My aim in this paper has been to collect and co-ordinate the scattered material which has been written from time to time on the coinage of Edward IV, to make such additions as have come to my notice and such amendments as appeared necessary, and to present the whole in a manner which will be of value and assistance both to the general numismatist and to the specialist. For the latter, reference is made in footnotes to sources of information.1

I have consciously departed from current practice in one respect, and I should like to give my reasons for doing so. Over the last forty years there has been an ever-increasing tendency to specialization in English numismatics, and this has resulted in the dating of medieval coins with an accuracy which numismatists of the last century would never have dreamed possible. While much of this is undoubtedly sound, it has inevitably had the effect of reducing to almost negligible proportions the number of numismatists who are competent to deal with any one subject and the number of readers who can derive enjoyment from them. This, I think, is to be regretted, since it reduces the amount of critical study to so few persons.

In the paper which follows I have therefore attempted to write more on the lines of some of the earlier numismatists of this century and to present as broad a picture as possible of the coinage as a whole. In doing so I am fully aware that I shall be open to criticism and to the suggestion that I am reverting to the unscholarly days of the past, but I hope that I may be meeting with the wishes of numismatists in general without sacrificing the lessons that have been learnt in these years of accruing knowledge.

In pursuance of this policy the lists at the end of the paper do not attempt to record every minor variety of stopping, of which there is an infinite number in the coins of Edward IV, much less to record every known die. But I have attempted to record any variety which appears to have some significance.

1 The principal papers are those of the late Mr. F. A. Walters, “The Coinage of the Reign of Edward IV”, Num. Chron., 1909, p. 131 (first reign); 1910, p. 117 (Henry VI restored); 1914, p. 330 (second reign); and of the late Mr. H. Symonds, “Mint Accounts and Documents of Edward IV”, Num. Chron., 1926, p. 99. Well illustrated articles by Mr. L. A. Lawrence and Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton may also be consulted in Brit. Num. Journ. viii. 149 and xvii. 125. For Henry VI see also D. F. Allen, Num. Chron., 1937, p. 28.
The basis of the classification has been the initial marks, and the relative provincial coins have been associated as far as possible with the corresponding ones of London. The use of dies of local manufacture, notably at Durham, has, however, not made this always possible.

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

The circumstances of the accession of Edward IV, the culmination of the first phase of the Wars of the Roses, are well known: there need be no need nor have we space to repeat them here. Of his character it need only be said that in 1461 he was a somewhat headstrong and extravagant young man, perhaps a little spoiled by his successes at Mortimer's Cross and Towton, for he was not yet nineteen years of age. Little need be said either of his claim to the throne—he was at least a great-grandson of Edward III. In this connexion it has been remarked that, if the people and Parliament were ready to accept him, it was not so much for the goodness of his Yorkist pedigree as because of the badness of the Lancastrian government. In the case of Parliament perhaps the readiness was partly due to their realization that resistance to the Earl of Warwick's soldiers at Westminster was impossible.

For a time things went well enough with Edward, but he soon began to show a somewhat natural impatience with the tutelage of the powerful earl who had helped him win the throne. We need not accuse the king of ingratitude. In placing him on the throne Warwick had no doubt chiefly considered the advancement of himself and his own party, for the nobles had grown accustomed during the long reign of the unfortunate Henry VI to regard the king's person as something to be exploited for their private ends. But Edward was a very different man from Henry VI. To throw off the unwelcome attentions of Warwick the king proceeded to build up his own party. He married several of the sisters of his somewhat bourgeois wife, Elizabeth Woodville, to persons of importance. Furthermore, his own sister Margaret became the wife of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who had long been Warwick's enemy. The breach between Edward and the earl, jealous of the king's new friends whom he regarded as upstarts, was soon complete. In addition the new party incurred the disapproval of the Church, still led by such aristocrats as Neville and Bourchier, themselves both descendants of Edward III.

Hostilities broke out in 1468, and though the king was at first successful he became careless with victory and soon lost all his advantage. Warwick was able to join forces abroad with Margaret, wife of the imprisoned Henry VI, whose son she still hoped one day to place upon the throne. On their invasion of the country Edward was obliged in September 1470 to take refuge with his brother-in-law Charles the Bold.

Once more Henry VI was placed on the throne by the victorious and now Lancastrian Warwick. But during the leisure of his exile Edward

1 He was born 28 Apr. 1442 and acceded 4 Mar. 1461.
learned his lesson; he was moreover not a man to be easily discouraged. With the help of his brother-in-law he was soon able to return to England, where he entered London in April 1471. He captured King Henry and his guardian Archbishop Neville, Warwick's brother, and marched out to meet the earl at Barnet on Easter Eve 1471. The king's victory and the death of the earl were soon followed at Tewkesbury by the defeat of Margaret and the death of her son.

But although the king's potential rival to the throne was eliminated, there remained the possibility of danger from some too powerful adherent of his own party. Edward determined that there should be no more Earls of Warwick. If despotism was the only alternative, he was not afraid: he would at least not repeat the mistake of the constitutional Lancastrian king who had played into the hands of a selfish aristocracy.

To rule as he desired, wealth was a necessity—and it was not, men said, always blamelessly obtained. It was noted by his critics, and apparently with some truth, that he "seized the revenues of vacant prelacies which according to Magna Carta could not be sold and obliged the newly-appointed bishops to redeem them at a price"; the known complications of Edward's ecclesiastical coinage amply justify the charge.

An episode of his later years also deserves special mention as perhaps having repercussions on the currency. In 1476 an invasion of France was averted by Louis XI paying Edward what we may call "Danegeld" of 75,000 crowns in gold and promising him an annual pension of 50,000 crowns, money which possibly provided some of the bullion for the output of gold in the last few years of the reign. Edward died in April 1483, not quite forty-one years of age.

Historians are agreed that bitter as the fighting had been during the first decade of Edward's reign, there was on the whole little distress and disorganization generally in the country. The participants in the struggle had been mainly the noble families on either side, and if as the outcome of war many of them suffered death or exile or the loss of their estates, the men who lived on their land as their tenants were on the whole no worse off than before. In particular, commercial life in the towns seems to have proceeded much as usual, and the fortunes of the increasing bourgeois and capitalist class, especially in the wool and cloth trades, and in commerce overseas from ports like Bristol, continued to flourish undiminished; and it may be that if, despite the shortage of gold, there was at no time anything approaching chaos in the currency, it was the growing influence of this class of citizen which was able, despite the political troubles, to ensure a constant supply of bullion for the Mint.

Nevertheless, it is evident from the steps the king found himself

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1 His deposition dates from 3 Oct. 1470 to 11 Apr. 1471.
2 Croyland Continuator, 562; see Vickers, England in the Later Middle Ages, p. 482.
3 The absence of records of the coinage between 1461 and 1463 may possibly be attributed to the political unrest.
obliged to take that in 1464 the currency of the country was on the verge of one of those periodically recurring crises inseparable from a system where money has an intrinsic value and new supplies of bullion are not sufficient to replace the loss through wear and tear. In that year, perhaps under the stress of the costly civil war, the king virtually reduced the weight of both the gold and silver money. Historians have doubted the wisdom of this action on the king’s part, but it seems likely that he had no choice, and that in no other way in such circumstances (save by increasing the admixture of alloy) can the currency be preserved. But the change was not without advantage to the king. Not only did he derive profit through the usual charges for seigniorage, but the vast recoinage of silver spread his name on the new money throughout the length and breadth of the land. To a king whose just title was open to some doubt prestige was everything. It is not irrelevant to add that Henry VI in his restoration coinage showed a similar eagerness to replace Edward’s name by his own.

The new currency of Edward IV is one of the landmarks in English numismatics and deserves special mention, not only by reason of the long stability which it enjoyed, but also for its introduction of two celebrated new pieces, the ryal and the angel. Their popularity became so wide that they were imitated abroad, after the continental practice, to an even greater extent than the old Edwardian noble or the “Henricus” of the Lancastrian kings. It has been conjectured that Edward himself may have sponsored some of these imitations during his exile with Charles the Bold. The practical utility of the new coins was that they corrected the mistaken estimate which had been made of the value of the old noble when it was raised from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d., and also provided very useful coins as “money of account”, for which the mark (13s. 4d.) was almost as widely utilized as the pound. The angel of 6s. 8d. going two to the mark and three to the pound, was even more useful than the ryal which, although it went two to the pound, yet split the mark fractionally. Indeed, the ryal disappeared in a few years, partly owing to this competition of the angel, but also, perhaps, partly to that of some of the various imitations of the ryal which were always a few grains lighter. Another fault was that the large flan made the coin too thin for practical use, so that it was liable to crack or even to break.

Contemporary documents like the Paston Letters occasionally refer to the coin. At first they show the inconvenient 8s. 4d. noble, for a time in circulation side by side with the ryal, but soon supplanted by it. The angel is not mentioned in the same letters (and even then it is called a noble) until 1471, a date which accords very well with our knowledge that the angel was not extensively struck before the restoration of Henry VI.

As for the silver, some pertinent remarks about it are to be found in the work of a recent student of the currency, Mr. Feaveryear,¹ who has pointed out that if, on the reduction of the groat from 60 to 48

¹ The Pound Sterling, Oxford, 1932, p. 41.
grains in 1464, all the silver brought to the Mint had been of full weight, the increase in the total nominal value of the circulation would have been only 20 per cent. “As it was”, he continues, “it was probably less than 10%. Moreover since it was the heavier coins which were brought in, they came in all probability from hoards, and the new coins given in exchange went back into those hoards. It therefore seems unlikely that the actual recoinage did much to inflate the currency.” He adds: “These considerations may explain why there was no sudden rise of prices after 1464.”

The accuracy of these conjectures is confirmed by some recent experiments that were made in weighing some 500 heavy groats of Henry VI whose silver we may justifiably suppose formed the bulk of the currency in 1464. These groats were found to average nearly 56 grains each. Such pieces when recoined into groats of 48 grains would increase the total currency in circulation by about 16 per cent., but it must be remembered that since these coins have survived it is likely that they had been hoarded for the very reason that they were heavier than the average. Mr. Feaveryear’s estimate therefore of 10 per cent. or a little less cannot be far wrong.

To sum up, there seems reason to suppose that the new coinage, since it caused no general rise in prices, did something to enhance both public confidence and the national prestige.

**Documentary Evidence**

The following are the principal sources of documentary evidence regarding the coinage of Edward IV:

1. The Patent Rolls (pub. 1899-1901) which contain particulars of the various indentures, sundry appointments at the Mint, orders regarding the royal provincial mints and the granting of a licence to the Bishop of Durham to make his own dies and to strike halfpence.

2. The Foreign Rolls from which the late Miss Stokes extracted the Mint accounts published in *Num. Chron.*, 1929, pp. 27 ff., and reproduced here in a slightly expanded form on pp. 9-10.


4. A document quoted by Ruding (vol. iii, p. 146), source not given, which shows the quantity of old gold and silver (presumably of Henry VI) brought to the Mint between 1465 and 1468 to be recoined.

5. Durham Chancery Rolls, given by Ruding, who quotes Noble’s *Mint and Coins of the Bishops of Durham*. These provide certain particulars of the dies made locally for Bishops Lawrence Booth and William Dudley.


8. K.R. Memoranda Roll 6 Edward IV, which contains the indenture for the coinage dated 6 March 1465. This important indenture has not hitherto been published and is therefore given in full on p. 53.

**Indentures**

There are records of seven indentures for the coinage:

1461, 23 May. Referred to above. Particulars not known, but it may be assumed that it was on similar lines to the later indentures of Henry VI.

1464, 13 August with Hastings. Weight of the penny to be reduced from 15 grains to 12. Weight of the gold unchanged, but the noble to pass for 8s. 4d. instead of 6s. 8d.1

1465, 6 March with Hastings. Referred to above. No change in the silver, but the farthing is specifically mentioned. The gold to be reformed by the issue of the "New Noble", that is, the ryal or rose-noble of 120 grains to pass for 10s., and its half and quarter in proportion, and an angel to pass for 6s. 8d. and its half in proportion. This in effect involved a slight reduction in the standard of the gold.2

1469, 2 March with Hastings. Standards and weights similar to 1465. The seigniorage reduced.3

1472, 23 February with Hastings. As 1469. The seigniorage further reduced.4

1477, 3 February with Hastings. As 1472.5

1483, 12 February with Reed. As 1477.6

**The Mint Accounts**

The accounts7 published by Miss Stokes can be slightly expanded as a result of the figures given in the narrative of the only recorded pyx trial,8 and although the totals of the various months' coinages do not exactly tally with the figures given by Miss Stokes, they are close enough9 to justify the compilation of the following composite table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>(Pounds Tower)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michaelmas 1460-15 Sept. 1462</td>
<td>2 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Sept. 1462-1 Sept. 1464</td>
<td>2 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sept. 1464-Michaelmas 1466</td>
<td>2 yrs. 1 mth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michaelmas 1466-26 Oct. 1468</td>
<td>2 yrs. 1 mth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Oct. 1468-28 Sept. 1469</td>
<td>11 mths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Sept. 1469-30 Sept. 1470</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Sept. 1470-11 May 1471</td>
<td>7 mths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 May 1471-30 Sept. 1471</td>
<td>5 mths.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2 Memoranda Roll, Exch. K.R. 6 Edw. IV, m. 45.
3 Pat. Rolls, vol. ii. 138. 4 Ibid. 313. 5 Ibid. iii. 20. 6 Ibid. 340.
7 Num. Chron., 1929, pp. 27 ff.
8 7,565 against 7,548 lb. of gold; 36,278 lb. against 36,314 of silver.
9 The Mint was certainly not inactive during this period. Ruding gives amounts of old coin brought to the Mint to be exchanged as follows: 16 Sept. 1465 to Mich. 1466, 137,875 old nobles and 3,845 pounds Troy of silver; Mich. 1466 to Mich. 1467, 60,163 old nobles, 3,486 pounds Troy of silver; Mich. 1467 to Easter 1468, 33,300 old nobles and 1,800 pounds Troy of silver. This would of course be only part of the total coinage.
The following fragmentary accounts of Bristol and York are all that are known of the provincial mints:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Bristol</th>
<th>York</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29 Sept. 1469–30 Sept. 1470</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Apr. 1471–23 July 1472</td>
<td>1 yr. 3 mths.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Sept. 1469–30 Sept. 1470</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Apr. 1471–Sept. 1471</td>
<td>5 mths.</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Gold</th>
<th>Silver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>2,150</td>
<td>10,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr. 3 mths.</td>
<td>1,674</td>
<td>7,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>1,533</td>
<td>5,994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>7,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr. 5 mths.</td>
<td>1,811</td>
<td>4,211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>1,121</td>
<td>2,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>1,041</td>
<td>2,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>1,387</td>
<td>1,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>1,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 mths.</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Reform of the Coinage, 1464–5

Between his accession in 1461 and 1464 Edward IV struck money according to the weight and standard of his predecessor, Henry VI. In 1464, however, he decided to lower the standard of the coinage. His reasons for doing so are given in his proclamations quoted by Ruding as being "amonges other thinges caused by lack of bryngyng of bolion into his myntes, which, as is conceived, is by cause that they that should brynge bolion may have more for theire bolion in other princes' myntes than in his".

