notices we issue every year, taking shorthand notes of the Meetings, copying the minutes, and helping in every way possible. All these duties she has given freely to the Society, and Members will join us in tendering its grateful thanks to her.

Sir William Wells is an ideal Treasurer, and the Council will leave him to make his own report upon his diligent management of the Society's financial affairs, coupled with its congratulations upon a very satisfactory result.

In this relation it is the privilege of us all to offer yet again our grateful thanks to our colleague on the Council, Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler, for once more having increased his subscription from a guinea to £100. When Members remember that their annual subscription is one guinea, and every Volume they receive costs from two guineas to £2 10s., per copy, they will realise that although since the War the *Journal* has not been issued annually, it is thanks to such men as Mr. Wheeler and the late Mr. Saltus, that the large invested funds of the Society are intact and allow its quality to be maintained. In addition to this, we have to thank Mr. Wheeler, who is a Printer, for all our stationery.

Our Director, Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., is always present at our Meetings, and it is to him and his wide numismatic knowledge that Members resort for information of every description, and get

it. Mr. H. A. Parsons diligently attends to his duties as our Librarian, and our Secretary and Editor, Mr. W. J. Andrew, claims your indulgence if there is any delay in the 2,000 letters he answers per year.

Your Council desires to take this opportunity of again expressing its gratitude to Mr. Andrew for his unremitting labours on the Society's behalf. Even through the serious illnesses which followed his accident of two years ago, he insisted on carrying on when frequently he was not physically fit to do so.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. Wheeler deserve our thanks for undertaking the duties of Auditors of the Accounts, and the same are due to Mr. Taffs and Mr. Hamilton-Smith for acting as Scrutators at the Ballot this evening.

Mr. Francis is a difficult man to follow, but in unanimously nominating Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A., for your approval as President for the ensuing year, the Council has every confidence that he will maintain the status of the Society. With the exception of Mr. Andrew and Mr. Lawrence, who were two of the three founders of the Society, the former of whom has passed the Chair, and the latter would have done so years ago if he could have accepted it, and of Colonel Morrieson, who also is an ex-President, Major Freer is the Senior Member of the Council, on which he has served for nearly twenty-one years. He has been a constant and varied contributor to the *Journal*, but usually upon his special subject—naval and military medals—and has generally taken charge of our medallic exhibitions. He has been a Member of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, and for forty-five years Honorary Secretary to the Leicestershire Archæological Society.

Sir William Wells, F.S.A., as Honorary Treasurer, presented and explained his audited Accounts for the year, copies being passed round to the Members. He pointed out that everything was very satisfactory, with the exception that to continue to issue the *Journal* in its present form every eighteen months would necessitate either



an increased Roll of Members, or some encroachment on the large capital funds. There was, however, an accumulated balance on income account towards the next volume, and he thought that if the *Journal* were more widely known there would be no difficulty in increasing the membership.

The Council's Report and the Accounts were duly passed.

At the instance of Colonel Morrieson and Major Freer, a vote of thanks was gratefully accorded to the retiring President, Mr. Grant R. Francis, F.S.A.







# OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1926.

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## *President.*

MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.

## *Vice-Presidents.*

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., F.S.A.

MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.

GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.

L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

## *Director.*

FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.

## *Treasurer.*

SIR WILLIAM WELLS, F.S.A.

## *Librarian.*

H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

## *Secretaries.*

W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.,

H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

## *Council.*

THOMAS G. BARNETT, F.S.A.

EDGAR M. BURNETT.

FRANK E. BURTON.

ERNEST C. CARTER, M.D.

LIEUT.-COLONEL C. L. EVANS.

LIONEL L. FLETCHER.

G. HAMILTON-SMITH.

HORACE HERBERT KING.

RICHARD C. LOCKETT, F.S.A.

J. O. MANTON.

R. MONTAGU SIMON.

FREDERICK TOPLIS.

F. WARREN.

ERNEST H. WHEELER.

CHARLES WINTER.

**Auditors.**

LIONEL L. FLETCHER.

| ERNEST H. WHEELER.

**Corresponding Members of the Council.**

AFRICA, SOUTH.—ROBERT A ABABRELTON, F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S.

AMERICA.

*Chicago.*—VIRGIL M. BRAND. | *New York.*—THOMAS I. ELDER.

AUSTRALIA.—*Melbourne.*—ALFRED CHITTY.

CANADA.—*British Columbia.*—R. L. REID, LL.B.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

ENGLAND.

*Alford.*—PROFESSOR F. P. BARNARD,  
D.LITT.OXON, M.A., F.S.A.  
*Chelmsford.*—M. E. HUGHES-HUGHES,  
F.S.A., J.P.  
*Chesterfield.*—HERBERT PECK, M.D.

| *Exeter.*—GENERAL C. S. FELTRIM  
FAGAN, F.R.G.S.  
*Norwich.*—LIEUT.-COL. R. F. BOILEAU,  
J.P.  
*Plymouth.*—J. ELLIOT SQUARE, F.R.C.S.

IRELAND.

*Belfast.*—WILLIAM MAYES.

SCOTLAND.

*Glasgow.*—DAVID MURRAY, M.A., LL.D.,  
F.S.A.

| *Montrose.*—G. C. SUTTIE, F.S.A.Scot.,  
J.P.

WALES.

*Wales, North.*—WILLOUGHBY GARDNER, F.S.A., F.L.S., F.R.G.S.



## Presidents of the Society.

- 1903-4. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1905. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1906. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1907. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1908. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1909. W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
- 1910. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1911. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1912. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1913. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1914. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1915. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
- 1916. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1917. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1920. FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1921. FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1922. J. SANFORD SALTUS—*till June 22nd.*
- 1922. GRANT R. FRANCIS—*from June 28th.*
- 1923. GRANT R. FRANCIS.
- 1924. GRANT R. FRANCIS.
- 1925. GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
- 1926. MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.

## The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

### MEDALLISTS.

- 1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
- 1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
- 1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.
- 1920. Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.
- 1923. H. Alexander Parsons.



ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, January 27th, 1926.

Major W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. Grant R. Francis, the retiring President, welcomed Major Freer to the Chair.

EXHIBITION OF STUART ART AND RELICS.

FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF SIR WILLIAM PLENDER, BART., G.B.E.,  
AND MR. PERCIVAL D. GRIFFITHS, F.S.A.

The exhibition was held in the large room on the first floor, and was probably the most numerously attended meeting the Society has held. The objects of art were displayed upon long tables across the centre of the room and were thus open to the close inspection of all who were present. They had been carefully selected from these two large collections from the point of view, primarily, to illustrate Stuart royal portraiture in medallic and its kindred art, and were of a choice beauty and historic interest. A special charm that drew general comment was their condition, for, unlike most relics of antiquity, they had retained their pristine freshness and were to-day as perfect as when, more than two hundred years ago, they graced their first possessors.

Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies in moving, and the President in recording, the vote of grateful thanks of the Society to the Exhibitors, emphasized the historical importance of the relics for purposes of comparison whilst they were thus collected in private hands, and now for the first, and perhaps only, time on view together; and Mr. Andrew, as Editor, thought that they should form the subject of a profusely illustrated article in a future Volume of the *Journal*.

Sir William Plender, on behalf of his colleague Mr. Griffiths, and himself, expressed his pleasure at the interest the exhibits had

raised, and offered the Society any assistance he could in furthering the advancement of the study of Stuart art.

At the instance of Sir William Wells the thanks of the Meeting were also accorded to Mr. E. M. Burnett, Member of the Council, to whom the inception of the exhibition was due.

For the purposes of the Meeting, Mr. Griffiths had prepared descriptive notes of the exhibits from both collections, and when these had been read, Miss H. Farquhar, author of "Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals," and similar works, showed and described each item in turn, speaking extemporarily from her special knowledge of the subject, although most of the objects shown had never previously been exhibited, and were therefore new to her.

In the following catalogue the primary description of each item is by Mr. Griffiths, and when extracts from Miss H. Farquhar's remarks are added they form the second paragraph in every case.

#### THE EXHIBITION.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF SIR WILLIAM PLENDER, BART., G.B.E.

1. Ring set with jewels containing an enamelled portrait of Charles I. On the enamelled back appear a skull and tomb, the date 1648 and, under a royal crown, the initials C.R.

Queen Henrietta is known to have presented rings bearing the king's portrait.

2. Ring garnished with jewels in an openwork setting containing a portrait of Queen Mary II in water-colour. On the side of a curtain appears a skull and the date of her death, December 28 '94.

3. A group of Stuart miniatures :—

- a. In the centre, an enamelled portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in an enamelled frame set at the back with pearls.

Of probably French art, and the portrait unusual.

- b. On the left, a gold pendant enclosing a water-colour portrait of Queen Mary II with the date December 28 '94 above a skull.
  - c. On the right, a water-colour pendant of Charles II in a silver frame with a blue enamelled back.
4. Jewelled pendant surmounted by a crown of openwork design enclosing a portrait of Charles I in water-colour under a faceted crystal.

One of the most attractive settings of the time.

5. Miniature water-colour portrait of Charles II, probably by Edmund Ashfield, enclosed in a tortoiseshell frame with folding tortoiseshell cover.

Edmund Ashfield, the well-known miniaturist and artist in crayons of the latter half of the seventeenth century, was a pupil of Michael Wright, and died in 1700.

6. Miniature portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria in a blue enamelled case bearing on the reverse side a monogram, H.M., and entwined C's. From the Burdett-Coutts Collection.

Probably French. The linked C's are usually regarded as indicative of the time of Charles II, but the portrait is evidently of the lifetime of Charles I. The linked C's are found on his pattern half-groat by Briot, *Ruding* XXII, 16, bearing an early portrait of Charles I. The half-groat connects with various others terminating in one date, 1640.

7. Oval portrait of Charles I in a black costume and wearing the blue ribbon of The Garter. Embroidered on white satin. Set in its original silver frame.

After Vandyck.

8. Oval portrait of Charles I in a red costume, wearing the blue ribbon of The Garter. Embroidered on white satin and bordered with silver galon. Set in a modern silver frame.

After Vandyck.

9. Portrait of Charles II as a young man, embroidered on white satin with a stumpwork surround. After the picture painted by Adriaen Hanneman.

Hanneman, 1601-1671, painted Charles II in Holland, about 1659, where the artist, who had been in England for a time, resided from 1640, and the picture was engraved.

10. Tooled leather oval case, containing a miniature oil portrait of Charles I, with a set of talc "transfers" illustrating episodes of his trial and death.

Rare as this is, there are others known in private collections, and some illustrating Charles II.

11. Memorial portrait of Charles I, engraved on mother-of-pearl with axe and broken sceptre symbolical of his death. On the reverse appears a flower carved in relief. Set in a modern silver frame.

12. Miniature Charles II mirror frame of copper, water-gilt, engraved with figures and emblems set in panels in design similar to the embroidered mirror frames of this period. The frame contains a silver medallion of Charles I applied on tortoise-shell.

13. Bone snuff mull mounted in silver, with a silver medal inset on the lid bearing a portrait of Charles I and the initials N.B.F.

The inset is a silver medal of Charles I by Nicholas Briot = N.B.*Fecit*. There is a companion piece of Henrietta Maria in thin silver, but rather larger, and they used to be regarded as coronation jettons. That of the king was also used as a reckoning counter. The bone box is of the eighteenth century.

14. Oval horn tobacco box, the cover impressed with a portrait of Charles I by Obrisset, and signed O.B.

Obrisset worked in London during the first thirty years of the eighteenth century, when the Jacobite movement



revived interest in the House of Stuart, and his art was popular. We know little of him, and even the spelling of his name is obscure, but what we do know is summarized by Sir Hercules Read, F.S.A., in "Some Minor Arts."

15. Another horn tobacco box, the cover impressed with a portrait of Charles I.

16. Oval tortoiseshell tobacco box mounted in silver with a silver medallion of Queen Anne dated 1703 on the lid, and on the inside of the lid a silver medallion of Charles I. On the silver band is inscribed, Daniel Wrath 1723.

