ROYAL CHARITIES.

(SECOND SERIES.)

PART V.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.

The Maundy Pennies and Small Currencies.

BEFORE offering some remarks on the technical side of the Maundy question, which many of us are accustomed to view as dating especially from the beginning of the milled coinage, let us turn for a few moments to the historic changes in the ceremony, which had, we believe, suffered some eclipse during the Commonwealth.

In our last volume,¹ we gave a very exact account of the pedilavium, as practised by the Tudors. Let us now see to what extent the ancient ceremonial was revived, when the Restoration of the Stuarts brought back the happy relations between the Sovereign and his people.

Charles II, coming from a life of wandering to a magnificent reception in his late father's kingdom is said to have exclaimed that his subjects appeared so glad to see him, he wondered he had not been sooner recalled. But he was far too clever to let this new-found popularity subside, and even before reaching the country of his birth, he resumed the old custom of touching for the "King's Evil." Akin to this practice, although less onerous, in that it was only of yearly instead of almost weekly occurrence, was the little less fatiguing ceremony of washing the feet of the poor, and on the first Maundy Thursday after his arrival, Charles II revived the pedilavium.

We have seen that the personal ministration had been omitted by Queen Elizabeth in time of plague and that Charles I, although he was punctual in his attendance and witnessed the ceremony, did not always himself wash the feet of the Maundy pensioners. At York, for instance, in 1639 and 1642, "the Bishop of Winchester performed the usual ceremonies" on the King's behalf.1

But Charles II had no mind to "go on his travels again" and was desirous of taking every possible opportunity of assuring his popularity. He therefore at once resumed the personal ministration, although his chaplain, William Sancroft, in preparing for the Eastertide ceremonies had shown no expectation of the punctilious care with which the King wished to revive the ancient ceremonial.

Charles II did not lack courage, and undeterred by plague, which again made its appearance to a small extent in 1661, and was quite prevalent by 1663, he received his pensioners in person at Whitehall, although it was sometimes necessary to postpone the "Healings" during the hot weather. In 1643 the plague, which had been frequently notified in the early years of Charles I's reign was again rife and had prevented Healings at Oxford. But we saw in our last volume2 that both in 1643 and 1644 the Maundy service was celebrated, Charles I providing the gifts for it in the University city, in a time of some difficulty,4 but we have no detailed account of the pedilavium in these two years, and it would most likely be performed by the Bishop as in 1639 and 1642 at York.

Seeing therefore that Charles II's personal participation in the

1 Drake's *Eboracum*, pp. 137 and 144, quoted in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xix, pp. 120–2.
2 From the time of James I the plague was prevalent at intervals, but in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century we note frequent postponements of "Healings" even for such minor dangers as small-pox. See *Collection of Proclamations*, *Society of Antiquaries*, February, vol. iii, 1634, No. 194, and *State Papers, Domestic Various*, P.R.O. 187. *The Mercurius Aulicus*, March 26, 1643, p. 154, mentions that Charles I put up a notice at the gates of Oxford forbidding anyone to come and be healed before the following Michaelmas.
4 Public Record Office *Pells Order Books*, Nos. 40 and 41.
ceremony is circumstantially reported in contemporary documents let us glance at the evolution of the service before we pass to the consideration of the small coins of the monarch usually designated as "Maundy Money."

We have seen that it was a long and fatiguing procedure not only for the officials but for the aged poor. In these days the recipients are relieved from a long attendance and the Office at Westminster Abbey, beautiful as it is, consists of a modified service. It begins with a single verse—the 34th only—instead of a whole chapter from St. John xiii, followed by a few prayers, the 91st Psalm, again a prayer, an anthem and the first sixteen verses of the thirteenth chapter of St. John. Then comes the first distribution of money in lieu of clothing, during the singing of another anthem, followed by a second lesson taken from St. Matthew xcv. The substitution of a money gift for the clothing, effected as regards the women in 1724 and the men in 1882 materially shortens the service. The old custom of "redeeming" the Royal robe worn by the Sovereign during the ceremony of washing the feet is still in force although the pedilavium is not practised, but it now takes the form of a Treasury Note for £1, presented in the red bag, whereas until the later years of the Great War it was a Golden Sovereign. To this £1 is added another thirty shillings to take the place of the long feast of provisions. The white purse containing the Maundy silver is then handed by the Almoner to the old men and to the same number of women—this number being decided according to the original custom by the age of the monarch with an added year of grace as of old. Another anthem is sung followed by the versicle and response: "O Lord Save the King"—"And mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee," and the service terminates with two prayers, and finally Psalm c. and the Blessing. This was the service

1 34s. to the women, and 45s. to the men. The Old Royal Palace of Whitehall, pp. 355 and 357, by Edgar Sheppard, Sub-Dean of the Chapels Royal.
2 Information kindly supplied by Mr. Lawrence Tanner, F.S.A., Secretary of His Majesty's Royal Almonry.
3 During the war another prayer was added for the Troops.
as I actually witnessed it in 1914 and 1915, at which time the red purse was still provided with real gold. The white bag in 1914, when his present Majesty was in his 49th year, contained 5 Fourpenny, 4 Threepenny, 5 Twopenny pieces, and 7 Pennies. In 1915, the second time I witnessed the presentation, the gifts were allotted to fifty men and fifty women, the money being sent to those who were not able to attend. It has been my privilege and good fortune again to be present on the historic occasion when in 1932, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, His Gracious Majesty, King George V, himself distributed the purses to his people, the first Monarch since the days of James II to perform this stately ceremony; symbolical of his desire ever to be at the service of his subjects. Each white purse now contained six complete sets from fourpence to a penny, with an extra fourpenny and threepenny piece, sixty-seven pence in all. It is unnecessary to give an exact account of the gradual changes in ritual from the Tudor times until now, but it is interesting to note how the comfort of the recipients is considered, especially in its brevity, for "The Order of the Maundy" as set out in the early seventeenth century in the *Old Cheque Booke of the Chapel Royal* is considerably longer.¹ This indeed it had need to be, when each anthem preceded or followed the actual distribution of gifts in kind, and one of the prayers referred to the pedilavium. The service, as there described ends with the words: "After the blessing the Lord Almoner calls for wyne and drinks to all the poore the King's health and bids them be thankful to God and pray for the King."

The custom of drinking the monarch's health was continued to the reign of Anne, and Canon The Reverend Sir Edgar Sheppard² referred to another old "Cheque Book" now in the keeping of the

¹ Published in 1872 by *The Camden Society*, pp. 178–9, edited from the original *Muniment of the Chapel Royal, St. James's*, by Edward Rimbault, LL.D. Dr. Rimbault remarks that the "Order" has been long in disuse, but judges of the date by the anthem mentioned, "O Lord make Thy servant Charles, etc.," as pointing to Stuart time.

² *The Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*, pp. 352–69.
Registrar General, wherein under date 1709, it was still said that "After the Blessing The Lord Almoner calls for Wine and drinks to all ye poore the King’s health and bids them be thankfull to God and Pray for the King." The words appear strange seeing that the monarch of the moment was a woman, namely, Queen Anne. But this repetition clearly dates from an account written under James II for a description is given of his personal administration of the pedilavium "with great humility," a practice for which Anne was too infirm.