Certainly the Mint accounts show that the quantities of gold bullion coming to the Mint had fallen to small proportions, but silver receipts were on a substantial scale, a fact which is confirmed by the relative plentifulness of heavy groats to-day. It was really a case of the mal-adjustment of the relative values of the two metals, and the depreciation of the silver cannot have been dictated so much by the shortage of bullion as by financial necessity arising out of the king's costly wars.

In the event a reduction of 20 per cent. was made in the silver and of nearly 28 per cent. in the gold. The reform was carried out in two stages. The first, under the indenture of 1464, reduced the weight of the penny from 15 to 12 grains but reformed, or rather attempted to reform, the gold by leaving the weight of the noble unchanged at 108 grains but increasing its value to 8s. 4d. The Mint accounts covering the two stages are combined in one figure, so one cannot draw conclusions from them as to the results achieved by each. The large number of silver coins existing suggests, however, that the desired result was obtained with this metal, and this assumption is confirmed.

1 Symonds, in Num. Chron., 1926, p. 105, says: "we may assume that York was closed in September 1471, the latest entry on the roll concerning that city."

2 Vol. i, pp. 282/3, from Close Rolls 4 Edw. IV.
by the fact that no change was made in the silver by the indenture of 1465.

To the gold struck under the 1464 indenture can probably be assigned a solitary noble, with I.M. Rose, now in the British Museum, for the lettering resembles that of some of the silver coins struck under the indenture of 1464. The coin, therefore, though listed with the heavy nobles it resembles, belongs actually to the light issue. The reason for the rarity of these nobles is that this indenture, although it was intended to reform the gold coinage, yet in reality failed to do so. In 1464 the noble had no doubt long been worth more than 8s. 4d., but only now was the fact officially recognized. But its assessment at that figure, from which, it should be mentioned, 12 per cent. was to be deducted for mintage and seigniorage, was an underestimate of its value and the gold holder could still obtain a higher price abroad. That this was so is proved by the fact that further measures were found necessary in the following year. Under the indenture of 1465 the gold was revalued and new coins were ordered, the ryal of 10s. to weigh 120 grains and the angel of 6s. 8d. to weigh 80 grains, a reduction of 29-7 per cent. The king was now able to offer, after deducting all charges, as much as 8s. 6¾d. net for each old noble.¹

This estimate achieved the desired result, and the account for the period 1 September 1464 to Michaelmas 1466 shows a total of no less than 12,389 pounds of gold, most of which may no doubt be attributed to the period after the 1465 indenture.

The Dating of the Coins

The following dates will help in the placing of the various issues of Edward IV:

1461
Canterbury: Thomas Bourchier Archbishop.
Durham: Lawrence Booth Bishop.

23 May. Indenture for coinage, particulars not known. Referred to in a foreign roll.²

1462

1463
10 July. Canterbury: grant of dies for the half-groat, penny, and halfpenny to Archbishop Bourchier.³

1464
13 Aug. Indenture increasing the value of the noble from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d., and reducing the weight of the great from 60 to 48 grains.
16 Sept. York: temporalities placed in the hands of the King's Receiver.

1465
6 Mar. Indenture ordering the ryal of 10s. and its fractions, the angel of 6s. 8d. and its half in place of the noble of 8s. 4d. Proportionate weight slightly reduced; silver unaltered.⁴

17 June. York: temporalities granted to Archbishop George Neville.
6 July. Commissions to open mints at Bristol, Norwich, and Coventry.
16 Sept. Probable closure of Norwich and Coventry mints.⁵

⁵ Num. Chron., 1926, p. 111.
The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)

1469 2 Mar. New indenture with Hastings: weight and standard unaltered, but seigniorage reduced.¹

1470 3 Oct. Restoration of Henry VI.

1471 11 Apr. Restoration of Edward IV.

15 Apr. York: Archbishop George Neville pardoned by Edward IV.

4 June. York: Archbishop George Neville released from the Tower.

1472 23 Feb. New indenture with Hastings: weight and standard unaltered, but seigniorage further reduced.²

25 Apr. York: Archbishop George Neville arrested for corresponding with the exiled Earl of Oxford. Taken to France and there imprisoned. Revenue of see sequestrated.

1473 21 June. Durham: licence to Lawrence Booth to make his own dies and to coin halfpence.

1475 Summer. York: Archbishop Neville released. He recovered his temporalities before his death.

1476 8 June. York: death of Archbishop Neville.

28 June. York: temporalities placed in the hands of the King’s Receiver.

York: Bishop Lawrence Booth translated from Durham.


1477 1 Oct. York: temporalities granted to Archbishop Lawrence Booth.³

1478 3 Feb. New indenture with Hastings, similar to that of 1472.⁴


3 Oct. York: Thomas Rotherham Archbishop, translated from Lincoln.⁵

1483 12 Feb. Indenture with Bartholomew Reed: terms similar to those of 1472.⁶

9 Apr. Death of Edward IV.

Canterbury: Thomas Bourchier Archbishop.

York: Thomas Rotherham Archbishop.


From these dates and from a study of the coins we can build up a fairly accurate chronology for the coinage of Edward IV. We have divided this into twenty-two types, the first reign comprising types I–XI and the second reign types XII–XXII.⁷

The heavy issues (types I–IV) must have been started (type I) almost immediately after his accession, probably under the indenture of 23 May 1461. When the change to types II, III, and IV (all with I.M. Rose) was made is not known, nor do the Durham coins help us as they might be expected to do, because the dies during this period were made locally and do not correspond with the London issues. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who received his grant in 1463, does not appear to have availed himself of it until the light coinage was ordered, so that here again no help is given.

Type V (I.M. Rose) was first issued under the indenture of 13 August 1464 and was practically superseded by the time the provincial mints opened on 6 July 1465, for the earliest provincial coins show that the period of the I.M. Sun was just beginning. The Rose-marked coins therefore of the light issue lasted about one year.

The years 1466–8 are a blank period as regards documentary evidence. The indenture of 2 March 1469 was probably responsible for

² Ibid., p. 313.
⁴ Pat. Rolls, Edw. IV.
⁵ Num. Chron., 1925, p. 373.
⁶ Pat. Rolls, Edw. IV.
⁷ For a comparison with Brooke’s classification in his English Coins see the chronological summary below, p. 14.
type X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun); so that type XI (Long Cross Fitchy both sides) would therefore have been struck just before Henry's restoration in 1470, which is compatible with its rarity. There remain therefore for the period from July 1465 to March 1469 types VI (Sun), VII (Crown), VIII (Crown/Sun), and IX (Crown/Rose). The first three types are prolific and cannot have lasted much less than a year each. The last, type IX, is rare and may have been introduced shortly before the new indenture of 1469.

This gives a reasonable chronology for the first reign.

In the second reign the mints of Durham and York provide some evidence in dating the issues. The Short Cross Fitchy (type XII) was continued from the restoration of Henry VI. Neville coins are found with this mark and these can be dated to the period between June 1471 and April 1472. The fact that a Durham penny of London work of Bishop Lawrence Booth exists with I.M. Annulet-with-pellet must mean that this issue was current before 21 June 1473 when Bishop Booth was given licence to make his own dies. Since very few specimens of this coin exist we may fairly conclude that this issue had not been in force long before that date. Types XIII (Large Annulet/Trefoil) and XIV (Small Annulet) should, therefore, probably fit in between the latter part of 1471 and the middle of 1473. Type XIII is relatively scarce, whereas type XIV is very plentiful. It is therefore likely that type XIV was introduced under the indenture of February 1472 and that type XIII was issued in the preceding months. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the Small Annulet is the initial mark of the last groats of the Bristol mint which closed in July 1472.

The York pennies from this time on have frequently the I.M. Rose regardless of what initial mark was in force at London, and the same applies to most of the Canterbury half-groats. These coins, therefore, are of less use in dating the other coins than might have been expected.

The Sede Vacante coins of York of 1476 have I.M. Rose, as have the majority of those of Lawrence Booth (1476–80). The latest of his, however, have I.M. Cinquefoil and show that this mark (type XXI) was in force in London at the date of his death, 19 May 1480.

We have therefore type XV (Annulet-with-pellet) in issue in June 1473 (and probably just begun at that date) and type XXI (Cinquefoil) in issue in May 1480 and similarly probably just begun. It seems likely that the several varieties of the pierced cross and single pellet which began with type XVIII, and which introduced a new fount, were first issued under the indenture of 3 February 1477. If this is the case, types XV, XVI, and XVII (Annulet-with-pellet, Cross and 4 pellets, Pierced Cross) must have been struck between the middle of 1473 and February 1477.

A new indenture was made on 12 February 1483 and the coins thereby authorized are probably those marked with I.M. Sun-and-Rose dimidiated (type XXII). Their rarity is compatible with their

representing the coinage between February and April in this year. If this is the case, then the Cinquefoil was current from early in 1480 to February 1483.

We get therefore the following approximate chronology:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Types/Descriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1461-4</td>
<td>Types I-IV (Heavy coinage).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 1464-July 1465</td>
<td>Type V (Rose, Brooke, I, II).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1465-6</td>
<td>VI (Sun, Brooke, III).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1466-7</td>
<td>VII (Crown, Brooke, IV).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1467-8</td>
<td>VIII (Crown/Sun, Brooke, V).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1469 (to March)</td>
<td>IX (Crown/Rose, Brooke, V).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Mar. 1469-70</td>
<td>X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun, Brooke, VI).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-1470-3 Oct. 1470</td>
<td>XI (L.C.F. both sides, Brooke, VI).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Oct. 1470-11 Apr. 1471</td>
<td>(Restoration of Henry VI).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1471-Autumn 1471</td>
<td>Type XII (Short Cross Fitchy, Brooke, VII).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn 1471-23 Feb. 1472</td>
<td>XIII (Large Annulet/Trefoil, Brooke, 1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Feb. 1472-Mid-1473</td>
<td>XIV (Small Annulet, Brooke, 1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-1473-3 Feb. 1477</td>
<td>Types XV, XVI, and XVII (Annulet-with-pellet, Cross and 4 pellets, Pierced Cross No. 1, Brooke, 2, 3, 4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Feb. 1477-Early 1480</td>
<td>Types XVIII, XIX, and XX (Cross and pellet, Pierced Cross No. 2, Pierced Cross with central pellet, Brooke, 5, 4, 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early 1480-12 Feb. 1483</td>
<td>Type XXI (Cinquefoil, Brooke, 6).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Feb. 1483-April 1483</td>
<td>XXII (Sun-and-Rose, Brooke, Edward V).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE MINTS**

Among the noteworthy points of the coinage of Edward IV is the revival of certain royal provincial mints, and the establishment of a new mint at Coventry. In the case of Coventry and Norwich the activity was short-lived, but the mints at Bristol and York yielded substantial amounts over a number of years, and Canterbury produced from the king’s or the archbishop’s mint the bulk of the half-groats in circulation. Similarly the bulk of the pennies came from the prolific mints of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham.

The mint of London was active throughout the reign as can be seen from the accounts, but no coinage appears to have been struck at Calais. Walters’s conjectures to the contrary were based primarily on the mention of the town in indentures which repeated older ones verbatim. For instance, that of March 1465 cites William Lord Hastings as “Maister and Werker of (the king’s) moneys of gold and sylver and Wardeyn of all man(ner) his eschaunge and oute chaunce within his Towre of London his Reaume of England and his Towne of Caleys”. This was the usual formula, and is the only mention made of Calais in the indenture, which nowhere orders money to be struck there. In this connexion it has already been pointed out that the petition to Parliament of 1454 (which was rejected) that the mint at Calais “was like to stand void and desolate and be destroyed” is probably to be interpreted that the mint was then inactive and was likely to remain so. The continued mention of Calais in documents of this nature was probably no more than a piece of political casuistry:

1 We have transposed Brooke’s types III and IV.
3 Rolls Parlt. v. 276.
its omission might have established an awkward precedent. In its extreme form this attitude may be compared to the official insistence, for more than four hundred years, on the king of England's claim to the French throne.