This combination of the portraits of Charles I and Anne was usually for presentation to Jacobites after the '15.

17. Oval tortoiseshell box mounted in silver with a royalist badge set in the lid.

As on this and the following box, medals with both the crowned and the uncrowned bust of Charles I were used both contemporaneously, and later, as on No. 13, on books, boxes and other mementoes.

18. Tortoiseshell box with shaped ends, mounted in silver with a Royalist Badge set in the lid.

19. Small circular ivory box carved with portraits of William and Mary, and inscribed Gulielmus<sup>1</sup> et Maria D.G. Rex et R.

Contemporary and probably Dutch.

20. An oval silver snuff box with a glass painting of Queen Anne in a black-and-gold design.

Miss Farquhar has a heart-shaped piece, unmounted, of William III very similar in style, which she has always believed to be an Orange Badge.

<sup>1</sup> So spelt.

21. A stumpwork panel in high relief, dated 1686, and signed with the worker's initials, A.P., representing the coronation of James II in the preceding year, and showing his first wife, Anne Hyde, on the left, and his second wife, Mary of Modena, on the right. The panel, which is an exceptionally fine example of this work, is decorated with various animals and flowers.

A most beautiful example of Stuart needlework.

22. A *dos-à-dos* of the New Testament and Psalms printed in 1628. The cover is embroidered on white satin with panels of pansies and stumpwork design.

A copy of the Testament and Prayer Book, or Psalms, similarly arranged and bound was said to have belonged to Charles I.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. PERCIVAL D. GRIFFITHS, F.S.A.

23. Oval portrait of Charles I in a black costume wearing the blue ribbon and order of The Garter, embroidered on white satin and bordered by a black braid and the motto *Deus Meus Est Rupes Mea* P.S.A. 18. Set in its original silver frame.
24. Small oval portrait of Charles I in a red costume wearing the blue ribbon and order of The Garter, embroidered on white satin and bordered with a silver-gilt galon. Set in a modern silver frame. There is a similar portrait of Charles I of the same size and wearing the same costume in the Wallace Collection.

This and the two following portraits are very beautiful, and rare.

25. Portrait of Charles I made in cut pressed silk of various colours on a white satin ground. The background decorated with insects and flowers. Set in a modern circular frame of silver.

26. Portrait of Henrietta Maria made in cut pressed silk of various colours on white satin ground. The background decorated with insects and flowers. Set in a modern oval frame of silver.

27. Oval miniature portrait in water-colours of Charles I wearing a black costume and the blue ribbon of The Garter; in its original ebony frame. By John Hoskins, and signed J. H. Fect. From the Burdett-Coutts Collection.

John Hoskins, the eminent miniaturist, died in 1664, but his portraits of Charles I are from life and of the highest order. In consequence of his methods of application their preservation needs great care.

28. Large tortoiseshell oval tobacco box mounted in silver. The cover inlaid in silver with the Star and Garter enclosing an applied medallion portrait of Charles I in silver. Exhibited in the Stuart Exhibition 1889, No. 1059.

The remarks under No. 17 apply to this and the next item, and both are very charming examples.

29. Tortoiseshell oval tobacco box, the lid mounted with two ornamental laurel wreaths; that in the centre enclosing a portrait of Charles I in silver.

30. Tortoiseshell oval tobacco box mounted in silver. On the lid is applied an impressed tortoiseshell bust of Charles I set in a silver border.

Also a beautiful example.

31. Tortoiseshell oval snuff box with silver-gilt borders, the cover impressed with the bust of Charles I in profile. By Obrisset, and signed O.B.

See the remarks under No. 14.

32. Tortoiseshell oval snuff box with silver borders, the cover impressed with the bust of Charles I, three-quarter view. By Obrisset, and signed O.B.

Speaking from memory, Miss Farquhar believed that Obrisset copied this portrait from a version of the Dutch Fishery medal, omitting the Queen. It exists in many varieties of his art, and she believed it was much used for Jacobite presentation, for General Oglethorpe and others received examples of it from Prince James and Prince Charles. It occurs also on tobacco stoppers.

33. Tortoiseshell oval snuff box with silver borders, the cover bearing an applied silver bust of Charles I.
34. An oval silver tobacco box of about 1680. The pierced lid bears a portrait of Charles I surrounded by a border in which is inscribed "Vivat Rex. Currat Lex. Floret Grex." Above the portrait, a crown is supported by Amorini with the sun rays above and inscribed "Video." The border bears on the left the arms of France, on the right the arms of Ireland, and on the bottom the English arms. The maker's mark, B.B., is recorded by Jackson under date 1685, but he makes reference to a sconce by this maker dated 1679 which is in the Wallace Collection.

A very choice box and of the date deduced.

35. Silver oval tobacco box by Edward Cornock, 1713. The base engraved with a coat of arms and inscribed "Franciscus Wight obiit Feb. 15th 1720. Anno Aetatis 60." The lid bears a portrait of Charles I surrounded by the inscription "Thee glorious Martyr rebels did destroy, They, God, who was their aim could not annoy. Carolus Primus Rex Martyrio Coronatus Jan. 30 1648."
36. Silver-gilt snuff box, the lid inset with a royalist badge surrounded by engraved emblems, namely: the spiritual crown and halo, an axe, a broken sceptre, broken scales, a broken sword of justice, a broken crown and a Prayer Book; symbolical of the death of Charles I.

37. Boxwood tobacco box with silver borders, the lid carved with the royal arms in plume mantling, a rose, a thistle, and the royal cypher, C.R.

38. Cornelian pendant carved with a portrait of Charles I set in a silver rim.

An interesting and rare portrait by an artist unknown to Miss Farquhar.

39. A silver circular counter box with pierced borders, the lid bearing a portrait of Charles I, and the base bearing that of Henrietta Maria. The box contains 27 silver counters engraved with portraits of various English Sovereigns, and their arms, etc.

The box is an exceptionally fine example, and the counters, which should be 36 if complete, appeared, in the absence of a microscope, to be of the cast series, for sometimes they are hand engraved, and sometimes struck or cast in imitation engraving.

40. A small silver comfit box with shaped ends bearing a portrait in relief of Charles I. Maker's mark C.F.

A very beautiful example with the portrait cut from badge No. 1, 360,—232 of "Medallic Illustrations," and in a setting of the early Restoration period. Miss Farquhar has a coronation medal of Charles II in an exactly similar setting, save that it is adapted to the circular form of the medal. This head of Charles I sometimes occurs on book covers.

41. Silver-gilt royalist badge, the centre pierced with a portrait of Charles I on a blue background. Set in its original silver-gilt frame.

42. Small silver filigree tablet case of the mid-seventeenth century. Inset in tortoiseshell the centre of a silver threepence of the Aberystwith mint of Charles I, bearing his portrait, with the plumes, and on the other side similar inset in tortoiseshell

of a threepence of Queen Elizabeth with her portrait, and the Tudor rose, as its mark of denomination.

The Aberystwith mint was opened under charter of July 30th, 1637, for coinage of the silver from the Welsh mines.

43. Oval silver snuff box bearing a portrait of Queen Anne, inscribed on the border "Sublatam ex Oculis quaerimus invidi." By Obrisset and signed O.B.

The quotation, from Horace, is similarly used upon a memorial to Mary II.

44. An oval horn snuff box mounted in silver bearing a portrait of Queen Anne.

45. Tortoiseshell oblong snuff box with silver borders. The cover inset with a medal bearing a portrait of Queen Anne surrounded by the Star and Garter inlaid in silver. On the reverse of the medal appears Britannia standing between a fleet of ships and an agricultural scene. On the base of the box, inlaid in silver, is a crown and the royal cypher of Queen Anne.

This is the Peace-of-Utrecht medal of 1713<sup>1</sup>; "Medallic Illustrations," No. 11, 400,—257.

46. Oval tortoiseshell tobacco box mounted in silver, with a silver-gilt oval plaque set in the cover which is engraved with a ship and inscribed, "Periculo et Labore," and surrounded with an engraved border of foliated design with animals and birds. On the reverse side of the plaque there is a miniature of a gentleman dressed in the costume of the latter part of the seventeenth century. It would be of great interest to know who the gentleman is.

The box is very attractive, and the portrait probably of an Admiral.

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated and described by Miss Farquhar, vol. x, pp. 199, 264, etc., of the Society's *Journal*.



47. Oval silver snuff box containing a water-colour miniature of Prince James, the Chevalier de St. George, in a long white wig and armour, which is concealed by an outer cover. The coat of arms on the box is not original.

A charming miniature of "James III and VIII," Italian or French, but probably the latter, and most likely a presentation after the '15.

48. Silver snuff mull engraved with a portrait of Prince James. The cover is inscribed "God save the King," and engraved on it are a crown, a sword and sceptre and J.R. VIII.

Particularly interesting as a free-hand engraved portrait not before seen, and probably a presentation from Prince Charles.

49. Engraved silver oblong snuff box with a bloodstone inset in the lid. Containing a mirror and water-colour portrait of Prince James under a secret slide.

50. Group of three rings :—

a. In the centre, an enamelled portrait of a lady with powdered hair and blue dress. Circa 1720.

The portrait is unknown to Miss Farquhar.

b. On the left, an enamelled portrait of Charles I.

c. On the right, a water-colour portrait of Charles I.

As to *b* and *c*, see note to No. 1.

51. Group of three rings each containing an enamelled portrait of Charles I. The lowest of the group is engraved on the back, and above an enamelled skull are the royal cypher, C.R. and a crown.

See note to No. 1.

52. Tortoiseshell box, the hinges and lock-escutcheon designed with a crown and Diana's trophy. It contains five Stuart "slides." In the centre a slide surrounded by diamonds

containing a medallion of pressed hair, decorated with the royal cypher, C.R. and a crown, set in a border of gold thread. The back of similar setting has a skull and crossbones in the centre.

On each side of the centre-piece a pair of slides :—

- a. With Amorini offering hearts and inscribed, " Mine for Yours."
- b. With two Cupids and two billing doves and initials E.M. Both in coloured enamel.

At each end a pair of gold slides :—

- c. With two Cupids fighting for a lady and inscribed, " No Rivals."
- d. With lovers embracing and a Cupid before them holding a lute inscribed, " The best musik."

These boxes with Amorini were great favourites, and whilst they were royal memorials they were adapted also to the romance or bereavements of the private owner.

53. Tortoiseshell oblong box with a domed lid decorated with rich silver mounts, pendant handles and ball feet, containing :—

- a. A gold slide with an enamelled skeleton holding the orb and sceptre, in a gold laurel border on a background of brown hair.
- b. A gold slide with Amorini supporting a crown above a monogram on a background of hair.
- c. A gold slide with the letters P.R.R. and a gold border over a background of alternate brown and white hair.
- d. A gold clasp set with pearls containing an enamelled design of Amorini supporting a crown, above a monogram surrounded by a border in gold.
- e. A gold slide with a skull between the initials D.L. on a background of hair.

- f.* A gold slide with the initials J.L. on a background of hair with a blue border overset with a gold design.
- g.* A gold slide with an enamelled skeleton between the initial letters W.C. on a background of brown hair.

See the preceding note.

54. Tortoiseshell oblong box with shaped ends and silver mounts engraved with the English rose, containing :—

Upper tray :—

- a.* A gold heart-shaped pendant, set with a faceted crystal over an enamelled design and border in gold.
- b.* A gold slide with a faceted crystal over an enamelled design with the word "Amori." The reverse shows a skull, W.B., and the date Nov. 28, 1679.
- c.* A gold heart-shaped pendant surmounted by a crown, set with a faceted crystal over an enamelled skull on a blue ground. The reverse is enamelled with a skull and B.P.
- d.* A gold pendant holding a water-colour miniature of William III.
- e.* A gold slide containing a water-colour miniature of Charles II. The reverse is enamelled, with a skull and date 1679.
- f.* A gold pendant holding a water-colour miniature of Queen Mary II.