Under William and Mary the King gave to the men and, says Delaune in his Present State of London, "the Queen does the like to diverse poor Women." Of the ceremony of "Washing the Feet" Meige, in his New State of England diplomatically writes that it "is done sometimes by the King himself and in his absence by the Lord Almoner." But we have found no grounds for supposing that William ever took any personal part in the matter. Indeed, Mr. Bidwell, late Secretary of Almonry to Queen Victoria, tells us that James II was the last monarch in England, who washed the feet of his pensioners, and Dr. Sheppard also wrote that all accounts of the Maundy between 1688 and 1724 "are somewhat vague." It appears that even if King William was not out of the kingdom he took no very special interest in the proceedings, although letters passing between the Duke of Shrewsbury, as Lord Chamberlain and his secretary, Sir John Stanley, refer to the "warrant according to custom, for providing necessaries which the King gives to the poor on Maundy Thursday." Another letter a few days earlier—February 24, 1699-1700, refers to the poor as men and no reference

1 Dr. Rimbault mentions also this later Cheque Book as in the Chapel Royal, when he was writing, containing subsequent Forms of Service. When writing in 1902 Sir Edgar Sheppard's rendering of the Victorian Service is somewhat longer than that practised.

4 The Guardian, April 5, 1893.
5 Old Royal Palace of Whitehall, pp. 355-7.
is made to women. It is possible that after Mary’s death this latter presentation had been abandoned. "The King," writes Sir John, "gives a charity on Maundy Thursday to 49 poor men whereof the Lord Chamberlain recommends two. I desire therefore to know who your Grace would have named."1 A postscript to a letter under date March 7, reminds the Duke that a reply is urgently needed "as the time is drawing near I take leave to remind your Grace of the Maundy Money."2

According to the following semi-official accounts of the proceedings, they appear to have been strictly secular, for Dawks' Newsletter of April 8, 1699, No. 439, informs us that "The 6th instant being Maundy Thursday, 49 old men met in the Guard Room at Whitehall (it being the same number as the King is yeares of Age) when they dined on Beef according to Custom after which the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, Lord

Almoner to the King, gave to each of them 2 Purses in one of which were as many silver Pence as His Majestie's Years of Age, and in the other 2os. in money, then each of them had given him 2 yards of Broadcloth for a Coat, 4 yards of Linnen Cloth for a Shirt, with New Shoes and Stockings as also a Salt Cod with Salmon 2 dozen Herrings on a Platter with a Bowl of Wine, etc. This has been Customary and practised time out of mind in all Reigns whatsoever." A similar but shorter account in Dawks' Newsletter, No. 289, of a distribution by the sub-almoner is given of the previous Maundy Thursday, April 21, 1698, and speaks of each man receiving besides "the shillings a silver Penny" but clearly this is a mistake, and a silver penny for each year of the King’s age is intended, as had been the custom in the lifetime of Mary.

1 The Buccleuch MSS., p. 641.
2 Ibid., p. 643 and a yet further reminder is sent on March 14.
But let us turn to a full description of the Maundy ceremony under Charles I which informs us that the officiant deputizing for the King kissed his own thumb, holding the beadsman's foot in his hand, rather than touching the foot itself with his lips. This was probably a precaution against plague.

Thus wrote Pagitt, whose manuscript is in the British Museum:

"Relation of the Ceremony upon Maundy Thursday at Whitehall as I saw the 18 of April 1633.

"First there were placed along the right side of the Hall, 33 poore old men, the number of men answering to the age of the King. One of these men, viz.: Goodman Board of Kingston told me that he was aged 104 yeers, and that his father and grandfather lived to the age of 120 yeers; this man had all his teeth and his senses and understanding and memory very prefect.

"2. Then came the Amners men and washed their feet with water, wherein was boyled bayes and rosemary, which made it sweete and a redd colour like claret wine.

"3. Then the Bp Almoner's Chaplain washed their feete, wiped them with a fine towell and kissed them on the instep and said the words mentioned underneath.

"4. The Bp Almoner came psently after and satt downe in a chaire wth cushions before it and then the Quire sang after wch was read a Gospell.

"5. Then the Bp Almoner washed their feete and taking their foote in his hand kissed his thumb on their foote and sayd Pray for the King and Queene and their royall issue and the Lord blesse you. Then the Bp gave every one them 1. a fine shirt. 2. three yards of broad cloath. 3. a pr of shoes. 4. a wodden platter wth green fish salmon, readherring and 2 loafs of bread. 5. A wodden

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1 Harl. MS. 1026, f. 38, Justin Pagitt's Memorandum Book. The Harley catalogue describes this manuscript as "a paper book in quarto on the outside thus entitled Liber Miscellaneorum, 1633. In truth it is a private or memorandum book wherein Justinian Pagitt, Esqre., Lawyer, used to write many odd notes for the ease of his memory." Harleian Catalogue, vol. i, 1808.
dish with clarret wine. 6. Two purses one containing 20 shillings in newe silver, the other 33 new single pence.

"Nota.—Between every one of these particulars the Quire sang and the Bp rested hymselfe in his chaire till the Gard fetched the other."

We have an equally minute account of April 16, 1663, when Charles II at the same age as his father had done thirty years earlier gave his Maundy to thirty-three of his poor subjects, and we now note his personal ministrations. We learn that "after part of Devine Service, his Majesty being girt with a towel first washed their feate and then wiped them." "Then," proceeds the narrator, "the Lord Almoner (that most prudent and reverend Prelate the Lord Bishop of Sarum) delivered in his Majesty's name to each of those poore men a purse wherein was a piece of Gold and 33 pence in silver, with allusion to so many yeares as his Majesty by God's blessing hath already lived." After which his Lordship delivered to them one by one as before, cloth to make each of them a gown or coat and linen for shirts, then shoes and stockings, then loaves of bread, then salmon, herrings and other fish in so many several Dishes and all Beare and Wine at the delivery of each of these his Lordship minded them by some text of Scripture suitable to the occasion to be thankfull and pray for his Majesty. And then his Lordship came back to attend his Majesty, who, after the rest of Devine Service and an anthem sung, left those poore creatures praying and glorifying God for his Majesty.'

Slight variants are to be found in the manuscript to which I referred at the beginning of this article as prepared by Sancroft beforehand on the Restoration. William Sancroft, born in 1617 was already chaplain to Charles II in 1661, when the first distribution of

1 Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 829, No. 27, f. 74. "Relations of the King's washing 33 poor men's feate on Maundy Thursday, 1663."

2 Charles II was born on May 29, 1630. The year of grace was therefore included, in spite of the phrase "hath already lived."

3 Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 3795, No. 11, folio 33: "The Service to be done on Maundy Thursday by the Lord Bp Almoner."
Maundy was about to take place. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1678 and dying in 1693 left a considerable collection of writings, mainly concerned with Church rubrics and ceremonies, and he was greatly instrumental in their restoration. His manuscripts may be consulted in the British Museum and at Lambeth, others again are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, or that of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Amongst those in the Harleian Manuscript Collection is one which, although undated, clearly explains the procedure as Sancroft believed it would be on April 11, 1661, for he speaks of "first white purses in every purse 31 single pence, then red purses in every one of them 20s." He tells us that the purses should be brought by "the clerkes of the Treasury," and the raiment by "the clerkes of the Wardrobe."