**London**

Of the heavy coinage all denominations of silver from the groat to the farthing are known. There are also two gold nobles. Coins struck under the indenture of 1464 are represented in gold by the Brooke memorial coin only.

With the coinage of 1465 the ryal of 10s. first makes its appearance with its half and quarter. At the same time the angel is ordered, though it does not appear to have been struck in any quantity until Henry VI's restoration. Thereafter it entirely superseded the ryal, and the angel and its half became the only gold coins of the realm until the introduction of the sovereign by Henry VII. Of the light silver the farthing is the only piece missing. Although it was specifically ordered by the indenture of 1465, and the account of the pyx trial already referred to shows that the farthing was not only ordered but actually struck, no authenticated specimen is known to have survived in spite of various attempts to identify one. This is the more curious since halfpence though scarce are for the most part not unduly rare.

**Bristol**

The opening of the mints of Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich can be definitely established from the orders dated 6 July 1465 in the Patent Rolls. In the case of Bristol, William Melsombye and Thomas Cartlage were ordered to take coiners, workmen, and labourers for the works of the mints of gold and silver at Bristol. The mint continued to operate during the remainder of Edward IV's first reign, during Henry VI's restoration, and until 23 July 1472 when the account ceases, and the absence of further coins suggests that the mint was then closed. Of the first reign the ryal and half-ryal are found in gold, the groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny in silver. As in previous reigns with the quarter-noble, the attribution of quarter-ryals to the provincial mints cannot be definitely established. Of the second reign are found the angel, groat, half-groat, and penny.

With the exception of the ryal and the groat, which are fairly plentiful, the coins of Bristol are very rare.

**Coventry**

The opening of the royal mint of Coventry has been referred to above. In this case John Worlege and Thomas Melson were given the instructions. The fact that in a privy seal letter dated 16 September 1465 the seigniorage which had previously been charged at London, York, Coventry, Norwich, and Bristol was altered, and the new charge ordered at London, York, and Bristol, leads Symonds to infer that
Coventry and Norwich had by that time been closed. This contention is borne out by the coins, and their scarcity is compatible with the mint having had a life of only three or four months.

Of Coventry there are ryals and half-ryals, both rare, the latter especially so. In silver there are groats and a half-groat which is so far unique. What are perhaps the earliest groats are from locally made dies. These, however, like similar Norwich coins, may be mere forgeries though they evidently passed current. They usually lack the distinctive mint letter on the breast. Apparently dies were also prepared in London and not sent, as there exist scarce groats with obv. I.M. Rose and a α on the breast over which is struck a fleur. The reverse of these coins bears I.M. Sun and the mint-name of London.

Norwich

The Norwich order to open the mint is addressed to John Sweder and Thomas Warner. As at Coventry, the mint was only open from July to September 1465, and in the same way the earliest groats are from locally made dies. The ryal and half-ryal are found, both very rare, and in silver, the groat and half-groat; of the latter two specimens only are known to us.

York

The reopening of the royal mint at York, inactive since the beginning of Henry VI’s reign, may also be dated with a fair degree of probability to July 1465 as the seigniorage to be charged there is specified (see under Coventry, above). The initial mark Rose (of 1464–5), however, is never found.

In the later part of the reign written evidence is of more direct value, since it includes the mint accounts covering the first part of Edward’s second reign. The accounts at York cease in September 1471, just as those of Bristol do in July 1472. These may be accepted confidently as the closing dates, for the slightly longer existence of the Bristol mint is accurately reflected by surviving coins. We have of Edward’s second reign several varieties of groat from Bristol, but only one from York.

Of the first reign ryals and half-ryals are known, and quarter-ryals with the I.M. Lis have also been doubtfully assigned to York: in silver there are groats, half-groats, and halfpence, the pence being struck at the archbishop’s mint. In the second reign the accounts show gold to have been struck, but none is yet known to have survived. In the silver, groats and half-groats were coined, the latter having been attributed by Brooke in English Coins to the first reign.

Canterbury

The position of the Canterbury mint has been clearly set out by Dr. Brooke in his paper on “The Mints of Canterbury and York in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII,” to which reference should be made.

Brooke calls attention to the charter granted by Edward IV to Thomas Bourchier dated 10 July 1463, which confirms the archbishop's ancient right to three dies and three moneyers and now extended it to include the coinage of half-groats and halfpence besides the original pence. He adds: “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.”

For more than 100 years, since the Florin-type coinage of Edward III between 1344 and 1351, the mint of Canterbury had been inactive, but soon after the granting of the new charter it leapt into prominence, and during the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII, and to a lesser degree of Henry VIII, produced the bulk of the coinage of half-groats in the country.

No heavy coins of Canterbury are known—Walters's view to the contrary, based on a slight overweight in one or two coins which in other respects show every sign of being of a later date, is not convincing—and it is possible that the archbishop did not avail himself of his privilege to strike until the weight of the penny was reduced from 15 grains to 12 some fourteen months later.

His coins are distinguished from those of the royal moneyers by one or more of the following marks:

1. The I.M. Pall, which must not be confused with the Long Cross Fitchy which it somewhat resembles when not fully shown.
2. Bourchier's knot on the king's breast.
3. A small spur in one quarter of the reverse projecting from the inner circle, which Brooke says is found on all Bourchier's coins.

While it is true to say that it is generally so found, a number of coins exist, as we shall see, on which it is missing.

It is noteworthy that the mint opened in the first instance for the archbishop alone. This was contrary to the previous practice whereby the archbishop merely shared in the profits of a common coinage emanating jointly from the royal moneyers and his own. But the archbishop's privilege did not last long. It seems possible that the king was something of a trimmer; that so long as it was worth his while to cultivate the support of the powerful archbishop, who was his own second cousin and equally the great-grandson of Edward III, he was glad to put such a benefit in his way, but when he felt his own position secure he did not hesitate to seize the lucrative office for himself. The process seems to have been a gradual one; at first the archbishop seems to have been required to remove his emblems from the coins, for they are found still bearing his initial mark of the Pall, and either the knot or the spur but not both marks; indeed one coin, a penny, shows neither knot nor spur. These are the last coins struck by Bourchier, and the next pieces were struck by the king himself

1 He also states that some have an extra pellet in the reverse; we have not met such coins.
with the initial mark of the period, Crown, and differ only in the mint-
name from the parallel London coins.

Of the royal mint all three denominations are found in both reigns. The pence and halfpence are of considerable rarity.

The dates of the opening and closing of the royal mint at Canterbury have been deduced by Henry Symonds (Num. Chron., 1926, pp. 111-12) as not earlier than September 1465 and not later than October 1468. This dating is based on the omission of reference to the royal mint there in two letters of privy seal of those dates. The coins, however, point to a slightly later closing. All those of the archbishop can be attributed to types V, VI, and perhaps VII, and those of the king to types VII-IX, type VII thus overlapping and forming a very logical link between the two.

There is no evidence of any coinage at Canterbury in the last year of Edward's first reign, nor are there any coins of that mint of Henry VI during his restoration.

Over the classification of the coins of the second reign we find ourselves at variance with Brooke, who regards those half-groats which have I.M. Long Cross Fitchy on the obverse and Cinquefoil on the reverse as mules, consisting of old dies (of type X) brought into service once more and type XXI. Brooke takes the view in consequence that half-groats were not struck at Canterbury between these periods.¹

It is quite clear that the mint was inactive during the earlier years of the second reign, but to assume that it only reopened with the Cinquefoil coinage involves compressing the very considerable number of half-groats with I.M. Rose and a on the breast into a very short space of time. We feel sure, moreover, that Brooke would have changed his views if he had observed that the lettering of the Long Cross Fitchy dies is of the new fount which was first used during the issue of type XVIII. The Long Cross Fitchy here, therefore, is merely an old mark revived.

It is difficult to say for certain which of the two types is the earlier, the Rose or the Long Cross Fitchy/Cinquefoil, but it may be assumed that the latter combination corresponds to the Cinquefoil at London which, apart from the very small issue of coins with Sun and Rose dimidiated, brought the reign to a close. We have therefore regarded the Rose-marked coins as the earlier.

**Privy Marks**

The instructions for placing privy marks on the coins for the purpose of identifying them at the pyx trials continue to appear in the indentures in much the same form as heretofore, and it is clear that the system was in a large measure enforced, especially on the larger coins, judging from the numerous marks that are found. It is, however, likely that at this period trials were not carried out regularly, but this would not relieve the master of the liability to identify his coins whenever trials took place.

¹ English Coins, p. 159.
In the great number of marks which appear on the coins it is of course impossible for us to single out precisely the marks of a particular period, and it would be profitless to enumerate a list of them. Particular instances are noted when the coins are discussed in detail. We may, however, say something of the general nature of the privy marks of the reign.

In one respect the coins of Edward IV mark an important stage in the history of privy-marking. About the year 1462 a rose appeared on the king's money as the initial mark to the legends. It was a notable event. For seven hundred years, apart from a few desultory experiments, this mark had taken the form of some form of cross. We need not suppose the idea to have been necessarily Edward's own; it probably originated in the mind of one of his advisers, perhaps the Earl of Warwick, or Edmund Shaw, his chief engraver, a noted London goldsmith. But the breach with tradition was, if not a sign of the times, at least not inconsistent with the character of the confident and impulsive young king. Furthermore, Edward's action not only destroyed a tradition, it also founded one; for from now on, until the disappearance of the hammered coinage two hundred years later, the initial mark was denoted by some periodically altered and usually heraldic symbol. It is almost unnecessary to add that the new device marks also an important stage in the history of English numismatics. This changing symbol, in which of course the cross is often included, has formed the basis of the classification of the coins of all subsequent rulers who issued hammered money.

In Edward's case these symbols are to be regarded as the primary distinguishing marks; but there are others: the use of a pellet in conjunction with the initial mark; the fleuring of the tressure, particularly on the king's breast and above the crown; the placing of certain stops, or on later coins the use of peculiar or broken letters—these features must also be regarded as part of the privy-marking system, though not necessarily of the pyx system.

The distinction between the two should be emphasized. Pyx marks are marks placed on the coins for the express purpose of identifying the pieces of a particular period when the trials of the pyx were undertaken. But the privy marks which occur provide a far greater number of varieties than is required to fill the necessary space of time, and it must be assumed that other marks were placed on the coins in connexion with the internal organization of the mint, probably to identify a particular moneyer or group of moneyers.

It is not always easy to differentiate between the two types of mark; generally speaking, where a mark changes at regular intervals, as in the case of the initial mark, it can be regarded as a pyx mark; where, in a sequence, a mark is found on one group of coins and is omitted on another of apparently contemporary issue, as for example in the case of the "pot-hook" and the broken R (R7) to which reference

1 e.g. in types XV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXI, and XXII.
is made elsewhere, it may be regarded as being connected with the internal economy of the mint.

Again, as Dr. Brooke has pointed out, pyx marks tend in appearance to become multiplied through being incorporated as part of the design of a succeeding issue, when they are in fact not operative. Thus, certain marks which may have constituted pyx marks originally, and which, to modern eyes, still play a notable part in identification, were probably, except for a short period when they were first introduced, nothing more than a part of the design. Such are, in the heavy coinage, the marks inherited from Henry VI; the lis on the neck, and the extra pellets in the reverse. The mascle in the legend is rarer and may indeed suggest a privy if not a pyx-trial purpose. Similarly, at first, such novelties as the quatrefoils by the bust and the eye in the reverse legend may have had a periodic significance; later they were probably automatically included in the design and were without any special import, and by the time of the light coinage the only significance to be attached to the quatrefoils was on the occasion of their change to trefoils or their omission altogether.

Another feature which plays an important part in the modern classification of the coins is the lettering. It probably, with few exceptions, played little part in distinguishing the coins at the time when they were made.

A word must be said about the stops. A change from saltires to trefoils or pellets or vice versa such as took place from time to time could at first form a privy mark, but would then become a permanent feature. The introduction of additional stops, such as a pellet, or fleur-de-lis, and more especially in the second reign, a rose or a sun, could by frequent variation form a more effective indication of periodic change. On the larger gold coins of the first reign a different practice was adopted. Here the stops, except for a rare fleur-de-lis, a rose, a quatrefoil, or a saltire, were always trefoils, and different periods were apparently denoted by varying the position of the stops among the words, particularly the last two words, of the legends.

The provincial mints to a large extent follow London, but the rose in particular as an initial mark, doubtless as a ready compliment to the king, is liable to turn up at any time, especially on coins of the second reign. The coins of Bristol and Canterbury supply notable instances. The fleur-de-lis, the mark of the York royal mint, though at first found side by side with the London marks during the Sun and Crown periods, finally and exclusively superseded them.

The ecclesiastical mints at Durham and York sometimes conformed to the contemporary London initial marks, but for long periods together would employ the rose alone for this purpose. For this reason, in spite of the help afforded by the bishops' initials, the classification of such coins is notoriously difficult. The situation is made more complicated by the occasional use of local dies which correspond in no way with those from London.
LETTERING, FLEURING, AND STOPS

Lettering

Although it appears that lettering on Edward's coinage was used only to a minor extent, if at all, for providing pyx marks, the various changes which took place are of the greatest value in providing a guide to the proper arrangement of the series.

