THE MINTS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD IV AND HENRY VII.

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The period chosen for this survey of the coinages of the mints of Canterbury and York deserves more attention than it has received in the past, for during the latter part of the fifteenth century the prerogative of the two archbishops underwent considerable modification in the manner of its enjoyment.

I shall begin with the mint of York, where the archbishop had issued a coinage of pennies without interruption, so far as we know, since the king’s mint in York Castle was closed in 1355 after two years’ activity. At the beginning of the reign of Henry VI the king’s mint at York was again put into operation as the result of a petition of the northern counties, and groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies of the first, or Annulet, issue of Henry VI have survived to the present day; they were struck, as we know from the Exchequer accounts, between August, 1423, and August, 1424. Mr. Lawrence, in *Num. Chron.* 1925, pp. 366ff., established from the evidence of the coins the rather curious fact that the mint in the archbishop’s palace at York was always closed during periods when the king was operating his mint at York Castle. This has not been explained, but perhaps it was due to nothing more than ordinary considerations of economy. We know, from the Greatley laws of Æthelstan and from later records, that at Canterbury the king’s and archbishop’s moneyers worked together, the profits, or seignorage, being divided between the king and the archbishop in proportion to the number of moneyers employed by each. A similar arrangement between the king and the archbishop of York may well have been made on the rare occasions when the royal mint of York was in operation, in order to avoid the extra cost that would be involved in the working of two separate mints in the same town. Whatever the cause there seems to be no doubt that it was the practice to

*Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 171.

73
close the palace, or archbishop's, mint when the castle, or king's mint was open.

It is therefore not surprising that no York coins of Archbishop Kemp are known of the first, or Annulet, coinage of Henry VI. York pennies are found of the Rosette-Mascle and Pinecone-Mascle issues, groups II, III; no explanation is yet forthcoming for the omission of the York quatrefoil on the reverse of many of the Pinecone-Mascle pennies; and the similar omission of Bishop Langley's star on all Durham pennies of the same issue is also unexplained. There is a gap in the York coinage after group III which is followed by issues of Archbishop William Booth (1452-1464) of groups VIII and X, the Leaf-Pellet and Cross-Pellet coinages; the omission of group IX is unimportant, as that variety (the unmarked issue) is confined to groats and half-groats of London. The York pennies of group VIII are of normal workmanship (Pl. I, 1; B.M.), but in group X some coins are of normal London work and others are of the rough style which denotes local die-engraving (Pl. I, 2, of London work, R. C. Lockett; I, 3, of local work, B.M.); perhaps the raising of troops in the North by the rival parties, which culminated in the battles of Wakefield and Towton in 1460 and 1461, made the transport of dies from London impossible for a time at the end of Henry's reign.

The very rare York pennies of the heavy coinage of Edward IV, which have quatrefoils beside the bust, the "eye" after Civitas, and the York quatrefoil in centre of reverse (Pl. I, 4, L. A. Lawrence, 13.5 grs.) are of normal work, and show that during the early years of Edward IV's reign Archbishop William Booth was able to obtain his dies from London. There is also a similar penny (L. A. Lawrence, not illustrated) which omits the York quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse, and which is also of normal work; this represents the coinage during the vacancy of the archbishopric (1464-5) caused by the death of William Booth.

With the appointment of George Nevill, brother of the Kingmaker, as successor of William Booth in the archbishopric, begins the long series of York pennies which often present great difficulty in their classification and in their interpretation. Now for the first time the initial of the archbishop appears on his coins, and for the first time the York quatrefoil on the reverse is no longer the only mark of the archbishop's coinage. Now therefore the problem presents itself whether we must still expect
the quatrefoil to be removed during a temporary voidance of the see by death of the archbishop or by the suspension of his temporalities. May we assume that the removal of the archbishop's initial from the obverse of the coin served a like purpose, and, if so, can we assign to a voidance of the see coins which retain the initial of a late archbishop and omit the York quatrefoil and also coins which omit the initial but retain the quatrefoil? For my part I am of opinion that we may answer all these questions in the affirmative, and I draw this conclusion, as I hope to show, from a study of the sequence in which the many varieties of York pennies of Edward's light coinage must be placed and the dates which must, in consequence, be assigned to them.