We note that the change from silver to a gold piece was not anticipated, neither as we have already said did the chaplain foresee that Charles II would revert to the old custom of personally washing the pensioners' feet, and it is more than probable that Sancroft based his studies on the procedure of Charles I in his 33rd year as chronicled by Pagitt. The question of gold versus silver may have been governed by convenience for the valuation of the gold pieces was subject to much fluctuation. That Charles II personally performed the pedilavium at this his first Maundy, 1661, we know, for he is described as so doing in the *Mercurius Politicus* of April 18, as follows: "Whitehall on Thursday last (April 11th) His sacred Majesty according to the example of the King of Kings, as well as his Predecessors (the Kings and Queens of England) washed and kissed the feet of 31 poor men in the Great Hall at Whitehall this being the 31st year of his Majesty's age to whom God in Mercy to these late distracted Kingdoms grant a long and happy reign."

No mention is made in the *Mercurius Politicus* as to whether the £1 was given in shillings or in gold. But we may note that the Broad or 20s. piece exists without the value mark and therefore must have been issued in 1660 or 1661, and amongst the beautiful patterns by Simon are two bearing date, 1660 and 1662 respectively. But patterns are not suitable for Maundy, current coin being desirable,
and I illustrate the first hammered Broad intended for general circulation. This 20s. piece was followed by a slightly smaller Broad when the value mark was ordered in November 1661. The portraiture of this second issue differed little from the first, although the weight was reduced by nearly nine grains.

It is not likely that Charles would substitute gold for silver so shortly before he was about to make his second and lighter issue; and although in February, 1661–2, a gold milled coinage was commenced the hammered broad was continued for general currency owing to a shortage of new dies.¹

Snelling, in his *View of the Gold Coinage of England*, page 36, gives the value of Gold coined between July 20, 1660, and December 31 in that year, as £5,153 17s. 1½d., and in 1661 at £4,450 1s. 2½d. The issues included the Broad, Double Crown, and Gold Crown.

We therefore doubt whether Charles II made use of his new 20s. Broads in 1661 or 1662 for Maundy purposes but in 1663 there was a further reduction and the "piece of gold" is so clearly specified in the Harleian MS. 829, that I think this substitution was perhaps new and noteworthy.

In corroboration of the account we have many extracts from official gazettes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made early in the nineteenth century by Lady Banks,² and she gives from

¹ Information kindly supplied by Dr. F. W. Cock from contemporary MS. sources.
Mercurius Publius an account of the year 1663¹ wherein this statement about the gold appears. It was, however, probably a matter of a new and lighter coinage, and although we may like to fancy that Charles II might have chosen in these years the experimental milled pieces that between February and April, 1662, were made by the press and screw under a special warrant, we notice that these coins do not appear in the pyx lists.

A truce to speculation. It is safer to rely on the official Gazettes than on the Almanacks of the day, such as Chamberlayne, Delaune and Meige, who frequently repeated in a parrot-like manner the information contained in previous volumes.² Nevertheless, it is worthy of mention that later with the rise in value of the Guinea we generally note the reference is to silver, and not to gold. Where two or more of these guide books therefore are agreed, their evidence, supporting one another, probably carries some weight; Meige, for instance, writes under William and Mary that the White Purse contained “as many sylver pence as the King is years old and in such another Purse as many shillings as the King has reigned years,”³ and we find the same information in 1707 concerning Anne, whilst we have seen shillings mentioned in 1684 and 1687 under her predecessors. It seems probable that the gold piece given by Charles II, having risen beyond its nominal value, was discarded by James II and his successors. Even this poor exchange for the £1 in gold in redemption of the robe practised by the Tudors and early Stuarts was, Dr. Sheppard tells us, abandoned in 1731, but we learn with pleasure that it was restored in 1759.⁴ In 1731 the Gentleman’s Magazine chronicles the sequence from Groat to Penny as the Maundy

¹ Mercurius Publius, No. 16, p. 241, of April 23, 1663, describing the ceremony of April 16.
² One of these, Chamberlayne’s Anglice Notitia, goes so far, on p. 162 in 1700, as to speak of the Queen Consort as the donor of the gifts five years after the death of Mary II. And this was two years before the accession of Anne, both these Monarchs being Queens Regnant.
³ Meige’s New State of 1693, p. 166, Chamberlayne’s Anglice Notitia, 1684, p. 219; 1687, p. 197, and 1707, p. 64.
⁴ Old Royal Palace of Whitehall, p. 356.
Gifts instead of the single pence, speaks vaguely also of "shillings," whilst the London Journal of April 17, 1731, further complicates the matter by allotting the "Silver Pence, Twopences, Threepences and Groats" to the "years his Majesty had reigned and the number of shillings to the King's age." The Epiphany offering is always made in the precious metal to this day.  

Let us turn to the first decade after the Restoration when the title of Maundy was tentatively given by Mr. Hawkins to the small currency. Our task has been made easier by the writings in the Numismatic Chronicle of Mr. Henry Webb in 1879, and of Mr. T. H. B. Graham in 1911, who has since generously given his collection, therein described, to the Nation. Again we have Mr. Henry Symonds' Pyx Trials, in 1915, and last but not least we must refer to Colonel Morrieson's Review of the Coinage of Charles II in the British Numismatic Journal in 1921. The Plates in the two first-mentioned articles I am allowed to reproduce by the kindness of the Royal Numismatic Society. All these authors point out that the coins tentatively designated as Maundy by Mr. Hawkins, are merely an early output of the milled currency, and the writers only differ in the order in which the small hammered and milled currency should be arranged. Mr. Symonds indeed suggests that the sequence of linked C's which appear by themselves in the Pyx of 1671–2 might be segregated as Maundy, but only pennies were required for this special purpose and half-groats for Largess, and I hope to show that this was a matter of proof.

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1 Gentleman's Magazine, vol. i, p. 172, April 15, 1731, "leather bags with one penny, twopenny, threepenny and fourpenny pieces of silver and shillings to each about £4 in value." In 1731, when King George II was in his 48th year and the Maundy pence should have amounted to 4s. per man, the provisions and garments are obviously included. See London Journal which brings the total to £4 15s. per person. See Notes and Queries, April 18, 1931.

2 Sir Edgar Sheppard kindly so informed me.


6 British Numismatic Journal, vol. xv, pp. 117 to 139.

EARLY COINS OF CHARLES II.

(By kind permission of the Royal Numismatic Society.)
demanded by the Treasury of a certain output in proportion to the larger coins. Possibly moreover the change of dies may have been in question on the supercession of those engraved by Thomas Simon and his servant in April, 1665, for which at the time of his death payment was still more than two-thirds due. Mr. Symonds’ Pyx lists are invaluable and although available in the Numismatic Chronicle it may be well to repeat the dates, briefly suggesting the probable contents of each Pyx.

The Trial of July 9, 1663, of coins struck by the hammer, between July 20, 1660, and the above date, must have included as regards the small coins, the various half-groats and pennies of Hawkins’ type I (see the Plate kindly lent by the Royal Numismatic Society from Mr. Webb’s article—Nos. 1 and 2, with mint-marks on obverse only) and those figured by Ruding in his Supplement VI, II and 12, without mint-marks.