Certain letters appear to have been subject to more marked changes than others, and this is notably the case with \( \mathfrak{R} \) and \( \mathfrak{R} \) in the heavy coinage and with \( \mathfrak{P}, \mathfrak{R}, \) and \( \mathfrak{I} \) in the light. It should be borne in mind, however, that the peculiarities to which attention is now drawn apply to the groats only among the silver coins and to the ryal and usually the half-ryal in the gold. The rare angels of the first reign show a curious medley of letters; some clearly belong to the contemporary groat fount, but others are smaller and seem to have been taken from the fount used for the half-groats.

This smaller fount deserves, nevertheless, some special mention. In both reigns of Edward smaller letters are almost always found on silver coins less than the groat, the only exceptions known to us being a few provincial and ecclesiastical coins. In the first reign also the small fount is used on quarter-ryals and on some half-ryals; in the second reign it is found on all gold coins. In all these pieces, therefore, the peculiarities to be discussed need not be sought. Attention will seldom be needed to the smaller fount and only two letters from it call for illustration. Changes in the smaller fount correspond generally with major changes in the larger, groat fount, but on the whole the small founts are too ill designed to provide easily recognized forms.

Heavy Coinage. A very remarkable feature of this coinage is the large number of different letter-punches employed. On all four types of groats we find the puncheons frequently renewed, and only rarely is a letter found that is common to more than one type. The inference is that there was a very large coinage of these groats, reminding us how much Edward had to gain by thus broadcasting the fact of his accession. That more of them have not survived is presumably due to the melting down of so many in the recoinage of 1464.

On the folding page at the end of this paper will be found drawings of three letters of the heavy coinage, which we have called \( \Pi, \mathfrak{A}, \) and \( \mathfrak{A} \), and \( \mathfrak{N}, \mathfrak{N} \), and \( \mathfrak{N} \). The letter \( \Pi \) without serifs at the foot is distinctive of type II and is found nowhere else. \( \mathfrak{N} \) superseded \( \mathfrak{N} \) during the issue of type III and remained on type IV; it is therefore also found on light groats from heavy dies, but on no later ones.

The letters \( \mathfrak{A} \) and \( \mathfrak{A} \) are more significant. They are both found on coins of type I, not only on those groats with I.M. Cross Fleury, but also on those with I.M. Plain Cross. \( \mathfrak{A} \) is presumably the earlier since it is found on Henry VI's last groats. It is also found on the two heavy nobles. The inference is therefore that the two marks, Cross Fleury and Plain Cross, were employed concurrently.
Light Coinage. The lettering on the light groats during the two reigns may be described as emanating from three different founts:

1. Small letters found on the earliest new dies of type V (Rose), exemplified by P2.

2. Letters with curved uprights, lasting from late coins of type V uninterruptedly until type XVIII (Cross and pellet in lower quarter) in the second reign, exemplified by P3 and R1-R5.

3. The new fount introduced during type XVIII, and outlasting the reign of Edward, exemplified by R6, and, in the half-groats and gold, by A6.

The early experimental groats of type V again afford evidence by their variety of the hurried improvisation of a very busy period. We show the smaller P of this series—P2—which is important, since it links with these early groats the unique Brooke Memorial noble with I.M. Rose and a quatrefoil by the shield. Other letters of the fount also correspond and help to prove the date of this noble; it must have been struck after the indenture of 1464 but before that of 1465.

The next letter, P3, with an elongated serif at the foot, is perhaps the most widely used of all criteria to identify coins of Edward IV. It marks the inauguration of a new fount of somewhat bold and rugged letters with curved uprights, which was to be a distinctive feature of the coinage for the next ten years. Obviously the work of one man, the fount was employed with rare exceptions on all the remaining groats and most of the gold coins of Edward’s first reign, on all the groats and on a few obverse dies of the angels of Henry VI, and was not fundamentally changed until half-way through Edward’s second reign, during the issue of type XVIII. It is worth noting that whenever the puncheon of the P with a long serif needed replacement the graver supplied an almost exact replica of it. The Flemish imitators were less successful. Moreover, it appears quite abnormally on early half-groats at all mints when the other letters show the normal half-groat fount. It was perhaps therefore a privy mark.

The other letters of this fount to which the drawings call attention are the various letters R. These differed quite extensively and their difference plays an important part in arranging coins of all the types of the first reign in their proper order. We give five examples, R1 to R5. R1 is found on groats of type Vd with I.M. Rose on both sides and an extra pellet in one quarter. No other R is found on true groats of this type. When, however, we find the Rose on one side and the Sun on the other, whether in gold or silver, then R2 and R3 come into the picture. R2 is recognized by the small fracture in the tail, and R3 by the tail turning no longer inwards but outwards. But R1 had not been discarded, and we find it in use during the early Sun-marked era, for instance on London groats and on the Sun-marked reverse as well as the obverse (without I.M.) of a Coventry ryal. On other such reverses R2 and R3 are found. The same promiscuous use of all three irons is found on Norwich and Coventry groats, and on the earliest at Bristol and York; on the Norwich ryals and the London ryals with
I.M. Rose. Most of the London ryals with I.M. Sun, however, show R3 only, as do the later corresponding groats. Broadly speaking, then, R1 appears on the Rose-marked groats of Vd, and R3 on the later Sun-marked coins. In the border-line period any one of the three may be found. It is important to note that none of them is precluded from appearing on a die with either Rose or Sun. It will be noted that the R’s on the early gold of London show the same variation as in the provinces, so that probably ryals were not minted much earlier at London than July 1465, when the provincial mints were opened. This makes it clear that before that time there had been a large coinage of silver, consisting not only of groats showing R1, but of their several predecessors in types Vaa, b, and c. This confirms the view expressed elsewhere that silver of the light coinage was struck long before March 1465.

R4 was evidently introduced just after the inauguration of type VII (Crown): it should not be confused with either R1 or R5, both of which, in some stages of wear, it resembles. R4 is found on nearly all groats of type VII (a few reverses of Sun/Crown mules showing R2), on all of type VIII save a few late York groats which show R5, and on obverses of type IX. R4 thus enables reverses of type VIII to be distinguished from those of type VI, both of which have I.M. Sun. R4 is found on all ryals of VII and VIII save the unusual London coin with I.M. Sun over Crown. It also appears on a York ryal with I.M.s Sun and Lis side by side.

R5, the often-quoted B-like letter, is first found on late York groats with I.M. Lis and quatrefoils by the bust. These coins, which are of type VIII, were discovered too late to include R5 in that class on the page of drawings which had already gone to press. The letter next occurs on the Rose-marked reverses of type IX (but not on their Crown-marked obverses). The letter thus appears in the first reign:

2. At Bristol on the reverse only of a late ryal with I.M. Sun, and on Sun-marked groats which have small trefoils by the bust.
3. At York on a few Lis-marked groats with quatrefoils by the bust, and on Lis/Sun or Lis-marked groats with small trefoils by the bust (a late York ryal with I.M. Sun on both sides exists; this may show R5 also).
4. Somewhat irregularly, just before and after the restoration of Henry VI, on the reverse of some ecclesiastical pence.

R5 appears on all subsequent groats until the issue of type XVIII. It is therefore found on all groats of Henry VI’s restoration. Mr. Allen has already treated this matter at some length, showing that the letter is found on only two obverse and no reverse dies of Henry VI’s angels. Examination reveals the interesting fact that on all his other angel dies, and indeed on all subsequent angels until the reign of Henry VII,
The fount of the half-groats was used. That is the reason why no barred A's are found on the angels of Edward V and Richard III.

Some groats of type X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun, a groat of type IX (Crown/Rose), and even one of type VIII show an experiment of the same nature: together with a ryal of type X at the British Museum they employ the small fount of the half-groats, but on the obverse only (the groat of type IX shows it on both sides). We may perhaps here see some privy significance, but the permanent change made on the angels was probably due to aesthetic considerations.

The next two letters of this fount which are illustrated are the two letters I of type X. Again it was Mr. Allen who first pointed out this difference, from which he was enabled to show that the Short Cross Fitchy, which has the later form of I exclusively (I2), must have been struck only after Edward's return to the throne, as both forms are found on Henry's restoration coins, and both appear on groats of type X.

The use of the early I in particular, on Henry VI's coins, has had important results. It was shown by Walters that at Bristol, and by Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Allen that at London also, reverse dies of Henry VI's restoration groats continued to be used on Edward's return. To these two cities we can now add York. York groats are known of each king showing the same reverse die. It was through the appearance of the early I—Ir—on the reverse (but not obverse) of a York groat of Edward's second reign that this die identity was established. True reverse dies of Edward's would of course show I2, as do the obverse dies; any that show Ir are in reality mules with a reverse of Henry VI.

The next important change for us was a new letter A for the coins with I.M. Small Annulet: we have called this A4, and the letter which it replaced A3. A3 with its characteristic slightly bowed legs and a small nick at the left foot had appeared on some groats of type X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun); it was used throughout Henry VI's restoration, and supplied the letter after Edward's return on coins with I.M.s Short Cross Fitchy, Large Annulet, Trefoil, and on a few with Small Annulet (the drawings should therefore include type XIV for A3). A4 is found on most London groats with I.M. Small Annulet, and its importance lies in the assistance it affords in classifying the different post-restoration Bristol groats. Most Rose-marked groats of Bristol show A3, a few show A4; those with Sun, or Small Annulet, or no reverse initial mark show A4 only. The sequence thus becomes clear. York groats of the second reign all show A3. With the Small Annulet type (XIV) also, a broken O is found (see drawing) which was not replaced until the new fount appeared in type XVIII.

A further innovation was introduced with type XVI (Cross and 4 pellets), when a chevron-barred A appears in the words ANGER and

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1 Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. xxiii, 6 and 7. Closer examination does not bear out Walters's contention that these coins are from the same reverse die. We have, however, established identity on two other coins.

2 Ibid., 1937, Pl. v, 28.
GIVITAS. In this position it is found consistently for the rest of the reign, but a few coins with I.M. Cinquefoil (type XXI) have all A's chevron-barred. On groats of type XXII (Sun and Rose dimidiated) the chevron-barred A seems to obey the following pattern:

**Obverse:**
1. (a) No pellet under bust, all A's barred.
2. (b) Pellet under bust, all A's unbarred.

The dozen or so specimens we have been able to examine all come within these two categories except one or two, e.g. the coin illustrated in Montagu's Sale, ii. 634, which drops the pellet and gives category
3. (c) No pellet, all A's unbarred:

**Reverse:** barred A in GIVITAS.

but a coin at the British Museum (Brit. Num. Journ. xxii. 213, Pl. no. 7) is an exception to this rule. The anomaly is curious and perhaps accidental since both preceding and succeeding issues have barred A in this position.

During the issue of type XVIII (Cross and pellet in one angle) a new fount of high artistic merit was introduced: the most pronounced feature is the carefully drawn straight uprights. The fount provides a sure means of distinguishing coins of type XVII (Pierced Cross, first variety) from those of type XIX (Pierced Cross, second variety), and this is particularly of value—for a corresponding change was made in the small fount also—in the case of the gold, as the fleurs, which changed at the same time, are not found on the angels. The reading DEI which is found on coins of types XV (Annulet-with-Pellet) to XVII is another useful, if not infallible, guide. After this the reading reverts to DI.

We have illustrated in the drawings at the end the letter R of this fount (R6), and in this connexion a rather unusual feature is to be observed. For a short time, on some groats of type XVIIIb the old B-like R, R5, alone among the old letters, was retained. The survival is curious. It may not be due to mere economy that this letter which modern eyes have always been so quick to notice was for a time retained. It produces a marked contrast with the other letters, and, for those who are looking for it, strike the eye at once. Its peculiar, highly stylized form may have constituted a privy mark of some kind.

With the new fount of type XVIII special features in the lettering begin to appear again. Besides the chevron-barred A referred to, there will often be found, as additional variants to the ordinary letters, a curious V and A, having elaborate hook-like serifs: they are called in the drawings "Pot-hook letters". These never appear in the inner legend, where of course both letters are found, and they are seldom if ever found consistently even on the same side of the coin. They are first noticed soon after the appearance of the new fount in type XVIII, on a mule with an obverse of type XVII. They go on spasmodically to type XXI, where the V is found on the groats with chevron-barred A throughout, and one obverse die shows all A's of this type excepting the barred A in ANREI.
A last innovation on some coins of type XXI is a broken form of the letter R (R7), with a clean diagonal cut at the foot.

We have previously said that simultaneously with the new fount for the groats of type XVIII a similar fount of smaller letters was introduced for the other silver and for the gold coins. This is important in several respects. In the case of the gold it provides a means of distinguishing angels with I.M. Pierced Cross, first variety (type XVII), which show, for instance, A5, from those with I.M. Pierced Cross, second variety (type XIX), which show A6. Apart from this difference these two varieties of angel are substantially identical, for the subsidiary marks are absent which help identify the corresponding silver coins, e.g. the pellets beside the bust and in the reverse of groats of type XIX. As regards the silver the fact that the new lettering is found on all Canterbury coins of the second reign shows that they cannot be earlier than type XVIII6 with which this lettering began. Again, a criterion of this kind was wanted for the I.M. Rose found on so many of these coins affords by itself no evidence of their date.