Before I trace the development of the coins, I must explain what is in my opinion the common-sense point of view of the differentiation of the coinage during vacancy of the see. Prima facie it would appear ridiculous to assign to a vacancy either a coin which bears an archbishop's initial or a coin which bears the quatrefoil. When the see was vacant the king appointed a custodian of the temporalities and he was responsible for the revenues returned by the officer in charge of the mint during the vacancy, and it was necessary to differentiate the coinage of the vacancy from that of the archbishop both for the purpose of the trial of the pyx and for the correct appropriation of the revenues of the temporalities. Down to the period with which we are dealing the obvious course had always been adopted of omitting from the reverse of the York penny the archbishop's mark of the quatrefoil. Now that the archbishop's pennies bear an initial and a key on their obverse as well as the quatrefoil on their reverse, one naturally expects the change to be made by removal of the archbishop's marks from both sides of the coin. But I have had occasion elsewhere to lay stress upon the important part played in medieval times by consideration of economy in the use of dies, and I think that here, too, this principle must be taken into account; the alteration of both dies would put out of action all the dies that were already in service at the mint.

1 This will be found to differ in some respects from the summary list which I gave in English Coins, pp. 157-160.

2 Cf. quotation from Patent Roll of 1507 in Num. Chron., 1919, p. 259. On this occasion the king, who retained custody of the temporalities, appointed the late archbishop's warden to wardenship of the mint during the vacancy.

and, therefore, if my view is correct, the economical procedure was adopted of altering only one side of the coin and leaving the archbishop's mark undisturbed on the other. Such procedure, in spite of its apparent anomaly, would be satisfactory and harmless, for the alteration was required for nothing more than technical purposes connected with the coinage itself, and proof of the date of issue could be as adequately established by the one alteration as by both.

George Nevill was appointed to the archbishopric as the successor of William Booth, who died on 12 September 1464. On 16 September the king, with a view to his election, gave Nevill the custodianship of the temporalities, eleven days before leave was granted to the dean and chapter to proceed to election. His translation received papal authority in March, 1465, and on 17 June, 1465, he received restitution of the temporalities. The "vacancy" coin mentioned above, which is of the type of the heavy coinage, was struck under Nevill's custodianship of the temporalities. It was presumably only after the restitution of the temporalities in June, 1465, that Nevill could issue a coinage in his own right as archbishop. The earliest pennies that bear the G and key are of barbarous work with either a cross or a rose as initial mark, and with the obverse legend EDWARD DEI REX ANGL (omitting GRAT) or EDWARD REX ANGLI; they have G and key on obverse and quatrefoil on reverse (Pl. I, 5, L.A.L.). These appear to have been issued during only a few months in 1465, for the earliest coins of the provincial mints, which opened in July 1465, have as initial mark the Sun on one side and Rose on the other, and the sun alone was already in use by September of that year when Coventry and Norwich closed. The local manufacture of the archbishop's dies during this short period may have been permitted as before, in order to save the danger of the transport of dies to the north. The opening of the Royal mint at York in July 1465, to which dies were sent from London, shows that transport was then safely organized, and from that time onwards the archbishop also received his dies from London. On this occasion the palace mint did not, as in earlier times, close down when the king put the castle mint into commission; but the coinage of pennies was

1 Similarly on Nevill's death Lawrence Booth was appointed custodian of the temporalities; 8 June, 1476, Nevill died, 17 June L. Booth was appointed custodian of the temporalities; 28 June congé d'élire granted to the dean and chapter; 1 September L. Booth elected; 8 October restitution of temporalities.
left entirely to the palace mint, and the king struck, in addition to gold, groats, half-groats, and halfpence in silver, but no pennies.