At the end of 1661 a value mark was ordered to be placed on the obverse of each coin. This Pyx trial would therefore also have embraced some very rare hammered half-groats of Hawkins’ type II—with numerals and with peculiar stops, in Mr. Graham’s and my collections. Whether these hammered half-groats were accompanied

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1 Medals, Coins and Seals, etc., of Thomas Simon, by Geo. Vertue, ed. of 1780, with appendices. Appendix V, pp. 95, April, 1665. “For altering of the stamps for the four pence, three pence, two pence and penny, by way of the mill wherein I and my servant wrought two months. £3.0.0.” The pyx of Jan. 16, 1671-2, was of coins running from Oct. 8, 1670. Simon’s account amounted to over £3,000 of which sum £1,000 was paid on May 24 in this same year 1665. See Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1660-7, p. 661. Simon died, traditionally, of the plague in the following August.
by a penny is doubtful. If it exists it is of such rarity that it has so far escaped the eye of all the collectors of my acquaintance. The half-groats of which I have seen only three specimens (and these all from the same die) were probably struck immediately on the issue of the value mark order in November, 1661, with a reverse already available on the last coins of Hawkins' type I. These peculiar hammered coins form a connecting link between Hawkins' type I, also hammered, and the better struck half-groats and pennies of Hawkins' type II, which were probably reserved for the second Pyx, in that they were made by some mechanical process and can almost be pronounced milled (Webb, 9 and 10).

Last but not least this first Pyx contained the coins with inner circle and value mark running in sequence from groat to penny with mint-mark both sides (Hawkins' type III, Webb, 5, 6, 7, 8) ordered at the end of Charles II's 14th regnal year, concluded on
January 29, 1662-63. This series had therefore a run of nearly six months before the essay of July 9, 1663, as above. The type of the half-groat and penny suggests that these two preceded the issue of the groat and threepence and the peculiar stop of the half-groat in the last issue of Hawkins' type I and the first of Hawkins' type II, may be found on some of the half-groats of Hawkins' type III. As a complete hammered set these four small contributions to the general currency begin their reign on January 19, 1662-63¹ and continued until the milled coins were discontinued in or about 1666. The milled dies were finished by Simon in the month of April, 1665, as I have said, and these in their turn were followed in 1670 by the linked C's of Roettiers. However, whilst the hammered quota was demanded by the currency Hawkins' type III reigned in considerable quantities. By 1663 the milled crowns, half-crowns and shillings required the complement and in so far as the groat and half-sixpence were concerned Simon probably supplied these dies first, making the new bust afterwards for the milled half-groats and pennies, to complete the sequence as late as 1665, those with the first bust being earlier available. Half-groats and pennies of Hawkins' type II must have found their way into the second Pyx, being as I have said clearly struck within a collar (Webb, 9 and 10; Graham, Pl. VI, 6 and 7), but they were followed as abovementioned by the same denominations resembling in size and thickness Hawkins' type IV but still bearing the early bust (Webb, 11 and 12). These would be in the second trial noted by Mr. Symonds, running from February 6, 1662-63, to July 4, 1664. This author proved that the second Pyx was of milled coins, not only because of the over-lapping date, but because it contained the 5s. piece, not known in the hammered series. This trial would also embrace the

¹ Slingsby had asked on January 12 for a warrant "to justify the making of groats and threepences" on the King ordering small money. The form of warrant proposed on January 16, 1662-3 orders tools for making these coins "by way of the hammer" and striking "coins value one, two, three, four or sixpence from 20,000l of silver recently brought from France," no doubt from the sale of Dunkirk. See Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1663-4, pp. 9 and 15. January 12 and 16, 1662-3, Entry Book 9, pp. 229-30.
above half-groats and pennies differing from Hawkins’ type II in the substitution of the ampersand for E.T. and in the fact that the bust, although still of the first type with single arched crown, divides the legend, reaching almost to the bottom of the coin. See Webb, 11 and 12 and Graham, Pl. VI, 8.

At the risk of being wearisome let me repeat that neither this pair nor the above-mentioned half-groat and penny of type II (Webb 9 and 10) were accompanied by the milled groat and quarter shillings with the early bust and these coins numbered by Mr. Webb, 11 and 12, are usually massed with Hawkins’ type IV—the much debated “smaller and thicker” misnamed Maundy, but they are in truth a further connecting link with the true Hawkins’ type IV—the sequence to penny, Webb, 13, 14, 15 and 16.

These coins (Webb, 9 and 10) were no doubt, as Mr. Graham remarks, made by Thomas Simon “in a small screw and press,” but he is unable to state where. Was it in the Tower after the oft-quoted but mis-quoted order was issued to him “to bring in and deliver to the officers of His Majesty’s Mynt all such counter puncheons, charges, letters and dyes and all other tools and engines for coining by way of the press and hammer as he hath in his
HAMMERED SILVER COINS OF CHARLES II.


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custody." I say mis-quoted in that it has been sometimes said to imply that he was deposed from office on January 24, 1661-62. This was far from being the case, but was merely, as the document states, the result of an order of Council issued two days previously that "all fabric of moneys made by way of presses or screw" should be effected within the Tower. This command was in truth merely the enforcement of a regulation in Charles II's first indenture of July, 1660, whereby it was ordered that "the gravers shall not grave otherwhere than in Our house in the Tower." The order was now applied to the new milled coinage.

By the kindness of Dr. F. W. Cock, to whom I owe a transcript from a contemporary Minute-Book, I am able to state that on February 8 he was put in possession of "The dwelling house and outhouse that Nich. Briott deceased enjoyed." We know that these premises were in the Tower and were to be "forth"th clered and fitted with workroomes" for "our Servant Thomas Simon." He as "one of our Chief Gravers" was here "to make Stamps for Our Moneys by way of the Presse"—in the contest between himself and John and Joseph Roettiers in the matter of the famous "5 Shillings in Silver" which had been ordered, the day before, namely, on February 7. But we must hasten forward to the next Pyx, that of August 4, 1669, a trial of silver commencing July, 1664, which embraced the "smaller and thicker" Hawkins' type IV, and also included hammered coins, and therefore, the demand for currency of groats and quarter shillings would be still supplied and therein tested until eventually the hammered sets, Webb 5, 6, 7 and 8, were superceded, the hammered process being abandoned, by Simon's dies (Hawkins' type IV; Webb, 13, 14, 15 and 16). The complement of milled half-groats and pennies, the quota demanded by the milled output after 1662, i.e. Webb, 11 and 12, had already taken up the running.

The Pyx of August, 1669, beginning for gold from December 30, 1663, and for silver on July 4, 1664, must also have included the half-groat of 1668, the pioneer of the Roettiers' coinage of

1 Vertue's Coins, Gough's edition, Appendix iv.
Royal Charities.

crowned C's unless as is not unlikely the half-groat was a pattern—
but of this more anon.