**Fleuring (see drawings at end)**

The fleuring provides one of the quickest and most reliable means of placing ryals and groats in their approximate position in the series. Initially a large well-formed fleur (Fig. 4) is found at the points of the tresses on the groats and in the spandrels on the reverses of the ryals, and this continues until the introduction of a small trefoil (Fig. 5) in those positions on late coins of type VII (I.M. Crown), except for a short period in type V when the trefoil made a premature appearance on a limited number of groats. That these trefoil-fleured groats of type V are correctly placed here and not in association with the general series of such coins is shown by their having in most cases on the reverse the early P associated with the earlier Rose-marked groats (P2), a form that is never found later in the series and did not last for long.

It was, as we have just said, late coins type VII which began the general series with the small trefoil of pellets in place of the more shapely fleur, a series which continued in both gold and silver (including the coins of Henry VI) until type XV, when a larger trefoil of three pellets (Fig. 6) was introduced. This in turn lasted until type XVIII, when, with the change of fount already mentioned, a well-shaped fleur appeared similar to that found on the early issues. These fleurs lasted until the end of the reign.

While the fleuring on the smaller issues does not follow so closely that on the larger coins owing to limitations of space, the presence of large fleurs on rare half-groats of York and London with I.M. Sun, and on certain half-groats of Canterbury, provides corroborative evidence of their early date as suggested by the initial marks.

**Stops**

In the gold a few specimens of all coins of the first reign show saltire stops, but the great majority of the ryals and half-ryals have trefoils.
Apart from the frequent and probably deliberate insertion of them between the letters of a word, they present no unusual features. Other marks found in the legend include small lis, roses, and quatrefoils; these may or may not be regarded as stops but they probably at least furnish a link between coins similarly marked. On the quarter-yals they are more probably stops, but their precise significance is somewhat baffling. A rare angel of Henry VI shows saltire stops, but the others show trefoils. In Edward's second reign saltsires at first alternate with trefoils but finally replace them on type XV (Annulet-with-pellet) and persist until the end of the reign, though on some obverse dies of angels of type XVI (Cross and four pellets) a large trefoil is found at the end of the legend. On half-angels pellet stops appear on some coins of type XII (Short Cross Fitchy) and their curious mules with type XIV (Small Annulet) which show the king's titles on both sides. As with the angels saltsires become the rule with type XV, but the new stops are now often supplemented by roses and suns interspersed in the legend (usually the reverse)—indeed roses had appeared on some half-angels with I.M. Annulet (XIV).

On the silver up to and including type VI (Sun) the saltire alone is found (save for two isolated groats of type V (Rose) which have trefoils). Thereafter the trefoil appears in gradually increasing proportions, sometimes associated with saltires on the same side of the coin, e.g. in types X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun) and XII (Short Cross Fitchy). On types VI and VII (Crown) fleurs-de-lis, either with other stops or alone, are occasionally found on the groats. The association of this mark by Walters with the Calais mint may be dismissed as groundless. Lis are found as stops on both London and provincial coins.

On type XIII (Large Annulet/Trefoil) annulet stops are found (on the obverse), their only appearance in this reign. With type XV, as in the case of the gold, the trefoil stop is finally displaced and is found no more. The saltire is henceforward the normal stop, but again, as with the gold, there are supplementary marks in the roses and suns, or roses alone, which make irregular appearances in the legends of groats between types XVIIIb (Cross and pellet) and XXI (Cinquefoil). These marks then finally disappear.

**The Heavy Coinage**

(For the lists see p. 41)

Type I

Although there is a gap in the Mint accounts for the two years from September 1460 to September 1462, it seems likely that type I was produced as a result of the indenture of 23 May 1461, that is, two months after Edward IV gained the throne.

In style the coins closely resemble the latest of those of Henry VI, but it is a testimony to the thoroughness with which Edward sought to eradicate from the public memory the name of Henry that no coins are known from altered obverse dies, though on one of the nobles of
The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)

struck over on the reverse, and on certain very rare Durham pennies an obverse of Henry VI is found muled with a reverse of Edward IV. In this case the reverse die was of local manufacture.

There can be little doubt that this departure from the general practice of usurping kings, who as in the case of Henry IV and Richard III employed a number of altered dies, must have been dictated by policy. If left without specific instructions it is almost certain that mint masters would have altered dies for the sake of economy. It is noteworthy that altered dies are not found on Henry's restoration nor again when Edward IV recovered the throne in 1471.

The coins which can be attributed to this type are all from the London mint. Durham, though active during the heavy coinage, employed dies of local manufacture which cannot in consequence be brought into line with the London types. York does not appear to have struck its pence till later in the heavy coinage (type III). The denominations known of London are the noble, groat, half-groat, penny, halfpenny, and farthing.

Nobles. The weight remained unchanged at 108 grains, to which it had been reduced by Henry IV, and the value at 6s. 8d. Two specimens only are known, one in the British Museum, the other in Mr. Lockett's collection. A description of these coins is given in the list attached to this paper. It will be noticed that the initial mark, found only on the reverse, is a lis, as on the latest nobles of Henry VI. There are, however, a number of minor differences on the obverse besides the change in the king's name. The ship has four ropes to the stern and two to the prow, as against two and one respectively on the Henry VI coin: the ship on Edward's coin lacks a rudder; the legend starts to the left of the top of the coin instead of to the right of the sail.

Groats. The weight remains unchanged at 60 grains. Although scarce, these coins are far less rare than those of the lis-pellet issue of Henry VI with which they have many points in common. The features of this issue in the silver are the Cross I.M. (either plain or fleury), the lis on the king's breast or neck, and the pellet either side of the crown and in two quarters of the reverse. These are found on coins of all denominations. In addition, on some groats and on the pennies a mascle is found in the obverse legend (Pi. I, 2). This is a feature found on late coins of Henry VI and is quite distinct from the object called an eye (Pi. I, 9), which appears on type III of Edward's coins.

Four distinct types of obverse have been noted and three of the reverse. They are so much intermingled on the coins that it has seemed best to record them separately and to show in tabular form the combinations of which we have records.

1 These will be dealt with in a separate section dealing with Durham and York coins.
The earliest obverse is probably type I(a) which has I.M. Cross Fleury, a pellet either side of the crown and in two quarters of the reverse, a fleur-de-lis on the king's neck, and the breast arch fleured. This is generally found coupled with a reverse I(a) which has I.M. Small Fleur-de-lis. As, however, it is also found muled with the reverse type II with I.M. Rose it may possibly have continued in issue concurrently with the later subdivisions of type I.

I(b) is similar to I(a) except that the initial mark is a plain cross and that the cusp at the breast is sometimes not fleured. It is in this type that a mascle is found on certain rare coins at the end of the obverse legend, and the copula omitted. Both these features recall the last groats of Henry VI.

I(c) continues the I.M. Plain Cross, but the fleur-de-lis is now moved to the breast arch of the tressure.

I(d) is similar to I(c), but omits the pellets by the crown.

It will be noticed that the reading ΝΙΙΟΤΙΙ is found on certain of the coins of I(b), (c), and (d). This is a reading consistently found on the latest groats of Henry VI. In Edward's type II it gives way to the more usual ΝΙΙΟΤΙΙ.

The reverses are distinguished by their initial marks. They consistently have a pellet in two quarters.

I(a) has I.M. Fleur-de-lis.

I(b) has I.M. Plain Cross.

I(c) has no I.M.

The fact that it is types I(a) and I(b) that are found muled with a reverse of type II would normally suggest that they should come last in the series. Their close affinity to the coins of Henry VI has, however, made us place them first, but we do so with the caveat that the whole of this type is so intermingled by combinations of obverse and reverse that it is not impossible that the entire issue may have been more or less concurrent.

Half-groats. Of the half-groats of type I we have records of only three specimens, one of which may be associated with I(a), the other two with I(b).

The coin of I(a) has I.M. Cross Fleury, a pellet either side of the crown and in two quarters of the reverse. Unlike the groats the lis is placed on the breast point of the tressure. There is no reverse initial mark.

The coins of type I(b) are generally similar but have I.M. Plain Cross on the obverse.

Pence. Of the true penny of type I we know of only three specimens. The obverses are similar, have I.M. Plain Cross, a pellet either side of the crown, and, like the groats, a lis on the king's neck. A mascle is found after REX. On the reverse the pellets are found either in the ΟΙΙΙΙ, ΛΟΝ or ΤΑΣ, ΤΩΝ quarters. These coins may be attributed to I(b).

A unique mule penny II/I(b) is also known.
Halfpence. Though still of considerable rarity, rather more specimens of the halfpenny of type I are known than of the half-groats or pence. With the exception of having no mascle in the obverse legend, they exactly resemble the pence. Reverses are found with pellets in the \( \text{AI} \), \( \text{ON} \) and \( \text{AS} \), \( \text{ON} \) quarters and like the pence they may be attributed to type I(b). The coins omit DI 6R7.

Farthings. Two specimens only appear to be known. The one now in the Fitzwilliam Museum was formerly in the Montagu Collection. They resemble the halfpenny in all respects, but both have the extra pellet in the \( \text{T} \), \( \text{S} \), \( \text{D} \), \( \text{O} \) quarters. These are the only farthings that can be attributed to Edward IV, though, as has been shown, others were actually struck later in the reign.

Type II

Walters has suggested that type II superseded type I at the same time as the introduction of a new great seal embodying Edward IV's personal badges, the sun and the rose, in December 1461, and although documentary evidence is lacking, this may well be the case.

As we have already said, the use of these emblems marked a new departure in the coinage. With the exception of the use of the lis on the gold and its occasional use on the silver, the initial mark had through long tradition usually consisted of some form of cross. With type II Edward IV introduced the rose as initial mark and in due course, in the light coinage, followed it by the sun and the crown, all either personal or royal emblems. These marks are found on the gold as well as on the silver, and it was no doubt intended to eliminate as completely as possible the lis which was so closely associated with Henry VI.

The coins of type II are of silver only and were struck exclusively at the London mint. The groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny are known. Besides the I.M. Rose other distinguishing features are the introduction of a quatrefoil either side of the king's neck and, on the groats and half-groats, the placing of a crescent on the breast point of the tressure.

Mention must be made of the different forms taken by the Rose I.M. The earliest type which is found on the obverse of all groats of type II is a large well-defined flower of five petals which meet round a pierced centre (see drawings, Fig. 1); the second variety which is often found on the reverse, both of this and later types, is a small rosette with angular petals (Fig. 2) though a variant of it is just a smaller version of Fig. 1, recalling the characteristic emblem in the Rosette-Mascle Coinage of Henry VI; the third has five detached petals round a central pellet (see Fig. 3). This is primarily associated with types III and IV.

The place of type II in the series is confirmed by the existence of mule groats I/II and II/III.

Groats. The type has been described above. Certain scarce coins have an annulet on one side or other of the initial mark, and one
extremely rare variety is found which has two different roses as initial mark on the obverse (Walters Sale, 1913, 392). On the reverse, stops are usually found in the outer legend only. Their introduction in the inner legend appears to have started with type III.

**Half-droats.** These coins conform closely to the style of the parallel groats. They have a crescent on the breast with quatrefoils by the bust, but no eye or extra pellets on the reverse. Two or three specimens are known and, in addition, one or two mules with obverses of type III.

**Pence.** The mule penny II/I mentioned under the previous type has pellet stops on the obverse but omits the crescent on the breast. Like the groats, however, it has quatrefoils by the bust and, of course, the I.M. Rose. A true coin exists from the same obverse die coupled with a reverse die which omits the pellets (Pl. II, 4 and 5 with a common reverse die; Pl. II, 5 and 6 with a common obverse die). A mule is also known with an obverse of type III.

**Halfpence.** In general it is often difficult to associate exactly the smaller coins with those of larger denominations. The eye on the reverse, one of the characteristics of type III, is found only very rarely on the halfpence, but the comparative profusion of groats of type III compared with those of type II makes it appear likely that other halfpence should be associated with it. Some, however, have pellet stops, and a pellet is occasionally found to the right of the initial mark before EDWARD, in which position it is comparable to the annulet found on the groats. These halfpence have therefore been attributed to type II and the remainder, somewhat arbitrarily, to type III. Both types generally insert DI 6R7T, a detail which Brooke apparently overlooked (English Coins, p. 155).

**Type III**

The characteristic marks of this type are the quatrefoils by the king’s bust, the small trefoil of pellets (quite distinct from the other fleurs) on the king’s breast, and the introduction of saltire stops and an object usually called an eye in the inner legend of the reverse. The initial mark remains a rose, but now usually takes the form of a rose with a pellet in the centre on the obverse, coupled with a rosette on the reverse.

Brooke claims this as type IV and calls our type IV type III. Our reason for differing from his views is that our classification is supported by muled groats of II/III and III/IV (in each case both ways), whereas none are recorded as far as we know between II and IV.

**Groats.** The groats of type III are the most plentiful of the heavy coinage. The variations of the stops on the reverse, especially in the inner legend, point to a complicated system of control being in force at the mint. That it did not prove a success is suggested by the fact that, with the exception of the “eye”, the stops were later removed
The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)

from the inner legends; reverses of type IV were to show no stops at all.

Type III, all coins of which have I.M. Rose, may be subdivided as follows:

III(a). Obv. Quatrefoils by neck; trefoil on breast.
Rev. No eye. Saltire stops in inner and outer legends.

III(b). Obv. As III(a).
Rev. Eye before ION. Saltire stops in inner and outer legends.

III(c). Obv. As III(a).
Rev. Eye after ION. Saltire stops in inner and outer legends.