Side Drawer :—

- g.* A gold slide, set with a faceted crystal over a monogram with a gold border on a black ground.
- h.* A gold pendant with the portrait of Charles I, enamelled in colours and a single pearl drop beneath. On reverse the Scottish Lion in enamel.
- i.* A gold pendant, set with rubies enclosing a miniature portrait of a gentleman in water-colour.

- j.* A gold heart-shaped pendant with a faceted crystal over a monogram with a ducal crown in gold on a black ground.
- k.* A gold pendant containing a portrait of Charles I in water-colour with a skull on the left.

See note to No. 52. Miss Farquhar did not examine slide *e*, but the skull and date, 1679, seem to her irregular for Charles II, and possibly interchanged with 1649 and a miniature of Charles I. These boxes are most interesting.

55. An oblong case of grey lizard skin mounted in silver and bearing a central escutcheon with a rose between the initials S.B., containing :—

- a.* A gold clasp with an enamelled portrait of Charles I, surrounded with pearls.
- b.* An enamelled pendant with a portrait of Charles II as a young man.
- c.* A water-colour miniature of Charles I in a gold border. Skull and date on the left.

This and the next would have required, and they deserved, far more time for their examination than the whole of the evening would have permitted.

56. A tortoiseshell oblong box with corners mounted in silver with hook fastenings :—

- a.* A silver-gilt badge with a portrait of Charles I, uncrowned. ("Medallic Illustrations," No. 215.)
- b.* A silver heart-shaped box containing a medallion of Charles I. The back and front of the outside are engraved with the mottoes: "I live and dye in Loyaltie"—  
"Quis Temperet A Lacrymis,"<sup>1</sup> Jan. 30, 1648."

One of a series of then popular memorials.

<sup>1</sup> From Virgil's "*Quis talia fando temperet a lacrymis.*"

- c. A miniature portrait of Charles II in water-colour in a silver pendant, set with rubies and white stones. The back enamelled and inscribed "C<sup>2</sup> R."
- d. A heart-shaped pendant of jet carved with the portrait of Charles I and the date of his death at the back.

This is a very rare piece. An example is at South Kensington.

- e. A silver-gilt badge with a portrait of Charles I crowned. ("Medallic Illustrations," No. 232.)
- f. A gold ring with the figure of Death holding the orb and sceptre.
- g. A silver-gilt pendant containing a portrait of Charles I in coloured wax, and the order of The Garter on the reverse, also in wax.

A marvellous piece of work, previously unknown to Miss Farquhar.

- h. An enamelled pendant set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, enclosing a portrait of Queen Mary II, enamelled on the back.
- i. A gold ring engraved and enamelled.
- j. A filigree pendant of rich foliated design containing a portrait of Charles I in silver gilt, with the arms of England on the reverse.
- k. An ear-ring of faceted corals set on a gold stem.
- l. A silver-gilt *reliquaire* case containing a portrait of Charles I with a spiritual crown in silver gilt, silhouetted on a base of horn.

An extremely rare portrait of which Miss Farquhar had not previously seen an example.

- m. A gold pendant with a subject of four figures in coloured enamel.

n. A *reliquaire* case of silver filigree containing a portrait in silver gilt, silhouetted on a horn base. Signed I.D.F. The last is one of the series of medals of the Sovereigns of England by Dassier, hence the signature *Iean Dassier Fecit*. It was intended for Charles I, but evidently Dassier thought that it would not be recognized, and he made a second for the set.

57. A box made from the wood of the Boscobel Oak Tree in which Charles II hid after the Battle of Worcester. The box has silver corner-mounts and lock-plate and hinges engraved with a foliated design in the late seventeenth-century style. On the lid is a silver plaque with a floral border. On this is engraved an oak tree, in the centre of which appears the head of Charles II. Under the tree are engraved the following lines:—

When England's monarch from impious rebels fled  
And found no shelter for his sacred head  
I gave him refuge and from their stroke  
Secured his Royal Person in this oak  
From whence this chip was cut, accept it as divine  
Being humbly offered at your more purer shrine.

An unusually interesting relic.

58. A trumpet of brass with silver bands used by the Heralds' Trumpeter. On the bell-shaped end the silver mount, which is chased with Amorini, flowers and foliage, is inscribed the name of the maker, Simon Beale, Londini Fecit 1667. It is from the collection of the Earl of Dartmouth, and known as the "Luck of Woodsome Hall." Simon Beale is twice referred to in "Pepys's Diary," under December 16th, 1660, and September 26th, 1668, as the King's Trumpeter and late of Oliver's Guard. The instrument is said to have replaced another of early origin lost during the Commonwealth, and failure to blow it upon important occasions was believed to bring ill-luck.



59. An embroidered portrait of George Monk dated 1685, and worked with the initials G.M. and J.B. and the date 1685. The initials J.B. and the date would appear to be the initials of the worker, and the year when the portrait was made.
60. Tortoiseshell tankard with silver rims and thumb-piece, the cover impressed on the outside with what appears to be a Bacchanalian scene, and the inside impressed with a portrait of Charles I. Of about the year 1680.
61. An embroidered Bible and Psalms printed 1660-1661. The covers worked entirely in gold bullion on a pale silk ground. On one cover is a medallion portrait of Charles II, copied from the line engraving by J. Chantry after P. Nason ; on the other cover is a medallion portrait of Catherine of Braganza. The fore-edge is painted with tulips and roses, etc., with the date 1662. The original velvet bag is made of the royal tartan. The following memorandum is pasted in the flyleaf of the book :—

Mary Stuart born September 23rd 1743 died May 15th 1807.

William Beales born 25th December 1744 died April 28th 1828.

Mary Beales born 16th March 1770 died 5th November 1807.

William Beales born 13th February 1777.

This and the next are of extraordinary beauty and interest.

62. An embroidered Bible and Psalms printed in 1632, embroidered on satin with gold thread and coloured silks. On the front cover appears the figure of Moses, who holds a book, on which is written "The law was given by Moses and Grace and Peace came by Jesus Christ." On the back of the cover appears a figure of David and the words "Remember David's troubles." The two pairs of tie strings of crimson

silk are inscribed, "This booke doth shew that God made all, the world, heavens, earth and man, who unto sin did quickly fall, almost as soon as Time began."

63. It may be of interest to exhibit with the above embroidered books the original order signed by Bryan Duppa, Bishop of Chichester, for payment of the bill of John Morris, "Imbroider to the Princes his Highnes," for two embroidered bindings worked for the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II, and James Duke of York :

John Morris, Imbroider to the Prinses his Highnes  
drawith alowanse for worke don against neuers  
days laste 1640 : for too bibles for the Prinse  
his hines with Imbroidered couvers with the  
Prinses armes and the Duke of Yorkes armes  
upon wachet satten with gould and silver very  
riche and mad upe and strong the on latten and  
the other English.

Br. Cicestrens.

This worke above written was done and deliverid.

Endorsed is John Morris's signed receipt for £4 "for 2 Bibles wrought with Embroidery at New Year's tide, 1640," which receipt is dated 23rd April, 1641.

- 64 and 65. A beadwork bag dated 1623 and inscribed, "The gift of a friend," and an embroidered girdle with two tassels. These two relics were exhibited by the Rev. J. Fuller Russel, F.S.A., to the Royal Archæological Institute in July, 1869, and described as :—

A purse worked with beads formerly belonging to Charles The First, Martyr. It had (with the accompanying sash also belonging to Charles I) been in the possession of General Elphinstone, with a number of letters in cypher, relating to the King's attempt to escape from Carisbrooke Castle.

66. Small oval box lined with blue velvet, the sides bordered with silver galon. The box is worked on the one side with a portrait of Charles I, and on the other with that of Charles II as a boy : in flat stitch work.
67. A Stuart pincushion woven with a checker pattern in white, red, green and yellow silks. Set with four tassels and a ribbon. Inscribed " God bless P. C. and down with the Rump."
68. A Cromwellian silver counter box with maker's mark I.C., containing the model of a man's head worked in coloured silks, which does not appear to have ever been attached to a body. Found with a few other interesting objects in a Stuart casket.
69. A silver Stuart thimble, the lower part ornamented with a border of applied scroll work originally enamelled in colours. The top detachable to disclose a pierced heart in red enamel. Probably a royalist lady's thimble.

The last three were new to Miss Farquhar, and the thimble specially curious.

Miss Farquhar explained that her passing remarks were necessarily disconnected, but speaking generally she would draw attention to the fact that the memory of Charles I was specially venerated by the Jacobites, and that many of his portraits when they appear upon snuff boxes, etc., of the eighteenth century have been mounted at that period although they themselves are of the seventeenth. The little secret badges, enamels, and memorials were often given as pledges for services in the Civil War ; and in the same way portraits of Charles I were again brought forward by Prince James and Prince Charles rather than those of James II, who had lost his popularity. The snuff mull, for instance, which bears the engraved portrait of " James III," is specially interesting, because it is dated 1743 and is therefore evidently one of the fore-runners of the '45, when Sempil Balhaldie and Murray were carrying presents to Scotland to prepare the way for Prince Charles.

## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, February 24th, 1926.*Major W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The President announced that, as Mr. Andrew had already commenced the preparation of Volume XVII of the *Journal* and was now without any assistance in London in his secretarial duties, he had asked the Council to appoint Mr. Taffs joint Secretary with him. This the Council had done and he, the President, thought that the thanks of the Society were due to Mr. Taffs for so kindly undertaking secretarial duties in addition to those of his Vice-Presidency.

Mr. Arthur S. Marsden-Smedley, Mr. B. Walter Russell, Mr. Hugh George Goodacre and Colonel A. H. Coles, C.M.G., D.S.O., were elected Members.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—Trade tokens of the seventeenth century, being additions to, or variants from, those given in Williamson's edition of Boyne.

Warwickshire, Coleshill. Farthing not recorded by Williamson.

THOMAS ★ STONE. ★ The Mercers' arms; reverse, IN ★ COLLSHILL ★ T.M.S. a mullet on each side of the S., within an inner circle.

Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon (?) Farthing not recorded by Williamson.

RICHARD · HVNT, R.A.H., three lozenges within an inner circle; reverse, IN · STRATFORD · 1651 · mullet (?), R.A.H., as on the obverse.

Williamson records a halfpenny token of Richard Hunt of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1667.

Warwickshire, Southam. Correction of No. 139 of Williamson.

THO · EADS · APOTHECARY · IN, T. E.; reverse  
SOVTHHAM · HIS · HALF · PENY, T. E.

No. 139, SOVTHNAM, is therefore probably a misreading of  
a worn example of this.

Worcestershire, Evesham. Variety of No. 46, reading

PHILLIPP BALLORD HIS - HALFE - PENNY.

With reference to Mr. Crowther-Beynon's exhibits, Mr. Taffs pointed out that Williamson was not always correct in assigning to Stratford-on-Avon only those tokens which read STRATFORD · VPON, VPPON or ON, AVON, as he had an unpublished token reading SAMVEL · PHILLIPS · OF, HIS · HALFE · PENNY; reverse, STRATFORD · VPON · AVON, S.I.P., which corrected Williamson's allocation to Stratford, Suffolk, of the token, SAMVEL PHILLIPS, the Ironmongers' arms; reverse, IN · STRATFORD · 1652, S.I.P.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—93 Irish seventeenth-century tokens in the alphabetic section, Dundalk to Katherinestown, which included the following unpublished types : Dungarvan, Robert Cock. Elphin, Patrick White. Enniskillen, James Warnock. Hacketstown, Anthony Ryan. Hillsborough, Tho. Leithes. Jamestown, Daniell Moran. Katherinestown, Will Hunter.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—Illustrations of 216 Buckinghamshire seventeenth-century tokens, the subject of his paper.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—Buckinghamshire seventeenth-century tokens :—

Aylesbury : Gyles Childe, Joseph Freer.