Mr. Symonds, as I have said, is inclined to think that the entire
linked C sequence, based by Roettiers on patterns by Briot might
have been originally intended in 1670 for Maundy, because in the

Pyx of January 16, 1671–72, containing specimens of coinage from
August, 1669, onwards, they are placed by themselves instead of being
massed with other issues. But the indenture of October 8, 1670,
ordered these coins with the general currency. “Groats at one
Hundred and eighty-six to the pound weight Troy. Half-sixpences
two Hundred and forty-eight to the lb. Half-groats Three Hundred
and seventy-two to the lb. and Pence there shalbe seaven Hundred

The coinage given by Snelling, who tabulated his list
from January to December and used new style, is for the year 1669
at 14,291·9 oz. 10 dwt., for 1670, 46,142 lb. 11 oz. and for 1671 at
38,645 lb. 2 oz. 17 dwt. and the amount of small pieces set apart so
far as we may judge from the total mentioned is consonant with that
required by the output of the milled coinage then in full swing. I
have, therefore, suggested that we might regard this segregation as

1 Brit. Mus. Addit. MS., 18759, f. 63b. The weight of the penny as here given
is heavier than in the Indenture of 1660, where the “Two pence running for two pence
sterling” is stated at 372 and the penny at “seaven hundred forty four of these to
the pound weight.” But as these weights are repeated under William and Mary in
1689 it is likely that the copyist of the 1670 indenture omitted the words “forty
four” in error. See ibid., ff. 58 and 88.
merely pointing to the change of die-sinker—from Simon to Roettiers—and the payment to Roettiers for the use of his own dies for which he was responsible. But I am more inclined to see therein the collection of evidence to be produced by the mint officials in a petition in 1672 which ultimately caused the Lord Treasurer, Danby, to authorize a higher scale of payment to the moneyers provided the proportion of small coins was maintained for the currency. Or again, still more probably, the separate enumeration might follow on a proposal put before a Treasury Meeting on November 15, 1671, to increase the remedy from 6d. to 12d. on the lb. weight of small coins, because of "the difficulty of sizing" . . . . "cutting the pound weight in tale of sterling silver at 63s. instead of 62s. so that 64s. in this small moneys in one pound weight be lawful tender." The subject was referred back to the Mint for further report.¹

It is not here necessary to enumerate in detail the further trials, becoming more frequent, but the coins were tested on January 21, 1672—February 14, 1673—February 20, 1674–75 (with a very small issue of silver worse than the standard by ¼ dwt.). There was another trial on June 14, 1677, this time a very large output, again on June 14, 1679, and on August 5, 1681—two separate trials under different commissions. Finally, on November, 1684, a trial of coins up to October 1, 1684, the King’s last issue, although his types were probably used by his successor and would appear in the Pyx of July, 1686.

Having thus cleared the ground of the problems on broad lines, may I go into more details at the risk of some repetition. Let us return to the beginning of Charles II’s reign when, in spite of his pressing need for replacing the Harp and Cross Money of the Commonwealth, the King was faced in April, 1661, with the minor

¹ Brit. Mus. Addit. MS., 18759, No. 115, fo. 76. Danby writing to Slingsby on Jan. 29, 26th year, i.e. 1674–5 mentions the silver output from Dec. 20, 1666, to Dec. 21, 1673 as entitling the moneyers to the extra ½d. per lb. if they had provided the quota of small monies. He stated that between the above dates the silver coined was 242,978 lb. 4 oz., and in small money 2,284 lb. weight. See also Calendar of Treasury Books, 1669–72, page 453 (Out Letters General, No. 110, p. 17) and ibid., 1672–75, pp. 665–6 (King’s Warrant Book, IV, p. 246).
difficulty of providing 1,024 pennies for the Maundy, and yet earlier with a large and uncertain quantity of half-groats for scattering in his first Progress in September, 1660. The Mint was already at work before the end of the year, for Snelling tells us that between July 20, 1660, the date of the first Indenture, and the following December 31, 543 lb. weight of silver was actually coined.¹ We may, I think, fairly assume the half-groats would be amongst the first issue demanded. The coin is mentioned by Ruding, with reference to the two pennies and sixpence without mint-marks figured in his Supplement VI, Nos. 10, 11 and 12. The half-groat is not known, but together with the sixpence it has been accepted by most authors on Ruding's authority. Mr. Webb, it is true, doubted both the half-groat and pennies, but varieties of the latter exist in Mr. Graham's cabinet (Graham, Pl. VI, 2) and in my own, and if the penny, why not the half-groat?² I can, however, only say that I have not seen a half-groat without mint-mark and I do think there is some confusion in the description on Ruding's page 336, note 2, in his second volume. Be this as it may, including the blundered penny Ruding, Supplement VI, No. 11, which can only by accident have passed into circulation, there

¹ Snelling, View of the Silver Coin, p. 54.
² Ruding, ed. 1840, vol. iii, in his Pl. Supplement vi, figures two pennies, Nos. 11 and 12. The coins are very badly struck, and the crown is as Mr. Webb remarks more like a Cap of Maintenance. Ruding does not figure the half-groat, but refers to it in a note in his vol. ii, p. 336, giving reference, however, to the illustration which is clearly that of a penny and is so described on his p. 377. I have three pennies of which one is his number 12 and fits on the plate, the other two vary slightly in die from 11, but equally have no mint-mark. Mr. Graham has also No. 12 on Ruding's plate, as regards the obverse and with a better reverse. It is now in the British Museum.
are four die varieties of these pennies without mint-mark. Charles II’s first Indenture enforced the proportion of 18 ounces of pennies to the hundredweight, and the amount of silver from the re-coinage of the Harp and Cross money was very large. Snelling tells us that the total silver output in 1661 was £23,200 10s. 7½d., weighing 7,484 lb. 10 dwts., and in 1662 more than twenty-one times as much, but it is with 1660 and 1661 that we are momentarily dealing. The Commonwealth money remained current, however, until May, 1662, although the first proclamation recalling it, fixed the date of November 30, 1661, for its withdrawal.

We have seen that the Maundy was always a direct grant from the King, i.e. that an order from the Treasury was necessary to procure the money at the Royal charges from the Mint. But we have no evidence that any particular dies were reserved for the purpose, and if the required money was in stock a special coinage might not be necessary, for the less the Maundy and Largesse differed from the ordinary currency the better, so long as the coins were bright and new and bore the King’s effigy.

At the present time the Maundy coins, although included in the Pyx as legal tender, are not in fact used in currency and really command a higher price when sold as curios by the recipients. But in the seventeenth century this was not the case, and the dies employed would be those in use or ultimately required for current coin. It is, however, possible that no dies were ready and the faulty early efforts might be produced in answer to the call for Royal Charities, and amongst these we might admit the curious pennies figured by Ruding. It is usual when a monarch dies to continue the coinage with his effigies till the new dies are ready, but Charles II was debarred by years of rust and misuse from putting forth new pieces from his father’s old dies, although we know that for his Healing, new coins not being a necessity, he used the gold of James I and Charles I until replaced by his own double crowns and later by his

1 Snelling’s View of the Silver Coin, p. 54. The output of 1662 was £496,677 17s. 4d., weighing 160,218 lb. 8 oz.

2 Proclamation of Sept. 7, 1661.
special touchpiece. But Charles made every effort to increase the output of small money even in January, 1662-63, ordering the quarter-shilling and groat. The large re-coinage of 1663 amounting to 98,412 lb. 1 oz. 18 dwt. 18 grains of silver, producing £305,077 14s., and that of the preceding year, which Snelling puts at 160,218 lb. 8 oz. = £496,677 17s. 4d., justified an important addition to the compulsory quota for small currency.