III(d). Obv. No quatrefoils by bust. The cusp on the breast usually omits the trefoil. The coins are rare.
Rev. Eye after CIVITAS; saltire stops in outer legend; none in inner.

III(e). Obv. As III(a).
Rev. Eye after CIVITAS. Saltire stops in one or other legend, but usually in both.

III(f). Obv. As III(a).
Rev. Trefoil stops in outer legend; none in inner legend.
No eye. This reverse is rare.

Groats of III(a), (b), (c), and (d) are found muled with obverses of II. Those with reverses of III(e) are muled with obverses of IV. The mule obverse III, reverse IV is also found.

It will be found that III(e) is by far the most plentiful; the others are in fact of some rarity. It seems likely therefore that III(e) represented the finalized type, after the experimental coins of III(a)–(d), and that III(f), which shows considerable simplification of the stopping, marks the transition to type IV.

The appearance of trefoil stops [on III(f)] at this period is most exceptional on silver coins. That they probably occurred late in the type is suggested by the fact that these stops are also found on a few extremely rare groats of type V(b) which were of light issue.

Half-groats. Half-groats are found of type III but are of great rarity. They have the characteristic marks of the type, quatrefoils by the neck, a trefoil of pellets on the king's breast, and an eye in the inner legend of the reverse after CIVITAS. One specimen at the British Museum omits the eye, suggesting a reverse of type II. The coin is therefore listed as a mule. The reverse initial mark is absent. The obverse is anomalous in omitting the quatrefoils by the bust and the trefoil on the breast, but these omissions are both recognized features of some groats of type III. Another mule, while omitting the eye, inserts the quatrefoils by the bust, but has a large fleur instead of a small trefoil on the breast.
Pence. London. We have seen only two true pennies of London that can be attributed to type III. Both are in Mr. Lockett’s collection. They have the quatrefoils in the field and an eye in the reverse legend, in one case before *LON*, in the other after *AVITAS*. The former piece weighs only 8½ grains but is much clipped. It is attributed to the heavy, rather than to the light, coinage on the grounds that the eye before *LON* is found on early groats of this type but not on later ones. The obverse die of the latter piece is also found muled with a reverse of type II.

York. To type III can be attributed the only pennies of the heavy coinage struck at York. These were issued by Archbishop William Booth and are fairly rare. Like the London coins they have quatrefoils in the field. The eye after *AVITAS* is doubtful. They also have a quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse and are of normal London workmanship.

Halfpence. The vagueness of definite distinguishing marks between the halfpence of type III and those of type II has already been mentioned.

Type IV

Compared with the complexity of type III, type IV is an issue that conforms truly to type. It is confined to the silver and to the London mint and is found of all denominations from the groat to the halfpenny.

I.M. Rose is continued, usually with a pellet centre, and the distinguishing feature is the substitution of annulets for quatrefoils in the field by the king’s bust. On the reverse the eye is still found after *AVITAS*, but other stops are completely eliminated from both the inner and outer legends. The copula during this issue takes on a new form with cross-bar (অ).

The coins of this type are more frequently found struck on the basis of 48 grains to the groat, and the latter are dealt with under type V. Obverses of these are found muled with reverses of the light coinage, with an extra pellet in the reverse—further confirmation, if any be needed, that this issue must be the last of the heavy coinage.

Groats. On the groats the breast arch is found fleured and unfleured. The small trefoil characteristic of type III is, however, never found.

Half-groats. We have listed one specimen with the eye in the reverse legend, though it may be a mule with a reverse of type III; all coins agree with the groats in having no stops in the outer legend. In the inner legend varieties show two pellets or two saltires after *AVITAS*, or no stops.

Pence. The few specimens so far recorded have all been of light weight. Mr. Lockett, however, recently acquired one which weighs 13 grains (bare) and so may probably be regarded as of the heavy coinage. No eye is found on the reverse.
The halfpence are similar to the pence and are distinctly rarer than those of types II and III. There are two varieties, with and without the words DI GRÆ.

The Ecclesiastical Mints of York and Durham, 1461–83

(For the lists see p. 47)

The coins of the ecclesiastical mints of York and Durham call for a somewhat detailed treatment. For some time past these two mints, especially the former, had been providing a substantial part of the coinage of pennies for the realm. In Edward IV's reign the output from them rose to far greater proportions, and, to judge by surviving specimens, must have provided by far the greater part of the coinage of pennies for the whole country. The two mints have another feature in common, namely, that they both at times produced coins from locally made dies. In the early part of the reign of Edward IV particularly, it is easy to believe, with Dr. Brooke, that the transport of dies from London was difficult, if not impracticable.

It had long been the custom for prelates to place on their coins their personal marks. The Durham coins of Edward I and II and the first issues of Edward III bore the personal marks of contemporary bishops, as in Henry VI's reign the coins of Bishop Langley showed a star beside the crown, while those of Bishop Robert Neville bore the two interlaced rings which appear on his coat of arms. The reign of Edward IV was to see this practice considerably extended. The Archbishop of York had, however, not made a practice of putting any personal marks on his coins, if we except the peculiar cross on the first issue of Edward III which is associated with Richard de Snoweshulle who was warden of the mint at that time. In Edward IV's reign the practice was introduced whereby archbishop and bishop placed their initials on the coins (accompanied in the case of York by the Key of St. Peter), thereby directly identifying the coins with them.

It is perhaps appropriate, before passing to a separate consideration of these mints, to say that several hitherto unpublished coins have come to light since the last detailed study of them appeared. In this connexion we should like to thank Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton who recently brought to our notice details of a find of this period, consisting largely of York and Durham pence of Edward IV. These coins were found near Bootham Bar, at York, in March 1896, and were sold at Sotheby's on 1 May 1919. Mr. Carlyon-Britton then had an opportunity of examining the coins, and his manuscript notes which he has kindly placed at our disposal confirm and elaborate the briefer descriptions in the catalogue. No account of this hoard appears to have been published: it is cited in the lists as the "Bootham Find".

2 We are indebted for this information to Mr. Wagstaffe and Mr. Geoffrey Thompson, the courteous curators at the Yorkshire Museum, and to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, in whose possession the coins now are.
The mint of York has been the subject of several special papers, and reference should be made to two in particular, namely, the paper of Mr. Lawrence in *Num. Chron.*, Series V, vol. v (1925), pp. 366-79, and that of Dr. Brooke in this Society's *Journal*, vol. xxi, pp. 73-87, both of which contain a wealth of careful reasoning and information. Dr. Brooke's paper deals largely with the difficult question of the attribution of coins bearing on one side the mark of the archiepiscopal mint, i.e. the initial on the obverse or the quatrefoil on the reverse, and on the other side no such mark. The conclusions reached by Dr. Brooke, and indeed by Mr. Lawrence, are very convincing; they are, in effect, that the absence of the archbishop's mark on one side or the other was in itself sufficient to identify the coins as not being struck at the mint while under his control. That is, they were struck at the ecclesiastical mint at some time when the temporalities were in the hands of the king or his appointed receiver. These occasions arose either in the interval between the death of one archbishop and the appointment of his successor, or on account of the archbishop's having incurred the royal displeasure and so suffered the confiscation of his temporalities. In a period of internal strife such as the Wars of the Roses, when the magnates, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, were the class chiefly affected, occasions for this procedure were more than likely to occur.

When Edward IV came to the throne, the Archbishop of York was William Booth, who had occupied the see since 1452. He appears quickly to have grasped the situation and acquiesced in Edward's accession, and took part in his coronation. He died on 12 September 1464, and pence of the heavy issue are attributed to him. At this time the practice of placing initials on the coins had not been introduced. His coins show their ecclesiastical origin by the quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse. They are of normal London work, with quatrefoils by the bust, and are described under Type III.

On William Booth's death the temporalities of the see were taken over by the king. The custodian now appointed to receive them was George Neville, the future archbishop, and brother to the Earl of Warwick, whose influence was still paramount. The dates connected with Neville's acquisition of his privileges are as follows:

1. September 1464, appointed custodian of the temporalities for the king.
3. June 1465, officially confirmed in the enjoyment of his temporalities.

It seems therefore that the *Sede Vacante* period ended in June 1465. In any case the coins then struck are of considerable rarity, and are distinguished from those of William Booth by the absence of the quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse. A curious feature of the few surviving specimens is that several weigh more than the statutory weight.

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1 *D.N.B.*
12 grains of the time. This led Mr. Lawrence to suppose that the introduction of the light coinage did not effectively take place until the indenture of March 1465. This contention can hardly be sustained. The indenture of August 1464 lays down, in a manner that admits of no doubt, that the penny was in future to weigh 12 grains. The specimens of this Sede Vacante issue are so rare that it would be, in our opinion, unwise to dispute on their evidence alone so clearly worded an order. It is true that one coin (Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. x, 7) weighs 13\frac{1}{2} grains, but others weigh less, even in fine condition. The initial marks are two, first, Rose, second, Sun.

Neville's first coins were struck from locally made dies bearing his initial 6 and the Key by the bust. The coins are by no means uncommon and are easily recognized by their crudity and their omission of GRAT or DEI GRAT: they have I.M. Rose or Cross.

The London-made dies, with I.M. Sun, which followed, still bore the 6 and Key by the bust, as did their immediate successors with I.M. Large Lis. Then, however, a change was introduced in the style of the obverse, and the next few issues showed either quatrefoils or trefoils by the bust as on the London coins themselves. Just before the end of the first reign, however, the 6 and Key were once more restored, on coins with either Small Lis or Long Cross Fitchy.

Of the coins with I.M. Large Lis one or two are anomalous and need further mention. One omits the quatrefoils by the bust, in the manner perhaps of certain London groats which show the same peculiarity; another has a cross stamped over the I.M. Lis. This is perhaps intended for a Short Cross Fitchy, which, as will later appear, was used by Neville immediately after Edward's restoration. In that case our coin can be assigned to the second reign, as Brooke suggested (Brit. Num. Journ. xxi. 77), and be regarded as an old die brought into service again. Brooke, however, regarded the Cross as belonging to the Cross and pellets period. It seems impossible to decide the question and we have tentatively assigned the coin to type XII.

During Henry's restoration Neville continued to strike his coins with I.M. Lis: they are of the usual type with 6 and Key beside the neck and a quatrefoil in the reverse. On Edward's return to the throne on 11 April 1471, Neville succeeded in gaining the royal favour once again and was pardoned by the king on 10 April. It was not, however, until 4 June that he was released from the Tower where he had been imprisoned. If coins were struck before his release it would probably be for the king's account.

Neville enjoyed only a short period of freedom, for on 25 April 1472 he was arrested for corresponding with the exiled Earl of Oxford. The coins struck during his freedom are the pennies of type XII, with I.M. Short Cross Fitchy, and have 6 and the Key by the bust and a quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse.

After his arrest Neville was sent to Calais and imprisoned near by until the summer of 1475. Meanwhile the revenues of the see were in

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1 Num. Chron., 1925, pp. 373-5.
2 D.N.B.
the hands of the king. At first an old die with I.M. Short Cross Fitchy and 6 and Key was employed, a procedure revealed by such a coin with no quatrefoil in the reverse. Later, coins of type XIV (Small Annulet) and possibly XVI (here Cross over Annulet, though we have not seen this coin) are found of this period. On these coins there are no marks in the field on the obverse. In the case of the coins of type XIV the quatrefoil on the reverse is also occasionally absent: indeed, coins are known struck from the same obverse die with and without the quatrefoil. The last coins of this Sede Vacante period are probably those which have no marks or 6 and a rose beside the bust.

Neville survived his release from prison by about a year and died on 8 June 1476. His coins of this period have I.M. Rose (in one case struck over an Annulet) and 6 and Rose or 6 and Key beside the bust. These coins too may perhaps be associated with type XVI. A coin stated in the Longbottom catalogue (lot 190) to be a coin of Neville’s showing I.M. Cross and Pellet seems perhaps to have been misread by the compiler. By the time the Cross and Pellet series began, probably in 1477, Neville was dead and Archbishop Booth was issuing his pence with B and Key beside the bust.

On Neville’s death the temporalities returned to the king, Lawrence Booth being appointed custodian. They were handed to him as archbishop on 1 October 1476. There is therefore a period of four months during which Sede Vacante coins could have been struck. The coins attributed to this interval are those with I.M. Rose, no marks in the obverse field, but, perhaps instead, a rose on the breast. They have the quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse.

Lawrence Booth’s own coins are marked with a B and a Key by the bust and have I.M. Rose or more rarely Cinquefoil. Those with the former mark may reasonably be associated with the prolific type XVIII; those with the latter with type XXI, and there is an interesting piedfort of this issue at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Booth held the see for four years and died on 19 May 1480. The coins of the Sede Vacante period following his death, which must also be associated with type XXI, have I.M. Rose, B and a Key by the bust, but no quatrefoil on the reverse.

Booth was succeeded by Thomas Rotherham who was archbishop until 1500. His coins are marked with T and a Key and the usual quatrefoil on the reverse. The initial mark is the now invariable Rose. The coins are probably to be associated with type XXI.

**Durham**

Complicated as the situation is at York, it is even more so at Durham, for here there are two large groups of coins from dies of local manufacture, which precludes the possibility of comparison with the London mint. Documentary evidence as to the life of Lawrence Booth, bishop from 1457 to 1476 when, as we have seen, he was translated to York, is moreover scanty, and we can only deduce from the coins his actions between 1464 and 1471. Add to this the fact that the
coins of local workmanship are generally badly struck and seldom show the whole reading, and the difficulty of the series will be appreciated. These may be some of the reasons why the coins of Durham have not received the same attention as those of York.