The archbishop’s coinage continues therefore with pennies of normal work of groups III with i.m. Sun (Pl. I, 6, L.A.L.) and IV with i.m. Lis (Pl. I, 7, L.A.L.). In both groups the $c$ and key are on the obverse and the quatrefoil on the reverse. The pennies of group V are similar, with i.m. Lis, but $c$ and key are replaced by a trefoil at either side of the bust; the quatrefoil on the reverse is retained (Pl. I, 8, B.M.). The omission of the archbishop’s initial and key on this coin is not, I think, significant, its reason being the necessity of putting in their position the trefoils which distinguish this issue from the preceding. Groups VI and VII have similar pennies marked by the Cross Fitchée and Shortened Cross Fitchée,¹ with $c$ and key and the quatrefoil.

Under Henry VI (restored) Nevill issued similar pennies with $c$ and key and quatrefoil; the initial mark is uncertain; they are of normal work with the legend *HENRICV DI GNT REX* £RE6 with a trefoil after *REX*.

It is in Edward’s second reign that the explanation of the York coinage is most difficult. The following varieties are known without the archbishop’s marks on the obverse:—

(a) i.m. Annulet. No marks on obverse. No quatrefoil (Pl. I, 9, L.A.L.).

(b) i.m. Annulet (from the same obverse die). Quatrefoil on reverse (Pl. I, 10, R.C.L.).

(c) i.m. Cross over Lis. Quatrefoils beside bust. Quatrefoil on reverse (Pl. I, 11, L.A.L.).

(This is evidently an old obverse die of group IV of the first reign brought back to use in the period of the Cross and Pellets initial mark).²

(d) i.m. Cross over Annulet (but not quite certain). No marks on obverse. Quatrefoil on reverse.

(Probably an obverse die of the period of Annulet

¹ Including a coin which in *English Coins* I attributed to the second reign of Edward; the coin which I then described as having the pierced cross as initial mark has, I believe, the shortened cross fitchée.

² The common occurrence of the Cross punched over the Annulet i.m. on London coins shows that at this period old dies were frequently used. At present no coin is known of group IV with quatrefoils beside the neck.
Mints of Canterbury and York

i.m. brought into use again at the same time as the preceding).

(e) i.m. Rose. No marks on obverse. Quatrefoil on reverse. With or without rose on breast. (Pl. I, 12, L.A.L.).

These coins are followed by a few varieties which bear an initial on the obverse:—

(f) i.m. Rose. & and key beside bust. Quatrefoil on reverse. (Pl. I, 13, L.A.L.).

(g) i.m. Rose. & and Rose beside bust. Quatrefoil on reverse. (Pl. I, 14, B.M.).

(h) i.m. Rose. & and Rose beside bust. Quatrefoil on reverse. (Pl. I, 15, L.A.L.).

On the return of Edward in 1471 George Nevill surrendered himself to him and was pardoned on 19 April, but was confined to the Tower till the beginning of June. The following Christmas he was arrested, and in April 1472, was taken to France; his temporalities were sequestered and he was kept a prisoner till the summer of 1475, and in November, seven months before his death, he was back in England. He recovered his temporalities, for he is then recorded to have confirmed the election of an abbot.

The first of the York pennies of Edward’s second reign, (a) above, has been attributed to the royal mint on account of the absence of the quatrefoil or any other mark of the archbishop; but, though the royal mint remained open till September 1471, five months after the restoration, it had not during this period of its activity been striking pennies. Further, the penny (b) in the above list, which bears the quatrefoil, is struck from the same obverse die as (a). It is possible that the annulet coin without the quatrefoil represents an issue of the short period when Nevill was kept in custody. The three coins (b), (c) and (d) are alike in bearing the same initial mark as the London coins and in having the quatrefoil and no other episcopal mark; (e) is similar but has as initial mark the rose, which on coins of York, Durham and Canterbury seems to take the place of the

1 Num. Chron., 1914, p. 344. Mr. Lawrence has a coin, on which the initial mark is uncertain, but seems to be cross fitche or restoration cross, and which has & and key but no quatrefoil; this may be a mule with obverse of first reign and reverse of the annulet issue in question.
in the Reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII

London cinquefoil. This set of coins must belong to the years when Nevill was again under arrest and was held a prisoner in France, between Christmas 1471 and the summer of 1475. The temporalities were during this time, or at least during part of it, sequestered; so the absence of the archbishop's initial here sufficed, without the removal of the quatrefoil, for the differentiation of the vacancy issues.