In the King’s first regal year we read of pressing orders to Thomas Simon to “forbeare all other services until he hath perfected all things which belonge to him to doe for setting the Mint presently at worke.”1 This command, under date August 18, 1660, followed rapidly upon the original warrant issued to the Wardens on August 10 ordering that Simon should “draw and grave, and cause to be drawn and graven, all such paternes and irons with our effigies.”2

Again, on September 21, Simon himself was directed to hasten the issue.3 We find Pepys entering in his Diary, on February 18, 1660-61 his first sight of the new coin and as he comments on the good design, but unsuccessful striking of the coins, which he saw, we may believe that the pennies figured by Ruding, which we have discussed, were amongst them. These coins, without mint-mark, were no doubt soon followed by the singularly beautiful little specimens of Hawkins’ type I, of which the half-groat has several varieties and is easier to obtain than the penny. The half-groats have varying stop, so that they are easy to date, these stops, as I have said, being later found on coins of Hawkins’ types I and III.

2 Ibid., Appendix I, p. 83.
3 Ibid., Appendix III, p. 84.
These coins have the mint-mark crown on obverse only, and are of hammered type with no value mark, and ran on until the value mark was ordered on November 28, 1661. The hammered pieces next ensuing are, as I have shown, extremely rare, in fact so rare that one feels tempted to wonder whether they were a special issue made in answer to a call from the Royal Almoner for half-groats, for Largess before the new dies were ready. I refer of course to the hammered half-groats unaccompanied by a penny with value mark and peculiar stops—Graham VI, 5—and also in my collection, forming the connecting link between types I and III of Hawkins with the same peculiar stops. These half-groats were at once followed by those struck within a collar-piece, still large and thin, but more carefully sized, and of these both Colonel Morrieson and I have varieties in half-groats, but the penny is comparatively rare. It is, however, found in most collector's trays.
In point of date Hawkins' type III would come here on the order of January, 1662–63, to produce groats and threepences and the fact that the curious stops are occasionally found on some half-groats proves, as already mentioned, that they immediately followed on in 1662.

Then we come, if we pursue the varieties made by the mill, to the first type of Hawkins' IV running contemporaneously with Hawkins' III. This first type of Hawkins' IV with single arched crown is by some thought to be a special coinage—personally, I do not think it sufficiently rare, and believe it, like its successor with the double-arched crown, to be merely the complement of the early milled coinage; indeed the half-groat with the first bust is almost as common as its successor. The sequence of Hawkins' type IV, from groat to penny, is not at all rare, neither is the series with the linked C's, and there is no question as to their position as covering between them the requirements of milled currency from 1665 to 1684. The Royal Charities, Largess, Poor at the Gate, and Maundy, would no doubt be provided from dies belonging to these sets at the King's expense, but they need not be reserved for this purpose.

In pointing out that Hawkins' type III, the sequence of groat to penny must have continued to hold the field as currency so long as the hammered quota was required, running contemporaneously for a time with their milled rivals, it is well to note that between January 1, 1662–63, to December 20, 1666, 7,513 pounds of silver
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out of a total of 14,451 lb. 10 oz. 6 dwt. were coined by the hammer, the men being paid "for the better sizing of the Hammered mony xxxjle 6s." The remainder was coined by the new process, but the milled silver, excepting as regards the crowns, was not placed on an exclusive coinage, the sixpence for instance did not appear until 1673.

It therefore seems justifiable to believe that the Pyx of August 4, 1669, contained examples of Hawkins' type III, reduced of course by Simon's milled sequence of Hawkins' type IV and that both sets were ordinary currency, Simon's coins in turn being superseded in 1670 by the Roettiers' dies bearing the linked C, and further that in Hawkins' type IV we have the Swan song, which Simon specified in his accounts as "altered" from the hammered pieces, and their type suggests the direct continuance especially as regards the groats.

We may, perhaps, admit the possibility that the half-groat, with the linked C's of 1668, owed its origin, as did a demand for touchpieces, to the fact that the King was "now about to goe a progress." But we must bear in mind that in 1670 it was issued as part of the general currency and so continued until the end of the reign. The type owes its origin to a pattern by Briot of the time of Charles I.

We may speculate whether the beautiful little half-groats connecting Hawkins' type I and II, with their curious stops were

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1 *Declared Accounts*, Bundle 1601, No. 55. Jan. 1, 13th year, to Dec. 20, 18th year. Later accounts do not refer to hammered money.

made at the King’s pleasure, and more than all, whether the first very hurried issue of pence were made for the Maundy of April, 1661. But Snelling tells us that the total silver coinage of Charles II amounted to 1,200,703 lb. 3 oz. 4 dwt. 14 gr. and whilst the original indenture of 1660 had maintained the old order of “Fower Pounds weight of Two Pences and one Pound and an half in pence,” reduced it is true in 1666 to 18 ounces of the 4 small denominations, the necessary quota must have been so large that only the ordinary currency could absorb it, and thousands of pounds worth of groats, quarter-shillings, half-groats and pennies must yearly have been circulated.

We are, of course, fain to admit that the praiseworthy efforts of Charles II in 1672 to put the copper coinage of halfpence and farthings on a proper footing, reduced the requirements for small coins, but it was not until the year 1797, that the cumbrous penny of George III jostled its little silver brother completely out of the field.

We must remember that the combat between silver and copper had been of long duration, and even in the time when coinage presented a difficulty during the Civil War the farthings were unpopular. They were decried in London and consequently when brought down to Oxford the situation was met by a proclamation in October, 1644, against their use “in above 6d. in 10s. tender or in smaller sums four farthings in a shilling.”

At the beginning of Charles II’s reign, far from advocating the substitution of a regal copper penny for the small silver coin, Henry Slingsby, “Officer of the Mint,” suggested in June, 1661, the introduction of three-halfpenny and seven-farthing pieces in silver, besides the retenion of the silver penny in currency. Instead of this the groat and threepence were added in January, 1662–63. But after the first indenture of Charles II we find no further reference to the

1 Snelling, *View of the Silver Coin*, p. 55.
4 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, June 5, 1661, p. 3.
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silver halfpenny which is not known although it appears in the first Pyx, namely, that of coins from July, 1660, to July, 1663, and it is listed in Simon’s first account for dies,¹ and the Commonwealth halfpenny would naturally not serve. It is therefore clear that the farthings and halfpence made of copper by Royal Authority to replace the Tradesmen’s Tokens slowly—very slowly—pushed aside a little coin of very inconvenient size, and the reform in 1672 of the Token coinage was greatly needed. We must, however, point out that when the copper coinage of Charles II was announced by proclamation under date August 16, 1672, he therein declared “that many thousand pounds of good sterling silver have been coined into Single Pence and Twopences that so there might be good money current amongst the poorest of our Subjects and fitted for the smaller Traffic and Commerce.”²

The object of these halfpence and farthings, as I have said, was to replace the Tokens of the Tradesmen who were suspected of having bought up and hoarded the small silver “so that there might be a scarcity thereof in common payments” and thus float their private coinage. The relief to the half-groats and pennies was only partial, whilst to the groat and quarter-shilling it was nil.