Buckingham : Peter Reynolds, George Robins.

Chesham (heart-shape) : Thomas Hall.

Olney : Moses Freeman, John Gaynes.

Princes Risborough : Edward Barnaby.

Stony Stratford : John Botrill, William Smith, Richard Veasey.

Thornborough : Edward Purssell.

Winslow : William Gyles.

Wickham : Richard Lucas, John Morris.

By Mr. W. C. Wells :—

Halfpenny token of " William Church of Hartwell," Northamptonshire.

Two varieties of the halfpenny token of " Thomas Bearley of Haringworth " Northamptonshire. Also the will of Thomas Bearley, the issuer of the tokens.

Farthing token of " Geo. Slye of Peterborough " with a probate copy of Geo. Slye's will.

Two proclamations by Charles II of 1672 and 1674, making current the bronze coins and " crying down " the tradesmen's tokens, which Mr. Wells believed to be the only known copies. See Volume VI, pp. 310-313, of the *Journal*, where Mr. Wells printed them in full.

Maundy money.—Mr. F. A. Walters remarked that these proclamations were especially interesting in that they provided for the issue of " many thousands of pounds of good sterling silver to be coined into single pence and twopences, that so there might be good money current among the poorest of our subjects, and fitted for their smaller traffic and commerce."

This supported the opinion held by Miss H. Farquhar and other numismatists of the later school that these so-called maundy pieces were issued for " general " currency, not merely to meet the maundy requirements.

By Mr. Alan Garnett :—15 Pitt-Club badges ranging from 1810 to 1821. In addition to the Pitt medal, there were badges issued at Birmingham, Stirling, London, Warrington, Manchester, Blackburn, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Saddleworth, Dudley, Northwich, Leicester, Liverpool and in Suffolk.



The President remarked on the very complete series of badges exhibited, which probably wanted but three or four varieties, and mentioned that he himself possessed the Birmingham Pitt-Club medal which had belonged to his great-grandfather.

*Paper.*

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Mr. J. O. Manton read an interesting series of notes, historical, topographical, and genealogical, from his revision of the list of the Buckinghamshire seventeenth-century tokens published by Williamson. Williamson's preface to the county, he said, was an unmerited reproach, inasmuch as there had been a keen collector of Buckinghamshire tokens, who had not only acquired 191 varieties, and printed a catalogue of 203, as compared with Williamson's total of 179, but had prepared wood-blocks of many of the tokens. The collection in its entirety, with the wood-blocks, was purchased in April, 1912, by the Buckinghamshire Archæological Society and was now in this Society's Museum at Aylesbury. Referring to possible doubtful attributions of tokens bearing place-names common to two or three counties, as for example the attribution by Williamson of all "Stow" tokens to Stow-in-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, and all "Woburn" tokens to Woburn, Bedfordshire, he suggested that some regard should be paid to the more reasonable probability of their issue at places on the great high-roads of travel in the period. In Buckinghamshire the old Roman roads—Watling Street, Akeman Street, the Ikenild way—and other ancient trackways passed through places with posting-houses, inns and other places of mart, the names of which are repeated elsewhere, but without these opportunities, and so without any special requirement for "small change." He also instanced, as a concrete case in another direction, a token with devices upon it of a water-wheel and a mill-rind, attributed hitherto to the "Abbey" town of Woburn, Bedfordshire, Williamson 104, which belonged to Wooburn, Buckinghamshire, a place known for centuries past as having its paper-mills on the "Wycombe river," Wye. The token in question was inscribed "Woborne Mil."

He recalled the fact that during the period of the issue of the "Stow" tokens the Elizabethan House of the Temples of Stow, Buckinghamshire, was transformed into the mansion as known to us lately, and as a result of this alteration, the entire village of Stow was removed to Dodford, now Dadford, and its site occupied by the gardens and pleasure grounds. All this would involve the employment of considerable labour, and doubtless the currency of "small-change," which he suggested, supplied reasonable ground for the attribution of the "Stow" tokens issued by Dix & Gibbs—both surnames being then common to the neighbourhood—to Stow in Buckinghamshire. The principal church of the neighbourhood at Maids Moreton, adjoining Stow Park, was "sacked at ye command of one Colonel Purfoy of Warwickshire," which led to the disappearance of the parish register, so genealogical data here is not available.

Mr. Manton's list of Buckinghamshire tokens comprised 216 varieties, and included numerous additions to, and reattributions, and corrections of those published by Williamson.

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#### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, March 24th, 1926.*

MR. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., F.S.A., *Vice-President,*  
*in the Chair.*

In the absence of the President from indisposition, Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, Vice-President, presided.

The Chairman referred to the loss the Society had sustained in the death of Her Majesty Queen Louise of Denmark, who had been one of their Royal Members for twenty years, and a vote of dutiful

condolence was passed with their Royal Member His Majesty the King of Denmark and the Members of the Danish Royal Family.

*Presentation to the Library.*

By His Majesty the King of Italy :—Volume IX of his *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* ; for which a special vote of thanks was accorded to His Majesty, who is a Royal Member of the Society, for this valuable gift, a work which is pre-eminent in numismatic publications.

*Exhibitions.*

In illustration of Mr. Parsons's paper :—

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—The series of pennies of Æthelred II referred to in his paper.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—Pennies of Æthelred II, including the reverse readings + GOD M-O GIFELES, Ilchester, and + ÐVRVLF M-O LIHRA, Leicester, of the CRV+ type and + SPEGEN M-O LEIG, and + EODEFR : Ð M-O EF-R, York, of Hawkins 207.

By Mr. William C. Wells :—A similar series including + LEOFRIE M-O HAM and + CYLM M-O HAMTV of Æthelred II's first type, the early variety of Hildebrand, type A ; + EVIE M-O SCROBBES of B.I, *v. a*, and + ISEEL M-O HAMP of the Hand-of-Providence type.

By Mr. Charles Winter :—Æthelred II. The rare variety Hildebrand B.3, British Museum Catalogue II, *v. f*, showing the Hand of Providence in Benediction. An example, of which only three specimens are known, of the variety described by Hildebrand on page 132 as + BYRHTIOÐ M'O RINI, type D. Hildebrand was unable to offer any explanation of the mysterious mint-reading RINI, but in Volume VI, p. 44, of the Society's *Journal*, Major Carlyon-Britton solved the long-outstanding problem.

*General Exhibitions.*

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—A penny of Alfred the Great.

Obverse, + ELFRED MX<sup>-</sup>. Reverse, + DYDD MONETA. Mr. Parsons explained that this was the only traceable piece of this moneyer and of this type. Only three specimens were known of the variety with the Mercian title, for he assumed that the title was a contraction of *Merciorum Rex*. The other two were of the moneyer TATA, one in the British Museum and the other recorded in the Montagu collection. The contraction mark on the two latter instances was in its proper place between the M and X, as M-X.

Also an ordinary specimen of the type, reading ÆELBRED REX, for comparison.

*Communication.*

Mr. T. Sheppard, Director of the Municipal Museum, Hull, reported that among a series of seventeenth-century tokens recently given to the Hull Museum, by Mr. R. Egerton Godwin, were two which had been found at Whitton, Lincolnshire, one being by Thomas Lowther, of Burton Stather, and the other by George Beale, of Whitton.

*Williamson* recorded a token by George Beale under Whitton in Suffolk, but no reasons were given for assigning it to that county. There was now every reason for re-allocating the token to Whitton, Lincolnshire, because, apart from the fact that this specimen was found in that village, the Rev. H. F. Crofton, of Whitton, Lincolnshire, had kindly searched the parish registers and found that George Beale kept the "George-and-Dragon" inn, and was a churchwarden. There was no "George-and-Dragon" inn there now, but it might well have been the old name of the inn called "Her Majesty," which existed until recently. Similar enquiries at Whitton in Suffolk gave negative results. The token reads: Obverse, GEORGE · BEALE—HIS · HALF · PENY; reverse, IN · WHITTON · 1667—St. George and the Dragon, and will therefore be No. 269A in *Williamson's* Lincolnshire list.

The following unpublished token had also been acquired by the Hull Museum: Obverse, JOHN · RACEE · AT · YE · RED—a lion rampant; reverse, IN · WAINFLITT · 1667—I.E.R. This would come as No. 267A in the same list.

*Paper.*

A REVIEW OF THE COIN TYPES OF ÆTHELRED II.

The paper of the evening took the form of a review by Mr. H. Alexander Parsons of the two varied arrangements of the coin types of Æthelred II which appeared in Volume XVI—one by Major Carlyon-Britton and the other by the Lecturer.

Stating that he could find no historical warrant for the claim of Major Carlyon-Britton that issues of the late Anglo-Saxon period were changed every three years, which, in fact, the coins showed was not the case, or at least certainly not in the time of Edward the Confessor, Mr. Parsons thought that a sounder method of separating substantive types was to have regard only to decided changes in design—both of the obverse and reverse—for he considered that change on one side only was evidence of muling, and that comparatively slight alterations were due to transition of design, or want of care on the part of the engravers. On this basis, and eliminating the *Agnus-Dei* pieces which, although the opinion of numismatists seemed as yet unconvinced, he still considered not strictly to be coins, and believed that five frankly dissimilar issues only would be found to be in evidence. One of these, however; namely, the small-cross type, was considered to merit division into two periods, because the module, art and lettering, linked some very rare pieces of this design with the similar type of Edward the Martyr—evidently interim coins—whilst the rest, by their designs and inscriptions, and by the evidence of the Scandinavian imitations, were forced to the very end of the reign. Both these points were illustrated by his coins on exhibition and by reference to the numismatic history of Scandinavia.

Bearing in mind the method of division of types postulated, the Lecturer showed, from actual coins on view, that types II, III and IV of Major Carlyon-Britton's arrangement formed, with at least two additional important variations, a series of five transitional designs belonging to one issue; that his type V comprised muled coins; and that his types VII and X, linked with XIII, were of one design and issue, the difference being that a few of the coins, type XIII, had the bust facing the opposite way, an engraver's error that occurred in almost every reign. Quoting evidence from the history of the coins of Sweyn of Denmark and Olaf of Sweden—who both copied English coins—Mr. Parsons thought that it must be accepted as a fact that types VII, X and XIII came at the end of the reign of Æthelred II.

He then repeated his opinion, explained in a former paper, that the two coins of Major Carlyon-Britton's type IX were preliminary or pattern pieces issued in advance of the ultimately accepted type XI, adding that this alone justified the exclusion of the wholly dissimilar type X.

Mr. Parsons compared the resulting sequence of types of the two arrangements as follows:—

		Major Carlyon-Britton.		Mr. H. A. Parsons.
Small-cross issue, similar to the type of Edward the Martyr ..		Type I		IA
The "Hand" issue .. ..	.. ..	.. II	}	{ I I var. C I var. E
		.. III		
		.. IV		
The CRVX issue .. ..	.. ..	.. V	}	{ IA and I, two mules 2
		.. VI		
The "Helmeted bust" issue ..	..	.. IX	}	{ 3 var. A 3
		.. XI		
The "long-cross" issue.. ..	..	.. XII		4
The "small-cross" issue ..	..	Types VII, X and XIII		5



ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, April 28th, 1926.

Major W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

*Exhibition of War Medals and Decorations.*

By Mr. S. M. Spink :—The series of North-American Indian-Chiefs' medals, the subject of Mr. Winter's paper that evening.

By Mr. Thomas K. Mackenzie :—Large silver gorget bearing the royal arms in relief and the hall-mark, London, for 1754.

Silver gorget of the Whitby Volunteers, hall-mark, London, 1794.

Two cases of early silver gorgets, belt-plates, etc.

By Mr. Alan Garnett :—Belt-plate of the 2nd Royal Scots Grenadier Guards, of about 1780, in gold and silver, and similar to an order. The initials RS<sup>2</sup>. GG. in the centre are surrounded by the Garter within a star. The beauty of the workmanship was a matter of general remark.