The Bishops of Durham began the practice of placing their initials on the coins with type V (I.M. Rose). The earliest coins have B (for Booth) and D (for Durham) by the bust. On some coins of this issue the bishop's initial is also found in the centre of the reverse. On the ensuing issue it is omitted on the reverse but later a D (for Durham) is found (that is, on coins of the normal London work). Now therefore we have to discover new means of identifying coins struck during a period when the temporalities were in the king's hands. At York the omission of the ecclesiastical marks on one side or the other was sufficient to identify such pieces. At Durham it must have been necessary to scrap the obverse dies and obtain new ones without the bishop's initials. This seems to have been the practice.

When Edward IV seized the throne, Lawrence Booth appears to have attempted, outwardly at least, to ingratiate himself with him, for he attended his Parliament after the battle of Towton, fought on 16 March 1461. He does not appear, however, to have won the king's permanent favour, for his temporalities were seized on 28 December 1462. They remained in the king's hands until 17 April 1464, 1 four months before the introduction of the light coinage.

It is not possible to distinguish the coins of this period when the temporalities were in the king's hands from the earliest of Bishop Booth extending into the first months of the light coinage. All are from locally made dies and have no episcopal mark. The initial mark is a Cross or Rose and a rose is usually found in the centre of the reverse. A notable feature is the omission, as at York at much the same time, of the words DI 6R7S. The weight, the one factor which might be expected to provide some guide, is of little assistance. As far as can be ascertained few specimens weigh over 12 grains and these few only slightly so. Yet the fact that reverses of Edward IV from this issue are on certain coins found muled with obverses of Henry VI [Pl. III, 1] suggests that at least some must be of the heavy issue. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the greater part were struck by Booth after the introduction of the light coinage.

As at York, the first dies that came from London bore the I.M. Rose: they have by the bust Booth's initial letter B and D, with B in the centre of the reverse. They were followed by coins with I.M. Sun with a quatrefoil and B beside the bust. The B on the reverse was now dropped, but is found on mules showing a reverse of the previous issue. These were followed by similar coins with I.M. Crown and either B2 or D with a quatrefoil by the bust. Then a change was made similar to and probably contemporary with that which we have already noticed at York. The bishop's initial was omitted and the dies show two quatrefoils or two trefoils, and later two lis, beside the

1 D.N.B.
2 Walters records such a coin. We have not seen one.
bust. These coins all bear the I.M. Crown, which seems to have been the last mark used at Durham during the first reign.

No coins are known of Durham of Henry VI's restoration, and on Edward's return Booth must have successfully persuaded the king of his fidelity and been confirmed in his temporalities, since we find him striking coins in 1471. Coins are known with I.M. Short Cross Fitchy. In one case the cross is overstruck by the king's initial E, a peculiarity shared by a London penny of the same period. In point of fact, these two coins are struck from the same obverse die. We list here the Durham coin but illustrate both in a later article (on Pl. XIII).

The London initial marks now reappear in a coin with I.M. Trefoil and no marks by the neck which should belong to this period, and be assignable to type XIII, where the groats have this mark on the reverse.

Shortly afterwards the marks by the bust reappeared, and include the bishop's initial B. Coins are known with B and a trefoil on either side of the neck. At the same time the letter D was introduced in the centre of the reverse where it remained until the end of the reign.

These coins are a little complicated and appear to have been struck in the following order:

1. I.M. Trefoil, with B and a trefoil by the bust; this again is a new coin, although cited in the catalogue of the Bootham Find. A coin from the Drabble Sale, moreover, confirms its existence. This coin is presumably assignable to type XIII.

2. I.M. Rose, with B and trefoil by the bust. These coins can probably be assigned to type XIV.

3. I.M. ©, and B and trefoil beside the bust, of type XV (Pl. III, 8).

4. I.M. Rose, with a lis either side of the bust, perhaps also of type XV (Pl. III, 9).

On 21 June 1473 Booth was given licence to make his own dies and also to coin halfpence. It will be remembered that the privileges of the Archbishop of Canterbury also were extended in this reign, in his case to include half-groats and halfpence as well as pence. York is the only ecclesiastical mint not to have had its privileges so extended.

On 26 August 1473 William Omoryghe, goldsmith of York, is commissioned "to grave and print two dozen trussels and one dozen standards for pennies and four standards and eight trussels for halfpennies within the castle of Durham, under the inspection of Henry Gyllowe, Chancellor of Durham". In 1474 there is a further order to supply three dozen trussels and two dozen standards for pennies only. Irregularities seem soon to have occurred, for pardon was granted to Lawrence Bishop of Durham on 14 March 1475 "for the manufacture of his moneyers of money not of true alloy and weight, as he has declared that this was done without his knowledge".

The earliest coins struck under the licence of 1473 can be identified by a mule having a reverse of London work, reading DERTM, the usual reading on London-made dies, coupled with an obverse of local work with B by the crown and a V on the king's neck. On these local...
dies the reverse legend is always **DVNOUMLIE**. A small **V** (of unknown significance) is usually found outside the pellets in the second quarter of the reverse, and a **D** is invariable in the centre. The initial mark we have called a Pansy¹ and the stops are pellets and saltires (sometimes mixed) and an extra pellet is found in one or in all quarters. Another variety of obverse omits the episcopal letters (**B, V**) but shows two crosses over the crown and sometimes a cross on the breast. It is coupled with a reverse which shows some hesitation in the insertion of the small **V**. These coins were tentatively assigned by Brooke to the **Sede Vacante** period following Booth's translation to York. The initial mark is a Rose. In view of the greater variety of coins now known we have enlarged Brooke's summary in his *English Coins* (p. 160) into more elaborate lists. These will reveal some slight divergence from his views. The halfpence read **GERTG**, but the legends are seldom complete on either denomination.

Lawrence Booth was translated to York in 1476. The temporalities of the see were granted to him in June, and he received them as custodian on 1 October. His successor at Durham was William Dudley, appointed in September or October 1476, but there appears to be no record of the date on which he received the temporalities. It is presumed, however, that the customary **Sede Vacante** period intervened, and hitherto no alternative for the coins struck during that time has been suggested to Brooke's provisional view that they were such coins from local dies as have no episcopal letters, **B** or **V**, on the obverse. We have now assigned these coins, which are those with crosses over the crown, to Booth's latter years in the episcopate. They seem too numerous for the short **Sede Vacante** period in question, to which we have therefore allotted a rare coin with **I.M. Rose** and no marks at all in the field (Pl. III, 13). The reverse reads **DVNOUMLIE** and shows **D** in the centre and an extra pellet in each quarter; it is thus a mule with the previous issue.

Ruding² quotes a commission of 1476 by Dudley to William Omoryghe, now of Durham, to engrave three dozen trussels and two dozen standards for pennies and two dozen trussels and one dozen standards for halfpennies. In spite of this substantial order for halfpenny dies no specimen can with certainty be attributed to Dudley, though Mr. Lockett's coin (listed tentatively under Booth) may well be Dudley's in fact.

The varieties of Bishop Dudley's coins are less numerous than Booth's, and the design is simplified by a return to the former practice of placing one or more initials beside the neck. There are two main varieties: one, presumably the earlier, has the letter **V** (of uncertain significance) to the right of the neck or higher, beside the hair; it has I.M. Rose: the other, probably later, has for initial mark a version of the Cinquefoil, and **D** and **V** on either side of the neck.

¹ It differs from the various Rose marks in having long slender petals, as in the Pansy of Henry VII (Pl. III, 10): for a better illustration see Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. xxiv, 9.
Dudley survived the king by a few months. The Bishop of Durham's privilege of making his own dies was withdrawn by Richard III, who, in 1484, ordered the surrender of certain dies at Durham and the issue of new ones from London.¹

**LISTS**

**Nobles**

1461-4 (Heavy Issue)

   - Pellets either side of crown and in legend; ropes 4/2; lis below shield; on ship
   lis lion lis lion lis.
   ¹° AVT TRANSENS PER MEDIUM IIORVM: IBAT
   - Θ and pellet in centre. I.M. Lis. Wt. 107 hap grs. (Pl. II, 18)
   B.M.

2. Similar, but pellet after DNS and on one side only of crown, above swordpoint; reverse similar, but Φ over inverted Ρ (without pellet) in centre. Wt. 107 hap grs. (Pl. II, 19)

1464-5 (Light Issue)

   - Quatrefoil below king's sword arm; ropes 4/1; no pellets by crown or in legend; no lis below shield.
   Rev. I.M. Lis. ¹° AVT TRANSENS (sic) PER MEDIUM IIORVM' (sic) *IBAT
   - Wt. 107-6 grs. (Pl. II, 20)
   The Brooke Memorial coin. B.M.

**Heavy Groats**

**Type I. Obverses.** Normal reading Edward, Di * Gratia Reginæ Angliæ & Franci & Domini.

(a) I.M. Cross Fleury. Small pellet either side of crown. Fleur-de-lis on king's neck. Breast arch fleured. (Pl. I, 1)
   (i) As above. One die shows Θ struck over initial mark.
   (ii) Reading FRAN
   (iii) Reading RAN; lacks one fleur to left of breast fleur.

(b) I.M. Plain Cross. Small pellet either side of crown. Fleur-de-lis on king's neck. Breast arch fleured.
   (i) Breast arch fleured.
   (ii) " " ; FRAN (Pl. I, 3)
   (iii) Breast arch not fleured.
   (iv) Breast arch fleured. Masque at end of obverse legend; reads DEI and ANGLI; omits copula. No stops. Two dies noted. (Pl. I, 2)

(c) I.M. Plain Cross. Small pellet either side of crown. Fleur-de-lis on breast point of tressure.
   (i) Reading ANGLI
   (ii) Reading ANGLI (Pl. I, 4)

(d) I.M. Plain Cross. No pellets by crown. Fleur-de-lis on breast point of tressure.
   (i) Reading ANGLI (Pl. I, 5)

   (ii) Reading ANGLI

**Type I. Reverses.** Normal reading POSVI DEVM ADIVTORE MEXVM QVITAS LONDON Saltire stops in outer legend. An extra pellet in two quarters.

(a) I.M. Small Fleur-de-lis.
   (i) With pellet in QVITAS and ION quarters. Saltire stops. (Pl. I, 1)
   (ii) " " ; TAS; " DON " No stops. (Pl. I, 3)
   (iii) " " ; TAS; " DON " Saltire stops.

The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)

(8) I.M. Plain Cross.
(i) With pellet in GIVI and ION quarters. Saltire stops.
(ii) No stops.
(iii) " " TAPS " DON " " Saltire stops.
(iv) " " " " No stops. (Pl. I, 2)

(y) No I.M. Saltire sometimes starting legend.
(i) With pellet in GIVI and ION quarters. Saltire stops.
(ii) No stops.
(iii) " " TAPS " DON " No stops.

The following mules are found between Types I and II. (Pl. I, 6, 7)

Type II. I.M. Rose (obv. and rev.). Legends as in type I. A quatrefoil in the field either side of the king's neck; a crescent on his breast at the point of the pressure. Stops saltires. (Pl. I, 8)

Obverses
(i) Single saltire stops in legend; one has W over D in EDWARD
(ii) " " reading GRR and FRR
(iii) Single and double saltire stops in legend; one reads FRRRN
(iv) Single stops in legend; double saltires at end.
(v) Pellet before EDWARD
(vi) Annulet to right of I.M.; single saltire stops.
(vii) " left " single and double saltire stops in legend; double saltires at end.
(ix) Two roses as I.M.; single saltire stops.

Reverses
(i) POSVI / DEVMT : T / DIVTOR / G : MGMVM
(ii) POSVI / DEVMT : T / DIVTOR / G : MGMVM
(iii) POSVI / DEVMT : T / DIVTOR / G : MGMVM
(iv) POSVI / DEVMT : T / DIVTOR / G : MGMVM
(v) POSVI / DEVMT : T / DIVTOR / G : MGMVM
(vi) POSVI / DEVMT : T / DIVTOR / G : MGMVM
(vii) POSVI / DEVMT : T / DIVTOR / G : MGMVM
(viii) POSVI / DEVMT : T / DIVTOR / G : MGMVM with DON / DON (sic)

Mules are known of obv. II (i) with revs. III (a), (b), (c), and (d) (Pl. I, 8)

Type III. I.M. Rose (obv. and rev.). Legends as in type I. Quatrefoils in the field by the king's neck (rarely omitted) and a small trefoil (quite distinct from the usual fleur) on the king's breast, except where otherwise stated.

Rev. An "eye" in the inner legend (except in III(a)). Stops: saltires which are also found on this issue in the inner legend of the reverse. One coin has trefoil stops.

(a) As above, but no eye in inner legend on reverse.
(i) XORNI : T : RR : ND Rev. CIVI / TAPS / ION : DON
(ii) " " Rev. CIVI / TAPS : ION : DON
(b) Eye before ION (Pl. I, 9; R.C.L.)
(c) Eye after LION

(i) ΤΝΩ / ΤΑΝΩ / LION / DON
    Rev. GIVI / or GIVI / TAN / LION eye / DON:
    Outer legend no stops.

(ii) ΤΝΩ / ΤΑΝΩ / LION / DON
    Rev. DEV / GIVI / TAN / LION eye / DON:

(d) Eye after CIVITAS
    Rev. Saltire stops in one or other legend
    and usually in both.