The remaining three varieties, (f), (g), (h) may equally well be placed in the reverse order. They all certainly belong to a late period of the reign, as their lettering shows, and therefore those with Nevill's initial must have been struck after his release in 1475. The puzzle is the appearance on some coins of the letter e with a rose beside the bust; this is no accidental change, for it occurs on quite a large issue which required many dies. The letter may be the initial of Eboracum or of Edward; in either case it seems to denote a vacancy in the see, perhaps during Nevill's imprisonment before 1475, perhaps after his death.

The coinage of Archbishop Lawrence Booth (1476-1480; see above, p. 76, note), which has the same initial mark, a rose, and bears his initial, B, and the key on the obverse, and the quatrefoil on the reverse (Pl. I, 16, L.A.L.) is perhaps some slight evidence in favour of placing the coins with e and Rose in the period of imprisonment with the G and Rose preceding G and key in 1475-1476. Pennies with B and key but with no quatrefoil are presumably the coinage of the vacancy caused by the death of Lawrence Booth in 1480. (Pl. I, 17, B.M.). He was succeeded by Thomas Rotherham whose coins again are similar, with T and key and a quatrefoil (Pl. I, 18, L.A.L.); some of them have a star on the bust and to right of the crown. Rotherham continued his coinage in the reign of Richard III, both with sun-and-rose and with boar's head as initial marks (Pl. I, 19, B.M.); some of the former pennies omit the T and key on the obverse and these may, I think, have been issued during his imprisonment in 1483. (Pl. I, 20, B.M.). The royal mint was also opened by Richard III for a coinage of groats.

CANTERBURY IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD IV.

In the Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. v, p. 195, is entered a charter granted by Edward IV to Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated at Westminster 10 July in his third year
(1463). It inspects and confirms a charter of the year 1352, which cites earlier charters by Richard I and John of the years 1189, 1199, and 1200, confirming to the Archbishop of Canterbury the grant of three moneyers with their dies for making money in the City of Canterbury. It proceeds, in the summary of the Calendar,

"With further grant, in consideration of the good counsel and service rendered by the said archbishop, of special grace and for the greater security of the said archbishop, and for the removal of any doubts and ambiguities in the said charters and letters, that the archbishop and his successors shall have three dies and three moneyers to make money, to wit the half-groat (dimidium grossum) the penny and the halfpenny of silver, and the changing (cambium) of the said money so made and the profits thence arising in the city of Canterbury without any impediment from the king or his ministers."

It is interesting to bring this charter to mind, for though Ruding refers to it,¹ it seems to have been overlooked by writers on the coinage of Edward IV; and it is an extremely important document. It is the authority for the Bourchier coinage, and it grants to the archbishop coinage in three denominations of silver.

Since the time of Plegmund, archbishop during the reign of Alfred and Edward the Elder, there had been no evidence on the coins themselves of the coinage rights of the archbishops of Canterbury. From documentary evidence we are aware that the rights existed.

After the death in 914 of Plegmund, the last archbishop of Canterbury whose name appears on the coinage, the work at Canterbury, where there were not, as at York, two separate mints in the city, was divided between the king and the archbishop. In Æthelstan's reign the king had four moneyers and the archbishop two, a seventh being appropriated to the abbot of St. Augustine. From the above charter it appears that in the reigns of Richard I and John there were three moneyers working for the archbishop; this number was accepted by Edward I who, in the indenture of 1279 with William Turnemire,² provided for eight furnaces to be worked in Canterbury, five for the king and three for the archbishop. Edward II,³ in

¹ Vol. ii, p. 182, note 2; in the same note Ruding writes "George archbishop of Canterbury" in error for "George archbishop of York."
² Red Book of the Exchequer (Rolls Series), vol. iii, p. 985 (8 Dec., 1279).
³ Cal. Close Rolls, 1307-1333, p. 35-6 (1 Ed. II, m. 3) (22 May, 1308).
in the Reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII

1308, ordered the keeper of the Exchange to cease from obstructing the archbishop in the enjoyment of his three dies and three moneyers, an obstruction which had been going on ever since the Keeper's appointment. Edward III, as we have already seen, confirmed the archbishop's right to three moneyers; but no further documentary evidence of the archbishop's privilege is known until Edward IV issued the charter quoted above; indeed, the fact that his charter inspects no charters of later date than 1352 suggests, though not with certainty, that none had been issued in the meantime. ¹ The confirmation of his dies by Edward III was a hollow gift to the archbishop; the mint at Canterbury had been closed since 1332 and did not open again till Thomas Bourchier availed himself of the charter of Edward IV.

Though the charter was signed on 10 July, 1463, Bourchier does not appear to have opened the mint until after September, 1464, when the weight of the silver coins was reduced from a fifteen-grain to a twelve-grain penny.² The earliest Bourchier half-groats have Pall i.m. on obverse, none on reverse (Pl. I, 21, B.M.); they have large fleurs on the tressure and sometimes an extra pellet in one quarter of the reverse; their position as an early issue of the light coinage is shown by comparison with London groats with Rose i.m. which do not have the eye after Civitas. Mr. Lawrence has one with Pall i.m. on obverse and Rose i.m. on reverse. The remaining half-groats have trefoils on the tressure; they vary in having as initial marks Pall and Rose, Pall and Sun, or Pall (on both sides or on obverse only) and in the presence or absence of quatrefoils beside the bust; the knot below the bust is occasionally omitted on half-groats which have Pall alone as i.m. and quatrefoils beside the bust. The stops, when they occur, are always saltires, and therefore the latest of them is not later than the London issues with the Crown initial mark and perhaps contemporary with the Sun i.m. The few Bourchier pennies that exist do not carry the argument further. It is worth while to notice the peculiarity of the small hook or spur projecting from the inner circle in one

¹ Ruding I, p. 182, note 2, quotes Hasted for a confirmation by Henry VI. Hasted, History of Kent, vol. iv, p. 762, apparently inserts in error a confirmation by Henry VI for which he refers to the charter of Edward IV.

² The half-groat of 26 grains attributed by Walters to the heavy coinage (Num. Chron., 1909, p. 191) is considerably later; the trefoils on the tressure identify it with the London issue with Sun i.m. Its high weight must be due to carelessness in the individual coin due to weighing in mass.
angle of the reverse which occurs on all Bourchier coins and nowhere else.

In 1465 the king opened his mints at Bristol, Coventry and Norwich, and the York Castle mint was also put into commission for the large coinage required when the gold coinage was reformed in July 1465. The coinage at the time of their opening was just on the change from the Rose to the Sun as initial mark.¹

The royal issues of Canterbury, which do not include the groat, though they add the halfpenny to the two known Bourchier denominations, begin with the Crown as initial mark and trefoils besides the neck (Pl. I, 22, B.M.), others have Crown on obverse and Sun on reverse, and finally they finish, after the Restoration, with obv. Cross Fitchée, rev. Cinquefoil (Pl. II, 23, B.M.), Cinquefoil both sides (but obverse i.m. is doubtful, L.A.L. ex Walters, 1913, lot 458), and Rose usually with a on breast (Pl. II, 24, B.M.).

Symonds, in Num. Chron., 1926, p. iii-2, has shown reason for assigning to the king’s work at the Canterbury mint limits of dates not earlier than September 1465, and not later than October 1468.² This may well be correct subject to the necessary addition that the mint reopened at a late period in the reign. A comparison of Bourchier’s coins with the king’s coinage at Canterbury, shows, I think, quite clearly that the one did not overlap the other; at a date early, I think, in the period of the Crown initial mark the Bourchier coinage stopped and the king’s coinage took its place. There is no difficulty, so far as I am aware, in placing the whole of the royal Canterbury coinage which precedes the restoration of Henry VI within the years 1466-1468; it ends with group V, the combination of Crown and Sun, or perhaps we should assume the issue of half-groats of group VI (Cross Fitchée) in order to account for the mule of that mark with the Cinquefoil.¹ The wide distance of time between the obverse and reverse dies of this mule explains itself in the light of the king having closed the mint in 1468 and having reopened it at a late period in his second reign. Whether the archbishop participated in the profits of the mint while it was in the king’s hands we cannot say.