The Bokhara medal in silver issued by the Emir, 1918-19. Seven in gold, and about two hundred in silver, were issued to British troops.

The British Recognition medal.

*A Jacobite Relic.*

By Mr. Grant R. Francis :—Tortoiseshell and gilt snuff box of about 1750, with a portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart concealed within the double lid. In choice condition.

*Paper.*

## MEDALS OF NORTH-AMERICAN INDIAN CHIEFS.

By CHARLES WINTER.

Medals were given to the Native Chiefs of North America, said Mr. Winter, for loyalty, valour, and services in times of peace and war; and in the earlier days no Indians were allowed within the settlements unless they wore their medals. With few exceptions no attention seems to have been paid to recording the particular purposes, services, or events for which these medals were awarded. The portrait of the reigning sovereign and the royal arms were generally adopted for the design, and several were issued in three sizes, the larger being presented to the chiefs, and the smaller to warriors, etc.

GEORGE I, 1714.—Circular brass medal,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

*Obverse*.—Laureated bust of the King to the right in armour.

Legend—GEORGE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN. Under the bust a small star of six points with pierced centre.

*Reverse*.—An Indian holding in his right hand an arrow, and in his left a bow. To the left of the medal, a stag standing before a tree. Above, the sun.

There were several types of this medal differing in the details of both the obverses and reverses.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA, MONTREAL.—Silver medal with a rope border and loop,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter.

*Obverse*.—View of Montreal showing five church spires and the fort with the flag of St. George flying; in the foreground the river with the island to the left, above, MONTREAL. Exergue, the maker's mark D.C.F.

*Reverse*.—Engraved, MOHICKANS, above, MADOGHK.

This was known as the "Conquest Medal," and was of special interest as it commemorated the place where the final struggle

was enacted which brought Canada under British rule. Sir William Johnson had raised a large body of armed Indians for service in the war, and they joined the army then investing Montreal. It was decided to give a medal to each of the war-chiefs who took part in the expedition.

THE PONTIAC CONSPIRACY, 1763-66, or TREATY MEDAL.

1. Silver cast medal with a wing and pipe forming the loop,  $2\frac{3}{16}$  inches in diameter.

*Obverse*.—Laureated bust of the King to right in armour, and wearing the sash of the Garter. GEORGIUS III D.G.M.BRI.FRA.ET.HIB.REX.F.D.

*Reverse*.—A British officer and an Indian chief seated under a tree with their backs to the ocean, the chief is holding the pipe of peace and clasping the hand of the officer. In the background, on the right, are two ships and a village. In the field the maker's marks N.YORK D.C.F.

*Legend*.—HAPPY WHILE UNITED ; exergue, 1764.

2. Silver cast hollow medal, 3 inches in diameter.

*Obverse*.—As No. 1, but V instead of U in GEORGIVS.

*Reverse*.—Similar to No. 1, but without the maker's marks, three ships instead of two, and date, 1766.

Mr. McLachlan in his "Medals Awarded to Canadian Indians," says that these medals

"were awarded in connection with a confederacy of the Western Indians against British rule. In 1763 Pontiac, the organizer and chief of the confederacy of western tribes, invested Detroit, and, as one by one of the posts along the lakes fell into his hands, he expected, after the capture of this sole barrier to his progress eastwards, to swoop down upon the scattered colonies and drive the white man from the continent. In 1764 a large concourse of Indians met at Niagara, and, although no general treaty of peace was entered into, treaties were signed

with a number of tribes separately, one or two of which were with Canadian tribes."

Other medals were issued for this event and are known as the "Lion and Wolf" type.

#### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

1. Silver medal struck hollow, 3 inches in diameter.

*Obverse*.—Youthful bust of the King to right in armour, seven rivets on the front of the armour, the hair tied at the back. He is wearing the sash of the Garter. GEORGIUS III DEI GRATIA.

*Reverse*.—The royal arms, the paw of the lion touching the N of HONI in the motto of the Garter.

2. As No. 1, but struck solid.
3. As No. 2, but the paw of the lion is touching the I of HONI.
4.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

*Obverse*.—As No. 1, but six rivets on the front of the armour.

*Reverse*.—In the arms the cap of the crown does not touch the arches, but the legs of the supporters touch the outside of the Garter, and the hind legs rest on scrolls instead of the riband inscribed with the royal motto.

5. Military General Service medal with three bars—Fort Detroit, Chateauguay, Chrystler's Farm, granted to Tier Sassenowane, Warrior.

#### THE WAR OF 1812.

1. Silver medal, 3 inches in diameter.

*Obverse*.—Laureated bust of the King with the older portrait, wearing the collar and robes of the Garter, to right. GEORGIUS III DEI GRATIA BRITANNIARVM REX F.D.

*Reverse*.—The royal arms; below, 1814.

2. As No. 1, but  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches in diameter.
3. As No. 1, but  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, 1860.—Silver medals, 3, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ , and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

*Obverse*.—Head of the Queen to left, wearing coronet, dividing the Prince of Wales's plume and date, 1860, which are engraved. VICTORIA DEI GRATIA BRITANNIARVM REGINA F.D.

*Reverse*.—The royal arms as on the medals of George III of 1814, but dated 1840.

These medals were struck from the dies used for those presented to the Gambia Chiefs in 1840, the Prince of Wales's plumes and date being added and engraved on the obverse.

A Toronto account of the visit of the Prince says,

"The Indians, real red savages, majestic in mien, painted as to their faces . . . came forward, and one of them, a magnificent specimen of his tribe . . . yelled out an Indian address . . . 'BROTHER GREAT BROTHER—The sky is beautiful. It was the wish of the Great Spirit that we should meet in this place. My heart is glad that the Queen has sent out her eldest son to see her Indian subjects . . . they have heard that at some future day you will put on the crown, and sit on the British throne. It is their earnest desire that you will always remember them. . . .' The chiefs shook hands with the Prince and the Governor, the others bowed, and to each His Royal Highness gave a medal with the likeness of Her Majesty on one side, the Royal Arms on the other. The Chiefs' medals were as large as the palm of your hand; the other Indians received smaller ones, the size, perhaps, of half-crowns."

THE INDIAN TREATIES MEDAL.—Silver medal, 3 inches in diameter.

*Obverse*.—Bust of the Queen to right wearing veil and coronet. VICTORIA REGINA.

*Reverse*.—A British general officer clasping the hand of an Indian chief, a tomahawk struck into the ground at their feet, in the background an Indian encampment. Legend—INDIAN TREATY NO. 3 1873.

Two attempts had been made to provide a medal for presentation to the chiefs who signed the treaties, but both proved unsuitable, and Messrs. Wyon were instructed to prepare the dies and medals.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Winter for the paper, which was of unusual medallic interest, and to Mr. S. M. Spink for the exhibition of this remarkable series of British medals.

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#### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, May 26th, 1926.*

Major W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The President said that it was with the deepest regret that he had to announce the decease of two well-known Members of the Society. Mr. Edgar M. Burnett had been a Member of the Council since 1923, and earned the respect and regard of all his colleagues. It was to him that the Society was indebted for the successful Exhibition of Stuart Art, held last January. Mr. William Sharp Ogden was one of their oldest friends and had helped in the foundation of the Society, holding office continually until his advanced years prevented regular attendance, for he lived to his 83rd year.

The votes of condolence were passed in sadness.

Mr. Taffs reported that in reply to his letter on behalf of the Society His Majesty the King of Denmark had, through the Danish Minister, expressed His heartfelt thanks for the sympathy of the Society in the loss He and the Royal Family had sustained by the death of Queen Louise, who for many years had been one of its Royal Members.



The President explained that Mr. Andrew had referred in Council to the precedent that the Society had presented its medal to the late Mr. Saltus in recognition of his interest in and support of the Society, and it was inscribed to that effect. The Council, said the President, unanimously thought that Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler had well deserved a like acknowledgment, and he therefore moved that a similar medal be prepared for presentation by the Members to Mr. Wheeler at the Anniversary Meeting in November. The Rev. Edgar Rogers, O.B.E., seconded, and the resolution was unanimously passed.

Dr. Charles W. Burr was elected a Member.

*Presentation to the Library.*

By Messrs. Spink and Son, Limited :—A specially bound copy of their " Numismatic Circular " for 1925.

A vote of thanks was accorded to them.

*Exhibitions illustrative of the Paper.*

By Mr. Andrew :—The silver penny of the Derby mint, bearing Athelstan's name with the *Saxorum* legend, spelt "*Saxsorum*," and R in the field of the reverse, referred to in his paper and previously unrecorded. From Danish-Northumbrian dies.

Penny of the Chester mint from English dies and in unusually perfect state +ÆDELSTAN RE+ TO BRI, for *Rex totius Britanniae*,—Reverse +BEORARD MO IN LEGE CF. Compare Mr. Manton's Third exhibit.

Spindle whorl, carved in whetstone in imitation, both as to the obverse and reverse, of a York penny of Athelstan of the portrait type similar to that of Norwich exhibited by Mr. Grant ;  $1\frac{1}{4}$  by  $\frac{3}{8}$  inches ; the inner circles surround the hole for the spindle, but the mantling and legends are copied. Found at Caergwrle near Wrexham.

By Mr. R. A. Grant :—A beautiful example of the “ portrait ” type of Athelstan, with obverse, small cross +ÆDELSTAN REX, reverse + BVRDEL · MO · NORÐ · IE, Norwich. Penny of Canute of the Chester mint.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—The penny of Athelstan of the Derby mint from the reverse die of Anlaf’s coin, referred to in Mr. Andrew’s paper, and illustrated by Mr. Francis as Fig. C in his paper in Volume XVI of the *Journal*. Penny reading + EDELSTAN RE SXVOM, reverse + BOICA MOTET DEORABI, Derby; and another + ÆDELSTAN REX TO BRY, reverse + BEORNARD ON DEORABY.

*Paper.*

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH, A.D. 937.

By W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

It was thought, said Mr. Andrew, that the last word of contemporary evidence had been gleaned on the historic mystery of the site of Athelstan’s famous victory of A.D. 937, the greatest battle ever fought on English soil. But the discovery by Major Carlyon-Britton of a coin issued at Derby by the Danish King Anlaf, supplemented by that of Mr. Francis of another struck at the same mint from an obverse die of Athelstan’s and the actual die used for the reverse of Anlaf’s coin was, he thought, a new factor in the story; for the money was of the date of the battle. Derby had been refounded by the Danes as one of the Five Danish Burghs, and a study of its money disclosed that its mint must have been opened by them from York in preparation for this rising, the object of which was to restore Mercia to Danish Northumbria. The money represented two distinct classes, Danish before Brunanburh, and English after it. It was obvious that Athelstan was not likely to have opened a mint at Derby on the borders of Northumbria; but

for the Danes it was necessary to provide a large supply of money for the purposes of the host of Scots, Strath-Clyde Britons, Welsh, and Danes from Ireland, the Isles, and over the seas, mostly mercenary troops and viking marauders, that flocked to the revolt of Northumbria. We could therefore understand their opening mints at both Derby and Nottingham to meet this special demand for currency and to circulate their money amongst the richer merchants of Mercia. For this purpose Athelstan's name was necessary upon it, but instead of adopting his English title *Rex totius Britanniae*, they repudiated his claims to Northumbria and Mercia by dubbing him merely "King of Wessex," in bad Latin, as *Rex Saxorum*, a title never used by him in any form on any of his purely English coins or charters. Some of these Danish pennies of Derby bore the initial M, presumably for Mercia, and Anlaf's own coin did so, and its obverse inscription, instead of Athelstan's name, was "Anlaf Cununc," the title Cununc being Danish-Northumbrian for King. The dies for the Danish class were made in York, for the lettering was distinctly Northumbrian; and a curious survival of the runic R appeared not only on the reverse of Anlaf's Derby coin, but also on the obverse of money bearing his name of the York mint.