Indeed, nearly twenty years later, in February, 1691-92, we find the Duchess of Grafton explaining the whole situation in a very interesting letter, showing that the penny although becoming rarer, was still a circulating coin.³ The Duchess desired Letters Patent to make twopences and pennies of coarse alloy. She suggested that they should be “less near to the standard” but considerably larger

¹ Simon’s Seals, Coins, etc., Appendix V, p. 89. The halfpenny is also mentioned in the indenture with Sir Ralph Freeman of 1660—“seaven sorts of silver moneys viz. a coin of five shillings 5s. halfe five shilling 2s. 6d. shillings 12d., halfe shillings 6d., twopences, 2d., Penny 1d., Halfe Pennie ¾d.” See Brit. Mus. Addit. MS., 18759, f. 58. Some writers have thought that if silver halfpence were coined they are indistinguishable from those of Charles I and so far the die mentioned by Simon has not been found.


than the current coin, because the halfpence "doe not sufficiently supply the want." She advanced the plea "that people going to market had to carry change, and that the copper pieces were much disliked by reason of their Extraordinary Bulk and weight which render them very Burdensome and inconvenient for Common Portage."

"Five Pence in farthings or halfe pence is a considerable Load," wrote the Petitioner, "for any Persons Pocket yet if any one hath occasion to lay out a penny he receives back generally five Pence in these farthings, there being Seldom any other Sort of Change to be had for a Six Pence" . . . "That sized Peny or Two Peny Peece," she explained, "made of Silver near to the Standard (as has been the custom hitherto) will of necessity be of a Size too Small for Common Usage in passing from one to another amongst Peaple of this Kingdom as by observing in former Reigns will unavoidably appear, for although Large Quantities of such Peeces have been diverse times coynd yet it is very Rare to see at this day any of them in Comon use, for what noe tolerable cause can be assigned, but the trouble and inconvenience that all sorts of Peaple find in the usage of them through the littleness of their Bulk, whereby they are not only apt to be lost, but are too small to be tractable from hand to hand in common use and Practice."

This very smallness is a proof of the large quantities that must have been issued, for in spite of the great Re-coinage of William III, when practically all useless or worn coins were called in, the small pieces of Charles II are with certain exceptions by no means rare. There is no difficulty in obtaining any of the milled pieces either of the type commonly called the first Maundy, namely, Hawkins' type IV, or their successors of the linked C design. The hammered sequence from groat to penny, Hawkins' type III, is easy to obtain, and the early form of half-groat and penny only, usually confounded with the rest of Hawkins' type IV, is not nearly as rare as was at one time believed. Only Hawkins' types I and II are rare, even as regards the pennies and the half-groats considering that their issue was fairly brief, are found in sufficient quantities.
The project of the Duchess of Grafton from which she expected vast profits, was rejected, but her petition is interesting as showing the partial, but only partial, relief given by the advent of a copper currency nearly twenty years before.

But we must now turn to the Acts of 1666 and 1672 when there were fresh regulations concerning the coinage, and trouble began at the Mint over the large issues of milled silver and the subject of extra remuneration was raised. The silver coinage amounted according to Snelling2 in 1672 to 86,673 lb. 8 oz. 17 dwt. or £268,688 11s. 8½d., and in 1673 to 101,064 lb. 4 oz. 15 dwt. equalling £313,299 12s. 6½d., in 1674 to much less 10,286 lb. 3 oz. 15 dwt., i.e., £31,887 11s. 4½d., and in 1675 there was a further drop to 1,856 lb. 2 oz. 5 dwt. = £5,754 3s. 7½d.

The controversy between the Moneyers and the authorities was eventually settled in 1675.3 The operatives had petitioned in 1666 for higher pay on the introduction of the milled silver, and we find that in spite of the decision in 1672 that copper halfpence and farthings should be issued, the small silver coins were still considered as vitally important for currency. Lord Danby, the Treasurer of Charles II, had already reported favourably on the moneyers' appeal and "conceived it reasonable," pointing out that since the introduction of the milled coins no more allowance had been given on the little pieces although "two thousand two hundred and eighty-four pounds weight in small money" had been made by "the mill and presse." He had, however, insisted on a certain production of little coins, with the result that the penny to groat held their own as a recognized proportion of the re-coinage still in progress. The moneyers alleged that the milled process put them to greater expense than they had expected and asked for another penny in the pound

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1 Statutes of the Realm, vol. v, c. 5 and c. 8. Act for encouraging coinage, 18 and 19 Car. II and 25 Car. II.
2 Snelling's View of the Silver Coin, p. 54.
weight. This penny raised the pay from 8d. to 9d. and was granted on the condition of fulfilment of the quota. The agreement concerned "every 100 pound weight of Silver soe to be coyned," that is to say, by the "mill and presse," and the moneyers must bind themselves "within the space of 6 months after the Coynage of the same" that they would "coyn 1 pound weight and a half or 18 oz. of small money in the quantities & species following without any pay or further allowance for the same, viz., in pence ½ an Ounce, in 2 pences 3 ounces, in 3 pences 6 ounces, in groatts 8 ounces and a half or in regard ye pence are very small and apt to be lost, that the ½ ounce mentioned for ye pence be added to ye groatts & that no pence be made at all." The suggestion of the withdrawal of the penny was not adopted by the Officers of the Mint, to whose decision the question was left entirely as one of serviceability for currency, not as Maundy which would have been a matter for the Treasury or the Crown.

The further allowance on hammered money for accurate sizing dates back to the time of James I when it applied only to the small coin, whereas in 1675 the allowance was given on the entire milled coinage. I have already referred to the distinction between the milled and hammered in an earlier document when the Declared Accounts state on December 20, 1666, that less than half the coinage between January 1, 1662-3 and December 20, 1666, had been milled and the rest hammered, and "xxxji" vis. 1d. had been paid for the better sizing of the Hammer'd mony at 1d. l. wt."¹

We must bear in mind that the old quota ordered by the indenture of July 20, 1660,² was "Four Pounds weight of small money," that is to say, "two pound weight of Two Pences, one Pound weight and an halfe in Pence and Half a pound in halfpence," but this as we have seen was no longer demanded, on the introduction of the milled coinage. A shortage of small silver occurred under

¹ Declared Accounts, Mint, Bundle 1601, No. 55. Snelling gives about 200 more lbs. of silver coined between Jan. 1, 1663, and Dec. 30, 1666, using New Style and carrying his figures to the end of the year.
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William and Mary which gave rise to some further debate, and although in their indenture of 1689¹ they make reference to that under Charles II of 1670, we read under date January 23, 1689–90 as follows: "Whereas we think it necessary for Our Service and for the Good of Our People that some Quantity of small silver Monies be coyned and for as much as such small coynes cannot be sized or made with soe much exactness in weight as the greater Our Will and Pleasure is and Wee doe hereby ordain and appoint That three Pennyweight upon the Pound weight Troy over or under be here­after taken and allowed as Remedy in weight for all Groats and three Pences and four Pennyweight upon the Pound weight Troy over or under as Remedy in weight for all Two Pences and Pence of Silver monies."² In spite of this concession, however, in April 14, 1692,³ the mint master was obliged to explain that "the great Price which Silver hath been at for two or three years past above the Rate of the Mint, hath been the occasion that soe little Silver hath been coyned and consequently little small money made, besides what Silver hath been bought for the porpose." But he averred that the Provost of the Moneyers declared that "he doth insist on extra pay according to the severall Proporsion above mentioned" and so on and so forth. On May 25, 1696, this question of increased pay is dismissed in Council with the curt reply, "My Lords do not see any reason for an increase."⁴ But not so easily repressed, some little