¹ Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich have groats with Sun on obverse and Rose on reverse; the identification of Rose i.m. alone for Coventry (English Coins, p. 156) is doubtful, I think it comes from a Coventry-London mule with Sun on reverse; York has early coins with Lis or Sun.

² On the ground of the omission of Canterbury from two letters by privy-seal of those dates.
The first issue of the reign of Henry VII, the Open Crown issue, again includes a Canterbury coinage; the archbishop Thomas Morton (1486–1500), is now striking coins, and not only the half-groat and penny, but also the halfpenny, with his initial $M$ in the centre of the reverse. Morton appears, like Bourchier in 1463, to have received confirmation of the grant of the dies of the archbishop and to have enjoyed the sole use of the mint. But later coins of Canterbury discard the letter $M$ and usually adopt as their initial mark the Lis, which is also used on half-groats of London and of York, though they frequently use the Ton and the Lis in conjunction. The coincidence of the two features, the omission of the archbishop's initial and the substitution of the royal Lis for his canting emblem, the Tun, seems to indicate at least some curtailment of the liberty previously enjoyed by the archbishop; and it is natural to interpret the conjunction of the Lis and the Tun, which is so frequent on the half-groats, as indication of a sharing of the mint by the king and the archbishop.

The Canterbury half-groats fall into the following classes:—

A. The group with Open Crown, early lettering, Tun i.m., and $M$ in the centre of the reverse. These are group I which can be dated approximately 1485–1494, the terminal date being that of the issue of the earliest Sovereign, which was ordered in October, 1494, and bears the Cross Fitchée, the last initial mark of this group (Pl. II, 25, B.M.).

B. Coins with Double-arched Crown; no initial mark; in all other respects similar to group A. These correspond to early coins of group II which have no initial mark, and were therefore struck about 1494-5 (Pl. II, 26, L.A.L.).

C. Coins without $M$ on the reverse, with early lettering on the obverse and ornate lettering on the reverse. Initial marks are Lis, or Tun and Lis, on obverse with Lis on reverse. (Pl. II, 27, B.M.).

D. Coins with ornate lettering and rosette stops on both sides. The initial marks are Tun and Lis on obverse with no i.m. on reverse, Tun on obverse with Lis on reverse, Tun both sides. These were all struck early in period of group III; for the broken letters which occur so frequently upon them, notably $T$, $R$, $M$, $a$, all
Mints of Canterbury and York

broken at their lower end, are found upon some of the London groats which have as initial marks Escallop or Pansy. Group III, in which these two marks occur quite early, begins very shortly after the death of John Shirwood, Bishop of Durham, which occurred in January, 1494. (Pl. II, 28, B.M.).

E. Similar coins with ornate lettering but saltire stops or no stops. The initial mark is a Tun on both sides, or, rarely, with a Pansy added beside the Tun on the obverse. (Pl. II, 29, L.A.L.). This class is parallel to London groats with the Pansy (sometimes called Regular Cinquefoil), which immediately follows the Escallop in group III.

The series starts, therefore, with two classes, A and B, struck between 1485 and 1495 by Archbishop Morton; the three later classes appear to have been issued while the mint of Canterbury was shared by the king and the archbishop. The mint then closed down and no more coins were issued there until the profile groats appeared with the Martlet initial mark at the very end of the reign.