This latter money, and another type struck by Anlaf at York, bore not only the same title, Cununc, but also the Danish war-standard, the sacred Raven; and Mr. Andrew believed that both these types were issued during this insurrection. Anlaf had been driven out of Northumbria during the short reign of his elder brother in 927, and meanwhile had succeeded to the titular kingship of Dublin, so there was no reason to suppose that he ever set foot in England after that date until he landed in the Humber with a fleet of 615 viking ships for the campaign that closed with Brunanburh. The landing in the Humber had been questioned as remote from Dublin, but no doubt he collected the viking forces of Scotland and the Isles on his way, and the Humber was always the port for York. Only at York, the Northumbrian capital, could the host of Danish forces gather with any hope of being victualled for the campaign, and the preparation of Anlaf's dies there alone not only showed that he

must have gone there first, a suggestion supported by a passage in William of Malmesbury, but also that there was a considerable interval for preparation on both sides between his landing and the final battle. Similar Danish characteristics divided the issues from the mint of Chester at this time, and one or two of the Derby-Danish moneyers interchanged with it so, adding the Nottingham instance, the numismatic evidence suggested a general rising of the Danes in Northern Mercia.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Andrew showed two pennies for comparison, one of Derby of Danish work with the contracted *Saxorum* legend, and the initial R in the field ; the other of Chester, no doubt issued after Brunanburh, of beautiful English workmanship and bearing Athelstan's title *Rex totius Britanniae* in contracted form. For these he was indebted to Mr. Frank E. Burton.

For Anlaf to issue money in his own name as King at Derby was a direct challenge to Athelstan's rule, and it proved that Derby was an outpost of Northumbria held in force against him. It would be impossible for him to advance against the Northumbrians with that force behind him, and therefore Derby must have been his first military objective ; and he would take the same route for his army along the Watling Street and its branch through Derby that had been chosen by Egberht and Edward the Elder before his day, and was again to be followed by Edmund a few years later, for their expeditions against the Northumbrians. Mr. Andrew then gave many reasons for locating the battle on a site which he thought had been curiously overlooked, but these must await the publication of the paper.

Brunanburh restored Derby to English rule, and the money then issued was English in workmanship and acknowledged Athelstan as *Rex totius Britanniae*.

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<sup>1</sup> Something of the kind would appear to have occurred also at Oxford.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, June 23rd, 1926.

Major W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The President read the names of the Officers and Council nominated for the ensuing year, and at his instance Mr. E. H. Wheeler and Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher were appointed Auditors of the accounts, and Mr. H. Alexander Parsons and Mr. R. Montagu Simon Scrutators of the ballot.

*Presentation to the Library.*

By Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds, M.A., F.S.A. :—*Oxford Tradesmen's Tokens*, by the Donor.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Donor of this admirable and particularly complete record of the tokens of the county, with biographies of the issuers.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. A. E. Bagnall :—Two sets of "sovereign scales," one by W. and T. Avery and the other by Stephen Houghton and Son.

By Dr. E. C. Carter :—Shillings of James I with bust I and II and mint-mark thistle; with bust III and mint-mark lis; with bust IV and mint-marks scallop and key respectively; with bust V and mint-marks coronet, bell, star and tun; with bust VI and mint-marks key and rose.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence :—Six boxes of scales and weights, two being of the period of James I and the other four, one very elaborately and beautifully carved, foreign.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—A series of fifteen coin weights of different periods for English and for foreign coins circulating in England.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—A very extensive and interesting collection of money scales and coin-weighing appliances in illustration of his paper. Many of these were of very delicate and elaborate workmanship, and they included new and beautiful types.

*Papers.*

NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF MONEY SCALES AND OTHER  
COIN-WEIGHING APPLIANCES.

By V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., F.S.A.

In introducing the subject the speaker said that coin weights appeared to be attracting the attention of numismatists in an increasing degree. Since the publication of the paper by their Vice-President, Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., in Volume VI of the *Journal*, Messrs. Sheppard and Musham had issued their "Money Scales and Weights" in 1923, and several other works and papers had appeared in this interesting series. The series exhibited made no claim to be more than an average collection of typical specimens and there was no intention to describe them in detail. The foreign boxes of weights included one anonymous French example ; four German boxes bearing the printed labels, respectively, of Abraham Kruse, of Schwelm, Westphalia ; Johann Caspar Mittelstenscheid, of Lennep, Rhenish Prussia ; Johann Daniel vom Berg, also of Lennep ; and T. Melchior Kruse, of Elberfeld, Prussia. Three boxes were of Dutch or Flemish provenance, one bearing an interesting label of J. F. Wolschot, who was a well-known maker in Antwerp, several of his boxes being in The Hague Museum ; and another, without a maker's label, had the weights stamped with the mark of the town of Bruges.

The English wooden boxes of weights fell into two divisions : those cut out of the solid, or "dug-out," and those put together in



the ordinary way. Three of the former class bore the makers' labels, "Edmund Jenks at y<sup>e</sup> Angell & Star in S<sup>t</sup> Ans Lane, nere Aldersgate"; "Made by Henry Oxly N<sup>o</sup> 230 Upper Thames Street London"; and "Henry Neale at y<sup>e</sup> end of S<sup>t</sup> Bartholomew Lane near the Royal Exchange London", the pans in this case being stamped "H.N." Another box contained a brass-lidded locker, on which was stamped "I. W. Herberts—London."

A topographical interest attaching to the "built" boxes lay in the names of the makers recorded on the labels, which were as follows:—"Thos. Goulding at the Angel and Scales N<sup>o</sup> 15 Queen Street, Cheapside, London"; and "James Kirk N<sup>o</sup> 52 S<sup>t</sup> Paul's Churchyard, London." The latter, whose name was apparently unrecorded, was doubtless a member of the same family as Arthur Kirk and the more famous John; and the weights in the box were mostly by John Kirk. Also "I. & O. Westwood, Birmingham", whose name, stamped on weights, is familiar; "S. Read in St. Ann's Lane near Aldersgate London"; "Freeman & New in Leadenhall Street London Scale makers to His Majesty's Mint, Exchequer, Bank of England &c"; "Basil Hunt at N<sup>o</sup> 48 in Edmund Street Birmingham"; and "Sewell & Young, at the Hand & Scales, N<sup>o</sup> 5 in Bear Street, Leicester fields."

Five examples of boxes covered with shagreen were exhibited, two with labels "Henry Neale at y<sup>e</sup> end of S<sup>t</sup> Bartholomew Lane near the Royall Exchange London"; and "Henry Neale Franting of S<sup>t</sup> Bartholomew Lane", etc., as before. The Royal Arms of William III appeared on both these labels.

Nine examples of the familiar japanned or "Pontypool-lacquer" boxes were shown and eleven varieties, one being of brass, of the automatically rising coin balances. The names of the makers of the latter included those of James Spyers, 121 Cheapside; De Grave and Son; A. Wilkinson, and Stephen Houghton of Ormskirk, and W. and T. Avery of Birmingham.

Some of these balances were simply scales with independent weights, whilst others, by a proper manipulation of the turns and slide would weigh the guinea, half- and one-third guinea, sovereign

and half-sovereign. One example made by Bate of London, named "Cotton's balance," was a most delicately made instrument of brass and steel in a mahogany case.

#### PORTRAITS ON THE SHILLINGS OF JAMES I.

By ERNEST C. CARTER, M.D.

Dr. Carter exhibited a series of these shillings to illustrate the six varieties into which Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson, F.S.A., had classified the busts of James I in his "English Silver Coins of James I" in Volume IV of the *Journal*, and described the distinctions.

Amongst those of the period 1608-1619, which included the mint-marks coronet, bell, martlet, tower, trefoil, cinquefoil, key, tun, and book, he pointed out very distinct differences in the details of some of the busts described as of the fifth period. More particularly was this to be seen on a shilling with the mint-mark key, which showed a flattened nose to the profile, giving it a general resemblance to Michael Angelo, and in execution the bust was much superior to that of others of the same class. This excellence of workmanship did not, however, extend to the legend, which, as usual on these later coins, was slovenly; nor to the striking or finish of the die, which was uneven, and much inferior to that of the still later coins with mint-mark tun.

It was not suggested that the peculiar portrait of the King was a more truthful likeness, but rather that the artist was able to give distinction and dignity where these qualities were scantily bestowed by nature. Nor was it proposed to interfere with the Morrieson classification, which was adequate for a series already complicated enough for the student or collector of the coins of this reign.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, October 27th, 1926.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

The Chairman regretted the unavoidable absence of the President, Major W. J. Freer, through illness.

Miss Mildred M. Seaby and Mr. Herbert A. Seaby were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Andrew explained that, to his deep regret, it would be impossible for him to give the necessary time and attention to the Society's affairs in his official capacity next year, but he hoped that Members would elect him a Member of the Council, and he would help in every way he possibly could.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—Rings and coins for comparison. This interesting selection included a gold ring with the head of Aesculapius as on the Roman coins ; a Roman officer's ring enclosing a coin of Valens, for the portrait of the Emperor, and awarded then much as our D.S.O. is to-day ; a Roman soldier's identity ring, with his number under the patina ; a ring with a coral cameo portrait attributed to Galba ; a silver ring with a team of horses as on the prototype of the early British coinage ; a bronze ring with a horse exactly similar to that on Cunobeline's coin, *Evans XII, 8*, and another bearing a head similar to that on the sceatta series.

The medallic plaque illustrated, and believed to be of the War of Independence, representing an American soldier beneath the Cap of Liberty defending "the four books." As it was unknown to the British Museum, to the

American Museum, and to the American Numismatic Society, any information as to its issue would be gratefully welcomed.



A MEDALLIC PLAQUE IN BRONZE OF  
THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.  
(Actual size.)

By Mr. R. Donald Bain :—A medalet, dated 1733, bearing on one side "PAKINGTON for EVER", beneath a glass, a bottle and two crossed pipes; and on the opposite side "EXCISE 1733", between branches of hops above and a bouquet of three hops below.

It appeared to be unpublished, and was considered by Dr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum to refer to the agitation against Walpole's Excise Bill of 1733, and to someone prominent in the agitation.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—A brass token, slightly smaller than a shilling, apparently of the time of Charles I. Obverse, three crowns in pale similar in shape to those on the Richmond farthings, with a fleur de lys on each side.

Reverse, THE | TOKEN | FOR THE | CVRE, in 4 lines ; above and below a small crown flanked by the Prince of Wales's feathers. No doubt a token or pass used for the ceremony of Touching for the King's Evil. See Miss Helen Farquhar's "Royal Charities," Volume XII of the *Journal*, p. 121.

A medal cast in brass. Obverse, Bust of the Duke of Cumberland inscribed GVLIELMVS DVX CVM'BRIAE and copied from the 1745 medal by T. Pingo, Med: Ill: ii. 607-265, which had for its reverse a lion overcoming a wolf, IVSTITIA · TRIVMPHANS, and was stated to have been "also used for the metallic tickets struck for the Duke of Cumberland's Theatre and inscribed on the reverse, BOX, GALLERY, &c." Reverse, a bell in very high relief and occupying most of the field ; below, 1746.

Medal of the Duke of Cumberland with obverse, also copied from Pingo's medal, and on the reverse a Highlander kneeling before the crowned rampant lion of England ; below, 1746. Med: Ill: ii. 616-286.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence :—Noble of Henry VI of the annulet coinage of London, with trefoil in the second quarter by the lion.

By Mr. R. C. Lockett :—Silver pennies of David I of Scotland of the type of Stephen's first issue ✠EREBALD : ON ED . . . ; ✠DE[RIND] O : [E]DON ; . . . . ON EDEN, with obverse DAVID blundered ; ✠FOLBOLD : O : ROCE ; the coin of Carlisle with the cummin leaf in place of sceptre, illustrated in Volume VII of the *Journal*, p. 50.

By Mr. S. M. Spink :—Silver penny of Stephen, ✠EREBALD : ON CAR[D].