ⁱ Brit. Mus. Addit. M.S., 18759, No. 88. The weights given are as follows: Groat, 186 to the lb., Half-sixpence 248, Twopence 372, Pennies 744, f. 89b, April, 1689.
² Ibid., No. 98.
³ Ibid., No 104. The small quantity of pence coined in 1692 is corroborated by the fact that many pennies of 1693 are found with the date overstruck upon 1692, a circumstance denoting little use of the '92 dies.
while later the moneyers brought forward the plea that they had continually coined silver at 9d. per pound under a sign manual "in the reign of Charles II, but cannot continue to do so now, because his present majesty," i.e. William III, "and the Act of Parliament have enacted that one halfe of the Coinage shall be in Shillings and Six-pences besides the small money to be made according to the Indenture of the Mint which is 18 ounces in Groats Three pences Twopences and Pence upon every hundred Weight." The Act of February 4, 1695–96, had ordered that in every hundred pounds weight Troy of Silver 40 pounds should be in Shillings 10 pounds in Sixpences and all other coins to be pursuant to the indenture. The appeal was referred again to "The Lds. of ye Treasury Concerning small moneys," and so matters dragged on. The same story greets us again in 1702 in another abortive attempt at reducing the standard of the smaller coins.

Whilst opposing any idea of changing the alloy for the larger current pieces the Mint authorities advance "that if small money which by continual use weares away fast and is apt to be lost were coined of coarse alloy as is done in several countries provided it were well coyned to prevent counterfeiting such money would weare longer and be less apt to be lost than that now in use." And now comes the proof that currency only was in question. "By small money we understand Groats, Threepences, Two Pences and Pence, unless the penny by reason of its smallness be made of copper." A somewhat similar proposition had been, as we have seen, made in 1691–92 as regards "the 2d. and 1d. of coarse silver whereby their bulk will be enlarged to such a size as will be fitt and Convenient for Common use." But such plans have never met the approval of the Mint and the advisors of Queen Anne so strongly held to the policy of good silver that they even suggested that dies for small denominations should be prepared at the time of the Recoinage in

Scotland. In 1711, Clerk and Cave, the Scottish Engravers, applied for payment for various dies which they had made. They claimed for “Puncheons and Letters for Small Coynes, viz., Fouer Pence, Three Pence, Two Pence, and One Penny, the sum of £70,” but comparison with the charges at the Tower Mint for similar denominations reduced the payment to £25, namely, £4 for the penny, £6 for the halfgroat, £7 for the threepence and £8 for the groat. Mr. Burns in his Coinage of Scotland, mentions a pattern groat with the letter E, and the date 1711, which I have also seen, and Mr. Wingate remarked concerning a die for the half-groat that “it might owe its origin to the necessity of supplying Scotland with small silver of which it was in great need.” It is obvious that Maundy was not in question and the bare suggestion of making these little pieces for Anne’s new Scottish coinage shows that in her effort to establish parity between the sister countries, the small silver currency was given consideration.

We may point out that the absence of certain coins in the trays of collectors, although not absolute proof of their non-existence, is worth our examination, and so far as I am aware the pennies of 1702, of 1704, and of 1707 are not known. On the other hand, in 1706 they are not rare, and of this date they should not have been required for Maundy, because owing to the advent of Easter in that year before the 25th of March the feast occurred twice, according to Old Style, in 1705 and not at all in 1706, Maundy Thursday falling on April 5, 1705, and again on March 21, 1705, Old Style. Moreover, I have been informed that the whole sequence of small coins is commoner in 1706 than in 1705.

The groat of 1702 of William III standing by itself has often been claimed as a possible preparation for a Maundy distribution he did not live to see. But a groat was not required for Maundy, and it was clearly a forerunner of the ordinary coinage.

The pennies themselves are indeed present in many years when

the other small coins are absent. Thus Mr. Hawkins give a fair continuance of pennies, noting 19 in 33 years of George II, and others may exist of later discovery, but only the penny did he find between the years 1750 and 1756 and we notice how frequently the groats, the threepences, and even the half-groats also are conspicuous by their absence. This is suggestive of Maundy use and makes us hesitate to affirm that complete sets became the established practice from 1731 onward, when the Gentleman's Magazine notes the presentation of the sequence of coins from the groat downward. We might even go so far as to say that any attractive and sporadic coinage such as the Wire money of 1792 might form a desirable gift, for the records have shown us that the donation was subject to change—sometimes in gold came the extra Princely gift, sometimes in silver, sometimes as now in the equivalent Treasury note, but always the number of small silver coins was regulated upon the age of the monarch with the included year of grace. Moreover, the gift to be useful must originally have been current coin or marketable as the little sets now are at enhanced value to the collector. But in glancing at the fact that the copper coinage eventually beat the small silver off the field we must pause to admit that the four-penny piece had made sporadic reappearances and the threepence has always fought its way through opposition, having a vogue of its own, especially in Scotland where for reasons of wages it is in special demand not for charity but for mercantile purposes.

1 Hawkins' Silver Coins; ed. 1886, p. 409. He gives pennies in 1729, '31, '32, '35, '37, '39, '40, '43, '46, '50, '52, '53, '54, '55, '56, '57, '58, '59 and 1760. For Maundy purposes the dates '33 and '44 which are absent would not be required, for Maundy Thursday fell before the 25th of March in those years, and the Old Style of reckoning was still in use, until the January of 1751.
During the early years of George III when the silver output was limited to the Northumberland shilling to the value of £100, these little threepenny pieces had it all their own way. Mr. Hawkins writes that the Mint Records of 1762 and 1763 mention the amount of the coinage at £5,791, which must have been mainly in threepences, for Mr. W. H. Hocking, who had the kindness to discuss the question with me, tells me that in 1762 £10,000 worth of these little coins were ordered, a larger amount even than the total mentioned by Mr. Hawkins. We may also note that the sequence from groat to penny appears six times between 1762 and 1787. In the latter year a sporadic shilling and sixpence were issued in large quantities, and the bust on these two coins designed in 1787 by Pingo was reproduced on the smaller coins in 1792 when it reappeared on the Wire money mentioned above.

But we have now entered on the ground of the money legitimately called Maundy. I am no specialist in the coinages of these later days, and it is not within our limits or my powers to pursue the subject farther. I will leave it to other writers with younger eyes

1 Hawkins’ Silver Coins of England, p. 410 (ed. 1886). Mr. Hawkins notes that the threepence was struck in 1762, 1763, and other dates, and I learn from the Dean of Bocking that the complete sequence exists of 1765, although not mentioned by Mr. Hawkins.

2 See Mint Catalogue, vol. ii, Appendix III.
than mine to follow the varieties found in the small coins after they had definitely been set aside in a class by themselves for charitable purposes and not for circulation, although legal tender. My object has been to place before our readers the picturesque side of the old-world custom, and to rejoice in the preservation of the benefits dispensed by the Royal Almonry. The Royal Charities continue and to use the phrase employed by our earlier monarchs, "the good of our People" is still the gracious care of our King and Queen, as very specially symbolized this year by their presence in Westminster Abbey, when His Majesty personally distributed the gifts, and we can but re-echo the words of the anthem then sung—"God save the King, God bless the King."