The pennies of York and Durham form a similar series parallel to the coinage of Canterbury. Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, struck pennies of group I with early lettering and trefoil stops, on which his initial was balanced by a key, cross, or trefoil at the other side of the bust (Pl. II, 30, 31, both L.A.L.); the use of the letter h on the earlier coins, instead of a quatrefoil, in the centre of the reverse was perhaps a method of marking the reverse dies which were supplied after Henry’s accession. On “sovereign type” pennies Rotherham’s initial disappears and keys are placed beside the shield; they occur both with early lettering of group II (Pl. II, 32, L.A.L.) and with ornate lettering and rosette stops of group III (Pl. II, 33, L.A.L.), and the latest of these, bearing saltires on the throne-posts and beside the king’s legs and without stops in the legend (Pl. II, 34, L.A.L.), is analogous to the Canterbury coins of class E; the occurrence of a broken e on the obverse carries the parallel a step further. Here the series ends and these are the last pennies ever struck by an Archbishop of York.

At Durham John Shirwood struck pennies of group I with early lettering and trefoil stops, similar to those struck in the reign of Richard III, and in the sovereign type it is his coinage
that retains this early lettering (group II) whereas the ornate lettering appears only on pennies that bear the initial of Richard Fox, who succeeded Shirwood in 1494. Again, on the pennies of Fox, we find the saltires on the throne-posts and the absence of stops supplying a parallel with the latest Canterbury and York coins of this group, and again the broken α is found on the latest pennies.

The simultaneous closure of work at the three mints of Canterbury, York and Durham is especially interesting on account of the entry in the K.R. Mem. Roll of 16 Henry VII (Hilary term), i.e. early in the year 1501, which Symonds published in Num. Chron., 1913, p. 352:

“... as the business and labour of the said Alexandre [de Bruchsella, the graver at London] daily increased, for as much as the king had restrained the mints of Canterbury, York, and Durham for a certain season, he should receive convenient wages for his labour in the said office until the contrary was ordered.”

Both the archbishops died in 1500, Rotherham in May and Morton in September; the restraint had presumably been in force only a short time when the order was given for the London graver to receive additional pay, and perhaps we may see in the deaths of the two archbishops the opportunity for the king to undertake a reform of the coinage which was to involve the coinages of the two archbishops and the bishop of Durham.

During the years c. 1494-1500 there had been an enormous output of half-groats; not only had the mint of Canterbury been very prolific, but at both London and York the king had been striking this denomination. After an issue at the beginning of the reign (Open Crown; i.m. Lis over Sun-and-Rose) no more half-groats are known of London until group III which has the double-arched crown with jewelled arches. Both London and York (royal) struck similar half-groats with the pellet in the voided panel in the centre of the reverse; unlike the groats they still, on early examples, bear the early lettering with (at York on obverse only) trefoil stops.1 (Pl. II, 35, L.A.L.). At both mints the ornate lettering with rosette stops is used on coins with double-arched crown and with the later unarched crown which

1 The use of the Esca llop initial mark on the earliest London specimen and the form of the crown show that they are correctly assigned to group III (i.e. c. 1494 onwards).
has the tressure broken above it (Pl. II, 36, 37, both L.A.L.); at both mints the same broken T marks some of the earlier coins, and the latest have a smaller style of ornate lettering with the broken Θ as a common feature. The pennies of London also run parallel with those of York and Durham and seem to terminate at the same time as they, to revive only with "profile" lettering towards the end of the reign.¹

In all denominations, except the gold coins and the groats, there is lacking an output that will fit the period of the later initial marks of group III, Leopard’s Head to Greyhound, and of groats with single-arched crown (group IV). There is one exception, the York full-face half-groats and halfpence with Martlet initial marks.

The German artist, Alexander of Brugsal, had been appointed graver in 1494. The appointment can only have been made with a view to the introduction of the newer methods of renaissance portraiture, and from the time of his appointment, though it was ten years before the purpose was achieved, its realization must have been perpetually in mind. I am of opinion that this had something to do with the concentration in 1500 or 1501 upon the gold and the great issues. Whatever the cause, the king’s coinage was, I think, limited between 1501 and 1504 to gold and groats. But on Savage’s appointment to the archbishopric of York he was given liberty to coin the half-groat and halfpenny, in place of the penny which had been the right of his predecessors. The commission to Thomas Piggott of 20 September, 1507,²

"to act as keeper and overseer of the mint at York during the voidance of the see of York, such office having been lately held by commission from the archbishop, deceased, with injunction to coin only pens of two pens and half pens according to the stamp and form used in the time of the archbishop."