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—Silver halfpenny of Edward III with pellet before EDWARDVS, annulet after EDWARDVS and after REX ; on the reverse the final N of LONDON

terminated in an annulet. A brass blank countermarked CORKE. A Spanish coin countermarked with crown and G.P., probably for the Azores. A Victorian rupee countermarked PM, probably for Mozambique. The scarce Natal Durban Club sixpence of 1860.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Silver penny of David I of Scotland. Obverse, **✠DERIND ON ED.** Also the silver penny of Matilda, attributed by Mr. Andrew to the Carlisle mint, from the Roth collection and Nottingham find.

By Mr. C. Winter :—Bronze-gilt medal for the Peace of Paris, 1856. Obverse, a winged figure of Peace presenting a palm branch to Europa, who is seated, her left arm resting on a shield : the whole within a circle of a series of panels with portraits of the European Sovereigns—Queen Victoria, King Victor II, the Emperor Alexander II, the Emperor Francis Joseph, King William IV, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Emperor Napoleon III. Dividing the portraits are Cupid figures representing Fame or Victory. Reverse, PAX CONCILIATA LUTETIAE PARISIORUM DXXX MART A MDCCCLVI, within a floral border.

Bronze-gilt medal for France and Poland. Obverse, two female figures representing France succouring Poland, who holds in her right hand a Polish Standard and Sword, inscription TU NE MOURRAS PAS. Exergue, MDCCCXXXI. Reverse, a circle of stars A L'HEROIQUE POLOGNE, below, laurel and palm branch and a small lion. Edge, POLES AT HARWICH TO THEIR NOBLE FRIEND LORD DUDLEY COUTTS STUART M.P. 1834.

Silver jetton. Full-faced portrait of Charles II, crowned ; beaded border. Struck hollow.

Charles II crown, 1649 (?), mint-mark fleur de lys. Obverse, a large crown, inscription CAR II etc. Reverse, the value, as V below s, within the legend. This coin is



believed to have been struck by the Marquis of Ormonde, who proclaimed Charles II as King within about a fortnight of the death of Charles I.

Silver Medal of the Photographic Society of London for 1853.

*Paper.*

SILVER COIN OF THE TIME OF STEPHEN BEARING THE MINT-NAME  
EDEN.

Mr. Lawrence described and showed an interesting coin of Stephen's first type reading **STIFNE RE : ✠** and on the reverse **✠EREBALD : ON EDEN**, without the inner circle on the obverse. London punches, he said, were not used for its production, and the obverse was from the same die as the penny described by Mr. Andrew from the Sheldon hoard and illustrated as Pl. II, No. 24, in Volume VII of the *Journal*, but the reverse of the latter was there provisionally read **✠ODARD : ON : LARD**, Carlisle, for the mint-name and initial letter of the moneyers were not certain. There were other coins of the type which strongly resembled those two on the obverse, but the colon after **E** was absent, and all were clearly Carlisle issues by the moneyer Erebald. The reverses of all showed the same style of workmanship, and the letters common to them were of precisely the same form, a form quite different from any on the regular coins from London-made punches.

The interest in the coin exhibited centred in the name of its mint EDEN. The story of the moneyer Erebald, so far as the lecturer knew it, was that he was striking at Carlisle in the last type of Henry I, and in the first type of Stephen ; also at Corbridge for Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and at Edinburgh for King David. One of Erebald's coins of the mint EDEN, exhibited by Mr. Lockett that evening, was of the same style as that under notice.

The question naturally asked, continued Mr. Lawrence, was, did EDEN stand for Edinburgh, and if it did how was Stephen's name upon its obverse to be accounted for ? There could be several possibilities. Erebald might have had the obverse die in his possession

when he left Carlisle for Edinburgh and by accident mismatched his dies if he struck the coin there; or similarly he may have mismatched his dies if he struck it at Carlisle. Neither of these alternatives was attractive, because a moneyer was liable to heavy penalties for issuing anything of that kind. The possibility of the coin having been struck at Edinburgh by Stephen's orders was surely out of the question, for Stephen's writ never ran at Edinburgh. David might have ordered it, but to put Stephen's name on it would have been both offensive and unnecessary, as David's money with his own name on it passed current in England. Also in those days the people could not read: they took their money and had their scales ready to weigh it.

There was just one more possibility—that EDEN on this and on Mr. Lockett's coin stood for a mint which, like Carlisle, was changing hands frequently in the North Country. Such a place as Heddon on the Wall, Hadrian's wall, not far from Newcastle, might be such a place. Such an attribution would appeal more to him, Mr. Lawrence, for the coin, than the alternative that it was struck at Edinburgh by David's order.

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#### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

*Tuesday, November 30th, 1926.*

Major W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. Arthur R. Denton, Mr. Arthur Probsthain, and the Reading Public Libraries—Mr. W. H. Greenhough, Chief Librarian—were elected Members.

The Council's Report, which with the Treasurer's Accounts is printed later, was read by Mr. W. J. Andrew and unanimously adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer, Sir William Wells, F.S.A., presented the Society's Accounts for the year. They were explained in detail

and comparison made with the previous year. The Meeting congratulated Sir William Wells upon his Accounts, which were unanimously passed. Votes of thanks were passed to Sir William Wells and to the Auditors, Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. E. H. Wheeler, for their services.

The President in a few well-chosen words presented, on behalf of the Society, its Gold Medal to Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler in acknowledgment of his valued services, 1917-1926. Mr. Wheeler, in reply, expressed his sincere appreciation of the honour awarded to him by the Members.

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons and Mr. F. Warren were appointed Scrutators for the Ballots that evening.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—Twelve examples of the " bowed " money of Shakespeare when, after the introduction of the three-cornered hat, it assumed that form. Mr. Andrew explained that the flat hats were worn over the wigs and were still represented by the Judge's black cap. " Bowed " money was given on engagements to clench the bargain, and for luck.

Fifteenth-century talisman of St. George.

A gipsy talisman from Lewes with an Arabic inscription of about A.D. 1600.

Gold memorial ring of Nelson.

By Mr. Thos. G. Barnett :—Charles I. Two siege pieces of Newark of the value of half a crown, showing that more than one pair of dies were used in striking this particular value.

Charles II. Royalist issue of the Dublin Crown and Half-crown. The crown appeared to bear portions of the London plate mark of 1638-9.

By Mr. Frank E. Burton :—Four examples of the Newark penny of 1811 (Davis 13 and 14), which included a proof, two ordinary specimens of Davis 13 and 14, and a variety of Davis 14 with plain edge which appeared to be unrecorded.

By Dr. Ernest C. Carter :—Elizabeth, milled sixpence of 1561 on which the dress is plain. This variety appears to be unrecorded.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—An interesting series of seven medallic and ten ring tobacco-stoppers. The former included (1) Charles I with reverse Queen Anne. (2) Charles I with reverse Henrietta Maria (cf. *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 355, No. 216). (3) Charles II, FEAR GOD HONNOVR THE KING, and reverse, crowned shield with supporters — C. R. (cf. *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 449, No. 32). (4) Medal: obverse (cf. *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 578, No. 250). (5) Similar, but without legends. (6) Trial of Dr. Henry Sacheverell: bust, H. SACH; D.D.; reverse mitre, IS FIRM TO THEE (cf. *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 367, No. 210). (7) Queen Anne farthing with reverse Britannia.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—Australian silver tokens. The Tasmania shilling of 1823, the threepenny-token of James Campbell of Morpeth, two varieties of the threepenny-token of J. C. Thornthwaite, Sydney, 1854, and seven varieties of the threepenny-token of Hogarth Erichsen & Co., Sydney, 1858–60.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—Medallion, slightly concave,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter. Head of Parnell, surrounded by the inscription "Ireland's Army of Independence, 1891," and an outer wreath of shamrocks, right, and ivy leaves, left: reverse "Let my love/be/conveyed/to my Colleagues/and the/Irish people." The medal has a bar, on green ribbon, and the inscription "Ireland a Nation."

By Mr. Frederick A. Walters :—Romano-British coins, of Hadrian, of the denominations sestertius, as, and dupondius, all with legend BRITTANIA ; of Antoninus Pius, a sestertius with legend BRITTANIA ; of Antoninus Pius, a sestertius with legend BRITAN, and an as with legend BRITTANIA ; of Commodus, a medallion with legend BRITANNIA.

By Mr. Charles Winter :—A unique group of five decorations awarded to David Barry, A.B., H.M.S. Cracker :—

1. Crimea, three bars—Inkermann, Sebastopol, Azoff.
2. Medal, for Conspicuous Gallantry (1st issue), 14th October, 1855.
3. Medal, for Conspicuous Gallantry (1st issue), 6th November, 1855.
4. Badge of the Legion of Honour.
5. Turkish Crimean medal.

David Barry was the only recipient of two medals for Conspicuous Gallantry, which was the medal superseded by the institution of the Victoria Cross. Barry was recommended for the V.C., but the recommendation was omitted to be put forward. The medals were awarded for saving the lives of wounded officers, under heavy fire, on each occasion.

A Group of Decorations awarded to Lieut.-Colonel Bryan O'Toole, 39th Regt. and 7th Caçadores :—

1. Gold Cross for the Battles of Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees.
2. Field Officer's Gold Medal for Ciudad Rodrigo, with clasp, Salamanca.
3. Enamelled Gold Badge of Companion of the Order of the Bath, Military Division.

4. Enamelled Gold Badge of the Order of the Tower and the Sword of Portugal.
5. Gold Badge of the Order of the Tower and Sword.
6. Miniature Badge of the Order of St. Louis.

Lieut.-Colonel Bryan O'Toole was a Cornet in Hompesch's Hussars in 1793; Captain 39th Foot, 1803; Brevet-Major, 1808; Lieut.-Colonel, 1813. He served under the Duke of Brunswick, was at the taking of Verdun, Battle of Genappe, Battle of Charleroi; served in the West Indies at St. Domingo, in Ireland at Vinegar Hill, Battle of Maida, and throughout the Peninsular Campaign. Died in 1826.

A Group of Decorations awarded to Quarter-Master Charles Wooden, V.C., 17th Lancers :—

1. The Victoria Cross, 25th October, 1854.
2. Crimea, four bars—Alma, Balaklava, Inkermann, Sebastopol.
3. Indian Mutiny medal.
4. French War medal.
5. Turkish Crimea.

One of the Light Brigade in the cavalry charge at Balaklava; awarded the Victoria Cross for assisting Surgeon Mouat in saving the life of a distinguished officer, whom he, with others, carried to safety.

William IV. King's Messenger Badge in gilt, worn by Paymaster Wm. Castle. The Royal Arms painted in colours on a white ground, above, W.IV.R in blue letters, and the whole within the Garter—pierced, crowned, and a silver greyhound pendant.



### THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

Mr. Taffs, as Joint-Secretary, presented the following Report of the Council for the year 1926 :

In presenting its twenty-third Annual Report the Council regrets to record the death of a Royal Member and an Honorary Member. In the death of Her Majesty Queen Louise of Denmark we lose a Royal Member, who had interested herself in the Society for more than twenty years. The Countess of Yarborough was a well-known art connoisseur, her speciality being the collection of Kneller's pictures. She was an original Member and had been an Honorary Member since 1905.

The Council also deeply regrets the loss from the same cause of ten other Members. Of these, Mr. Edgar M. Burnett, Mr. W. Sharp Ogden, F.S.A., Fleet-Surgeon A. E. Weightman, R.N., O.B.E., F.S.A., and Mr. G. Hamilton-Smith were all late or former Members of the Council. It will be remembered that it was to Mr. Burnett that the Society was largely indebted for the very successful exhibition of Stuart relics that was held last January. Mr. Ogden, an original Member of the Society, contributed several important papers to the pages of our *Journal*, his best known being "Concerning the evolution of some reverse types of the Anglo-Norman coinage," "A find of Roman bronze coins on the Little Orme's Head, North Wales," and one on "Shakspeare's portraiture: painted, graven and medallic." He used to be a familiar figure at our Meetings until, as an octogenarian, age claimed its limitations, and he will be sadly missed by all who knew him. Fleet-Surgeon A. E. Weightman was a donor to the Society in its early years, and also a contributor to our pages. His strong point was his study of the copper coinage of England, his chief papers being "The Royal farthing tokens, 1613-1636," and the "Bronze coins of Queen Victoria." Mr. G. Hamilton-Smith, whose sudden death occurred since the last Meeting of the Society, had of late years been a more familiar figure at our Meetings than previously, and had been nominated by the Council to the position of Vice-President for the ensuing year. He was a man of sound judgment,

and his knowledge of the Carolian and later Stuart coins especially was deep and scholarly, and it is the more to be regretted that his knowledge has never been imparted to the Society in the pages of our *Journal*. He will, however, be remembered as a prominent collector of war medals and decorations, for his collection of these is probably second to none.

Five Members have resigned, but on the other hand the Society has welcomed the following ten new Members :—

Dr. Charles W. Burr.

Colonel A. H. Coles, C.M.G., D.S.O.

Mr. Arthur R. Denton.

Mr. Hugh George Goodacre.

Mr. Arthur S. Marsden-Smedley.

Mr. Arthur Probsthain.

The Reading Public Libraries, Chief Librarian, Mr. W. H. Greenhough.

Mr. B. Walter Russell.

Miss Mildred Mary Seaby.

Mr. Herbert Allen Seaby.

From the above it will be seen that the number of new Members elected falls short of the total loss of Members and, in fact, the Treasurer points out that although the Society has considerable capital funds invested, upon its existing Income Account the Society will not be justified in issuing more than one volume of the present high, and therefore expensive, quality oftener than every two years.

The Council, therefore, would again like to impress upon all Members the necessity of endeavouring to bring into membership any friends who are interested in numismatics or in the welfare of the Society in order to enable it still to maintain the issue of a volume at any rate every eighteen months, if not to return to its pre-war practice of every year. It is admitted in these days that the counter-attraction of motoring and sport proves a greater pleasure to many than scientific or other research, yet it behoves each and every Member to do his or her best to advance the aims of the Society. In this

connection it is interesting to note that one of the Members of the Council—Mr. R. C. Lockett, F.S.A.—has offered a sum of £50 if the Society adopt the scheme suggested by Mr. Andrew of issuing a prospectus in the form of a general circular to make the objects of our Society far more widely known, and thus secure the necessary influx of new Members from the general public who have never been approached.

The President, Major W. J. Freer, has, with two exceptions when illness prevented him from doing so, presided over all the Meetings of the Society, in spite of the fact that such attendance has necessitated his journeying from Leicester.

Sir William Wells has carried out his duties as Treasurer with his customary care and efficiency, and in particular, as the result of negotiations with the Inland Revenue Commissioners, he has obtained a refund of £90 Income Tax paid in respect of the Society's investments. £27 4s. 9d. of the above amount appears in this year's Accounts.

The Society has been fortunate, when for the first time Income Tax should have been claimed from the Society and from others of similar scientific and historical character under the financial pressure of the moment, in having as its Treasurer Sir William Wells, who has ever the financial interests of the Society at heart.

Mr. Parsons, as Librarian, has again earned the best thanks of the Society for his continued good work in the section under his control. Several additions have been made to the Library by various donors, and these have been duly acknowledged in our Reports. Special mention should be made of the valuable gift of Volume IX of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*. This was the gift of His Majesty the King of Italy, who is a Royal Member of the Society, and the work as now represented by its nine volumes is a valuable and beautiful series.

The attendances at our Meetings have been fairly satisfactory, and that at the Stuart Meeting of January was probably a record in

the Society's history, but it would be more gratifying to the Council if an improvement could be made in this respect in the general average. The papers that have been read before the Society have certainly deserved a larger attendance than was occasionally accorded to them. A special feature of the session was the highly successful exhibition of Stuart Art and Relics which was held in January last, to which reference has just been made. The grateful thanks of the Society are due to Sir William Plender and Mr. P. D. Griffiths, F.S.A., for allowing the Society to draw unsparingly from their invaluable collections the wealth of Stuart Art and historic relics then so generously displayed.

Owing to a series of family bereavements, Mr. Andrew, greatly to his regret, has been forced to realize that the claims on his time will be such as to prevent him from continuing his official duties of the Society in the coming year, and it therefore became necessary for the Council to appoint someone to help him at first, and at Mr. Andrew's suggestion the Council appointed Mr. Taffs to give such assistance as was possible, but now Mr. Andrew has found it necessary to resign the post of Editor of the *Journal* which he has held for so many years. Although nothing but the warmest thanks are due to Mr. Andrew for his valued services in the past in producing, with one or two exceptions, the series of volumes the Society has issued since its inauguration, yet from his point of view it has been a labour of love, for the *British Numismatic Journal* has always been very dear to him.

The Council has unanimously appointed Mr. Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S., to fill the post of Editor, and for this purpose has nominated him as a Joint Secretary with Mr. Taffs, although it is understood that the two offices will be now distinct. Mr. Anscombe was a very early Member of the Society and acted as a Joint Secretary in 1906, 1907, and 1908, so the work is no new thing to him. He was elected an Honorary Member in 1911, and the Council would like to take this opportunity of welcoming him back again as an "active" Officer of the Society in the new capacity as Editor. As a fitting

welcome to the new Editor, and as a compliment to the retiring Editor, the Council trusts that all Members will do their utmost to produce papers for the *Journal*, so that the volume will maintain its usual high standard and be in itself the best advertisement of the good work done by the Society. No doubt the Members will appreciate the fact that as the Israelites of old were unable to make bricks without straw, so will your new Editor be unable to produce a volume without the necessary material.

Mr. Andrew specially desires to express his thanks to Mr. Taffs for the help he has so ably and so kindly given in carrying on the Secretarial work of the Society, and the Council wishes to endorse this with its own appreciation and confidence in the future.

The Council desires to express its thanks to Mr. E. H. Wheeler and Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher for undertaking the duties of Auditors of the Accounts, and to Mr. H. Alexander Parsons and Mr. F. Warren for undertaking the Scrutators' duties at the Ballots to be held this evening.

Sir William H. Wells will make his own report to you, and you will, we are sure, accord him your grateful thanks for so ably carrying out his duties as Treasurer.

In a previous year the Society presented its medal to the late Mr. Saltus in recognition of his interest in and support of the Society. The Council and the Members have unanimously decided that Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler, who so generously followed in the footsteps of Mr. Saltus, has earned and well deserves a like acknowledgment. A similar medal therefore has been prepared for presentation to him at the Anniversary Meeting this evening, in recognition of his valuable services.

Acknowledgment should be paid to Miss Farquhar, who always makes a contribution to the Society's funds towards the expense of illustrating her papers, and this year she has again made her usual donation of £10.

The Report was unanimously adopted.



Sir William Wells, F.S.A., as Honorary Treasurer, presented and explained in detail his Accounts, which were in printed form and audited by the Members Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler, as Honorary Auditors under the Rules, and professionally by Messrs. Gilberts, Hallett and Eglington, Chartered Accountants. They were duly passed, and are appended to this Report.

### THE BALLOTS.

The Scrutators reported that the Members<sup>1</sup> nominated by the Council had been elected, namely :—

#### OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1927.

*President*:—Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents*:—V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., F.S.A. ; Lionel L. Fletcher ; Grant R. Francis, F.S.A. ; G. Hamilton-Smith ; Richard C. Lockett, F.S.A. ; Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.

*Director*:—Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.

*Treasurer*:—Sir William Wells, F.S.A.

*Librarian*:—H. Alexander Parsons.

*Secretaries*:—H. W. Taffs, M.B.E. ; Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S.

*Council*:—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A. ; Thomas G. Barnett, F.S.A. ; Frank E. Burton ; Ernest C. Carter, M.D. ; Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Evans ; Miss Farquhar ; Willoughby Gardner, F.S.A., F.L.S. ; Lord Grantley, D.L., F.S.A. ; Horace Herbert King ; L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A. ; J. O. Manton ; The Rev. Edgar Rogers, O.B.E., M.A. ; Frederick Toplis ; Ernest H. Wheeler ; Charles Winter.

### THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL.

The Scrutators having reported that this Medal had been awarded by a majority of the votes to Mr. Grant R. Francis, F.S.A., for his papers on the Tower Mint of Charles I, the President congratulated him on behalf of the Society.

<sup>1</sup> One Vice-President, Mr. G. Hamilton-Smith, originally nominated died suddenly on November 18th, 1926.



*Anniversary Meeting, November 30th, 1926.*

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[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET, *November 18th, 1926.*

[illegible]

November 23rd, 1926.

## NOTE.

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 VOLUME XVI (1921-22).

Since his paper on "The Coinage of Oxford, 1642-46," was printed, Colonel Morrieson has discovered the following additional reverse variety of the shilling of 1643, which Members may like to insert, after No. 8, on p. 157 of their volumes:—

Mint-mark, large pellet. As No. 1, but the Declaration is in smaller lettering, and reads PROT and PAR, instead of PRO and PA. There are no pellets after PROT, ANG, or PAR; and only a single pellet between the words of the legend. Found with obverse D.

Also, on p. 162, it should be noted that the sixpences with obverse A are found with reverses 1 and 2; and those with obverse B with reverse 2.



LISTS OF MEMBERS  
OF  
The British Numismatic Society

ON  
JANUARY 1ST, 1928.

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PATRON: HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

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ROYAL MEMBERS.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.  
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

*In Alphabetical Order.*

HIS MAJESTY ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.  
HIS MAJESTY CHRISTIAN X., KING OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.  
HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.  
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.  
HIS MAJESTY HAARON VII., KING OF NORWAY.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.  
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII., KING OF SPAIN.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SPAIN.  
HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV, KING OF SWEDEN.  
HER MAJESTY VICTORIA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN.  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.  
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN.  
HIS MAJESTY KING MANUEL II.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

*In Order of Election.*

1903. SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Deputy  
Keeper of the Public Records, 61, Warwick Square, London, S.W. 1.
1905. VERNON HORACE RENDALL, Esq., B.A., 15, Wellesley Mansions, Kensington,  
London, W.
1911. ALFRED ANSCOMBE, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 30, Albany Road, London, N. 4.



MEMBERS.

*The sign \* signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

*The sign † signifies that the member has died.*

- 1905. \*à-ABABRELTON, ROBERT, Esq., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S., Post Box 322, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa; 30, Killyon Road, Clapham Rise, London, S.W. 4.
- 1921. ABBOTT, DR. G. H., President of the Australian Numismatic Society, 185, Macquarie Street, Sydney, Australia.
- 1904. ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian, Aberdeen.
- 1907. ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, W. Douglas Simpson, Esq., D.Litt., Librarian, Aberdeen.
- 1906. AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York.
- 1903. ANDREW, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., The Old House, Michelmersh, near Romsey, Hampshire.
- 1906. ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
- 1915. ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, Edinburgh, J. Graham Callander, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary.
- 1904. ARMSTRONG, FRANK, Esq., "The Moorlands," Cornhill Road, Davyhulme, near Urmston, Manchester.
  
- 1922. BAGNALL, A. E., Esq., 3, Castle Road, Shipley, Yorkshire.
- 1905. BAIRD, THE REV. DR. ANDREW B., 247, Colony Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
- 1903. BALDWIN, A. H., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, London, W.C. 2.
- 1923. BALDWIN, A. H. F., Esq., 40, Craven Street, London, W.C. 2.
- 1903. BALDWIN, PERCY J. D., Esq., 2, Glenesk Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
- 1904. \*BARNARD, ROBERT, Esq., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., c/o Messrs. Gibson and Weldon, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.

1921. BARNETT, THOMAS G., Esq., F.S.A., Monument Farm, Rednal, near Birmingham.
1907. BARRETT, SIDNEY EDWARD, Esq., B.A., M.B., F.Z.S., The Limes, Tillingham, near Southminster, Essex.
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