proves conclusively that the York half-groats and halfpence of full face type bearing the keys beside the bust are the "pens of two pens" and "half pens" according to the stamp and form of which Piggott was to strike during the vacancy following Savage’s death, and that the similar coins which omit the keys are the coinage of Piggott struck between September 1507 and

¹ Possibly a London penny with the small square lettering (group IV) exists; in English Coins I included it from a coin in Mr. Lawrence’s collection but the coin is much clipped, and I am doubtful of the lettering.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DURHAM</th>
<th>ARCHBISHOP</th>
<th>ROYAL</th>
<th>ARCHBISHOP</th>
<th>ROYAL</th>
<th>CANTERBURY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Penny Half-groat Penny Halfpenny</td>
<td>Great Half-groat</td>
<td>Half-groat Penny Halfpenny</td>
<td>Half-groat Penny Halfpenny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward IV</td>
<td>L. Booth</td>
<td>W. Booth</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1461-1464</td>
<td>G. Nevill</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(and Halfpenny)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1465-1467</td>
<td>G. Nevill</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Henry VI restored
1470-1471
L. Booth
1471-1476
G. Nevill
1476-1483
W. Dudley
T. Rotherham

Richard III
1483-1485
J. Shirwood
T. Rotherham
+ |

Henry VII
1485-1489
J. Shirwood
T. Rotherham
1490-1494
J. Shirwood
T. Rotherham
+ |

1494-1500
R. Fox
T. Rotherham

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESTRAINT OF 1500)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1501-1504</td>
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<tr>
<td>T. Savage</td>
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<tr>
<td>1505-1507</td>
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<tr>
<td>T. Savage</td>
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<tr>
<td>1507-1508</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vacancy (half-face)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1508-1509</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Bainbridge (profile)</td>
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</tbody>
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Early London Half-groat
No London Half-groats
London Half-groats

No London coins smaller than the great
London profile half-groats
December 1508. This series of York half-groats begins with the coins with no tressure on obverse, for they have ornamental lettering (Pl. II, 38, B.M.). It is difficult to be precise upon the small differences shown in the style of that lettering; but I think the style of these coins may be compared with the rather coarser style of the Anchor and later groats of group III. Some that have no tressure combine this lettering with the square lettering familiar on Greyhound-Rose groats, the lettering, that is, of group IV. The half-groats with tressure have either the square lettering of group IV or the thin, "profile," lettering of group V, which appears also on the coins without keys (Pl. II, 39, 40, 41, all L.A.L.).

The coinage is therefore an issue with no parallel except in the gold and groat denominations, and its identification with Archbishop Savage (1501-1507) and with the vacancy of 1507-8 agrees with the closing down of other coinages in 1500. It raises, of course, in an acute form the problem of the date of the profile coinage. The overlap of the full-face and profile coinages, which was expounded by Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, extends over the years 1504-1507, for there can be no doubt that the groat with single-arched crown was the type issued as the result of the Act of 1503 and proclamation of July, 1504, when the groat was current only if it had the outer circle complete. At York the commission to Piggott caused the old type to continue in 1507-8 when the profile half-groat was already issued at London, owing to the instructions given him to strike in accordance with the stamp and form used by the late archbishop.

The other interesting point raised by the restraint of 1500 is the question whether, in view of the work being limited to the groat and the gold coins, the London graver could in fact have had an extra burden of work thrown upon him by the restraint of the other mints. The answer may perhaps be found in the larger output of gold and of groats, especially of the Anchor mark; but Alexander may also be supposed to have been busy on the preliminary work for the graving of dies with the new portrait though even the earliest shillings cannot have been struck so early as 1500-1501.

In order to summarize and elucidate the opinions which I have expressed above, I have appended a table which shows the coinages of Durham, York and Canterbury in parallel columns.

1 Brit. Num. Journ., XVIII, p. i ff. Mr. Carlyon-Britton, (p. 45 ff.) took the view that I have expressed above of the York half-groats, but placed London half-groats, which I think are earlier, contemporary with them.