Obverses

(i) Pellet to left, annulet to right, of I.M. Stops *, DI, REX:
    (ii) Stops * including one after ΤΑΝΩ; * after DI (Pl. I, 9)
    (iii) Stops * in legend. None at end. * after DI
    (iv) " │ DI; REX:
    (v) " │ " after ΤΑΝΩ; DI ‖ REX:
    (vi) " │ " None at end. GRA; REX:
    (vii) " │ " GRA; REX: ΤΑΝΩ:
    (viii) " │ " None at end. ΤΝΩ / ΤΑΝΩ
    (ix) " │ " ΤΑΝΩ * *
    (x) " │ " None at end; one reads ΤΝΩ (Pl. I, 11)
    (xi) " │ " Omits quatrefoils by neck.
    (xii) " │ " Omits quatrefoils by neck. No trefoil on breast. ΤΑΝΩ, ΤΑΝΩ:

Reverses. The following variations are found in the outer legend:

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(always combined with: stops in inner legend)

Trefoil stops.

The following variations are found in the inner legend:

(a) GIVI / TAN / LION / DON: No eye.

(b) " │ " │ eye │ " (Pl. I, 8)

(c) " │ " │ " │ eye (Pl. I, 9)

(d) GIVI / TAN / eye / LION / DON: Eye after TAN

(Pl. I, 10)
The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)

**Type IV.** I.M. Rose (obv. and rev.). Legends as in type I. An annulet in the field either side of the king's neck. An "eye" in the inner legend after AVIVITAS. Stops (saltires) are generally absent on the obverse and appear always to be so on the reverse.

**Obverses**

(i) Breast arch fleured; reading ANGULI × ARANT; no stops.
(ii) As (i) normal reading; no stops.
(iii) Breast arch not fleured; ANGULI × ARANT; no stops.
(iv) As (iii) normal reading; no stops. (Pl. I, 12)
(v) " " " " after EDWARD; ; after ARANT
(vi) " " " × ARANT ×

**Reverses**

(i) Eye after TAS, no stops. (Pl. I, 12)

**Heavy Half-groats**

**Type I.** I.M. (obv. only) Cross Fleury or Plain Cross. Lis on breast arch of tressure. Pellet either side of crown. Rev. extra pellets in two quarters.

Rev. No I.M. POSVI / DEVMA / DIVTOR / G' MEVM; CIVI / TAS LON / DON Extra pellet in TAS and DON quarters. Wt. 28-1 grs. (F. A. Walters' Sale, 1913, lot 39.)
(b) (i) Obv. I.M. Plain Cross EDWARD ? DI' GRAT ? BAX ANGULI' × FRANT
(ii) Obv. As (b) (i).
Rev. No I.M. POSVI / DEVMA / DIVTOR / G' MEVM; CIVI / TAS / LON / DON Extra pellet in TAS and DON quarters. Wt. 29 grs. B.M.

**Type II.** I.M. Rose both sides, Crescent on breast; quatrefoils by bust.

(i) Obv. EDWARD DI × GRAT × BAX × ANGULI × ARANT:
Rev. POSVI / DEVMA / DIVTOR / G' MEVM; CIVI / TAS / LON / DON Wt. 29 grs. (Pl. II, 2) H.A.P.
(ii) Same obverse die but no stops on reverse. Wt. 28 grs. L.A.L.

**Mules III/II.**

(i) I.M. Rose both sides. Large fleur on breast; quatrefoils by bust.
Obv. EDWARD × DI × GRAT × BAX ? ANGULI × ARANT :
Rev. Normal, no stops (no eye). (Pl. II, 1) L.A.L.
(ii) I.M. (obv. only) Rose. No quatrefoils by bust. No fleur or trefoil on breast.
Rev. No stops in either legend.
EDWARD DI' GRAT BAX ANGUL × ARANT :
Rev. POSVI / DEVMA / DIVTOR / G' MEVM; CIVI / TAS / LON / DON Wt. 26 grs. (Pl. II, 16) B.M.

**Type III.** I.M. Rose (obv. and rev.). Quatrefoils by neck, trefoil of pellets on breast. Rev. Eye after AVIVITAS

(i) EDWARD × DI GRT × BAX × ANGULI × ARANT' POSVI / DEVMA × DIVTOR / G × MEVM; CIVI / TAS eye / DON / × DON Wt. 27½ grs. Fitzwilliam Museum; ex Montagu II, 607. (Pl. I, 14)
(ii) EDWARD × DI GRT × BAX × ANGULI × ARANT Quatrefoils by neck; nothing on breast.
Rev. I.M. Rose. POSVI / DEVMA × DIVTOR / G × MEVM; CIVI / TAS eye LON / DON Wt. 30 grs. (R. Carlyon-Britton Sale, lot 112.)
Heavy Coinage

Type IV. I.M. Rose (obv. and rev.) Annulets by neck. Nothing on breast.

(i) Edward DI GRATA REX ANGLULAE FRED
POSVI / DVVM / DIVTOR / G' / MCVNI; CIVI / TANS / LON / DON

(ii) Edward DI' GRATA REX ANGLULAE FRED
POSVI &c. as (i); CIVI / TANS / LON / DON Wt. 29\(\frac{1}{2}\) grs.

(iii) Edward DI' GRATA REX ANGLULAE FRED
POSVI &c. as (i); CIVI / TANS / LON / DON (Pl. II, 17) R.C.L.

(iv) Similar to (ii) but eye in lieu of saltires after TANS (Spink, Num. Circular, Nov. 1917).

Heavy Pence

LONDON

Type I. I.M. Plain Cross (obv. only).

Obv.

(i) Edward 2 REX ANGLULAE
Mascle after REX Pellet either side of crown. Lis on neck.

Rev.

CIVI / TANS / LON / DON Extra pellet in CIVI and LON quarters. (Pl. II, 4) B.M.

(ii) Same obverse die.

Rev.

CIVI / TANS / LON / DON Extra pellet in TANS and DON quarters.

Wt. 14\(\frac{1}{2}\) grs., L.A.L. (Another specimen in Mr. Lockett’s collection weighs 13\(\frac{3}{4}\) grains.)

Mule II/I. I.M. Rose.

Edward DI' GRATA REX ANGLULAE Quatrefoils by neck; pellet stops.

Same die as (i) above. 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) grs. (Pl. II, 5) C.E.B.

Type II.

Same die as mule II/I.

CIVI / TANS / LON / DON; Wt. 13 grs. (Pl. II, 6) R.C.L.

Mule III/I/II.

I.M. Rose Edward DI' GRATA REX ANGLULAE Quatrefoils by neck.

CIVI / TANS / LON / DON; Wt. 13 grs. (Pl. II, 9) C.E.B.

Type III. I.M. Rose.

(i) Same die as Mule III/I/II

CIVI / TANS eye LON DON; 15 grs. (Pl. II, 10) R.C.L.

(ii) As (i), different bust.

CIVI / TANS eye LON DON; 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) grs. (clipped). R.C.L.

Type IV. I.M. Rose.

Edward DI' GRATA REX ANGLULAE Annulets by neck; same obverse die as light penny of 11-6 grains (Fitzwilliam, Pl. II, 8)

CIVI / TANS / LON / DON; 13 grs., (bare). (As far as can be seen, no eye.) (Pl. II, 7) R.C.L.

1 Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. x, 5.
The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)

HEAVY HALFPENCE

Obv.

Type I(b). I.M. Plain Cross:

(i) **EDWARD REX ANGL** Lis on neck, pellets by crown.

(ii) As (i).

Types II and III. I.M. Rose (obv. only)

II. **EDWARD DI GRATIA REX**

- @ @ by bust.

II. **EDWARD DI GRATIA REX**

- @ @ by bust. Pellet stops.

II. **EDWARD DI GRATIA REX**

- @ @ by bust.

II. **EDWARD DI GRATIA REX**

- @ @ by bust.

II. **EDWARD DI GRATIA REX**

** by bust.

II. **EDWARD DI GRATIA REX**

** by bust.

III. **EDWARD REX ANGLIAE**

Nothing by bust.

III. ? ** by bust.

Note: Halfpence with pellet stops can probably be associated with type II. Cf. Mule I/II pence with pellet stops and groat with pellet before **EDWARD**

Type IV. I.M. Rose.

**EDWARD REX ANGLIAE**

- by neck

** ANGLIA **

** EDWARD DI GRATIA REX **

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON; extra pellet in GIVI and LON quarters.

(Pl. II, 11) B.M.; Fitzwilliam.

C.E.B.

As (i) but extra pellet in TĀS and DON quarters.

B.M.

Rev.

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON ; extra pellet in GIVI and LON quarters.

(Pl. II, 11) B.M.; Fitzwilliam.

C.E.B.

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON

6-5 grs. R.C.L. ex Longbottom 192. (Pl. II, 12)

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON

6-8 grs. Longbottom 193.

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON

8 grs. Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. x, 10. B.M.

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON

6 grs. Longbottom 193.

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON

8 grs. R.C.-B. 112.

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON


GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON

7 grs. C.E.B.; B.M. (Pl. II, 13)

/ TĀS eye / 6-3 grs. Ready 476

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON


R.C.L.

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON

6 grs. L.A.L. (Pl. II, 14)

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON

6-1 grs. L.A.L. (Pl. II, 14)

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON

6 grs. R.C.L. (Pl. II, 15)

GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON


R.C.L.

HEAVY FARTHINGS


No I.M. Extra pellet in two quarters.

Obv. **EDWARD REX ANGLIAE**

Rev. GIVI / TĀS / LON / DON; extra pellet in TĀS and LON quarters.

(1) B.M. 3 grs. (2) Fitzwilliam, ex Montagu, Wt. 3-6 grs. (Pl. II, 3)

These appear to be the only two known.

*Note:* The “eye” in the rev. legend, quoted by Brooke, *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi. 73, is absent from all the specimens we have seen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Obv. legend</th>
<th>Rev. legend</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III. 1</td>
<td>♂ GRA*; ♀ ANGEL</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>C.E.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>♂ GRA*</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>C.A.W. 13.5 grs. (Pl. III, 15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>♀ DI; ♀ ANGEL</td>
<td>EBO*</td>
<td>E.J.W. 14.3 grs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Light (?) Coinage.
*Sede Vacante; September 1464 to June 1465.*
Quatrefoils by bust but no quatrefoil on reverse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>By bust</th>
<th>Obv. legend</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>♡ ♡</td>
<td>DI GRA REX ANGEL</td>
<td>No eye; Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. x, 7; 13.5 grs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bootham Find; 10½ grs.; also C.E.B. and Hunterian Coll.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1465-70
Light Coinage. Archbishop George Neville.
(a) Local dies, with I.M. Cross or Rose, 6 and Key by bust; legend **EDWARD (DEI) REX ANGLI**
(b) London-made dies, with I.M.s as London series of types VI to X (but Lis vice Crown); quatrefoils or trefoils by bust; legend **EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGEL**

Both (a) and (b) have quatrefoil on reverse; legend **CIVI / TKS / EBO / RNOI**

The type of (a) being from local dies is conjectural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>By bust</th>
<th>Obv. legend</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Local] 1</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>6 Key</td>
<td>DEI : REX : DEI REX AN</td>
<td>B.N.J. xxi, Pl. 1, 5; local dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>DEI REX ANGEL</td>
<td>Local dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>EDWARD REX ANGEL</td>
<td>... (Pl. III, 16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cross</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>EDWARD REX ANGEL</td>
<td>London dies from now on, (Pl. III, 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. 1</td>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>♡ ♡ DI : GRA REX AN</td>
<td>Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. xiv, 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. 1</td>
<td>Large Lis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ANGEL</td>
<td>Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. xv, 9; also Pl. III, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>No marks</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>C.E.B. Quatrefoils by bust omitted. (Pl. III, 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>Sotheby, 30 Jan. 1900. One die has the I.M. overstruck with a Cross; see below, type XII.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>By bust</th>
<th>Obv. legend</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Large Lis</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>R.C.L. (Pl. III, 21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. 1</td>
<td>Small Lis</td>
<td>G Key</td>
<td>DEI; ANGL</td>
<td>One reads GIVI x (Pl. III, 22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>LCF</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>ANGL</td>
<td>I.M. = Long Cross Fitchy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Henry VI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large Lis</td>
<td>6 Key</td>
<td>HENRIC DI; ANGL</td>
<td>R.C.L. (Pl. III, 23) Also HERIAC, HENRIAC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1470–1

Archbishop George Neville.

6 and Key by bust (the first coin has quatrefoils—an old die with I.M. Large Lis overstruck with a Short Cross Fitchy). Quatrefoil on reverse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XII. 1</td>
<td>SCF (over Lis)</td>
<td>ANGL</td>
<td>L.A.L. See B.N.J. xxi, Pl. 1, 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SCF</td>
<td>DI or DEI; ANGL</td>
<td>I.M. = Short Cross Fitchy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>DI; ANGLLI</td>
<td>Bootham Find. Also ANGL; some have B-like R (R5) on reverse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sede Vacante** (Neville suspended).

6 and Key by bust; no quatrefoil on reverse.

### 1471–2 (Second Reign)

1471–2

Archbishop George Neville.

6 and Key by bust (the first coin has quatrefoils—an old die with I.M. Large Lis overstruck with a Short Cross Fitchy). Quatrefoil on reverse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XVI. 4</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>E.J.W. Old obv. die of XII re-employed. (Pl. III, 26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rose (over Annulet)</td>
<td>DEI or DI; ANGL or ANGL</td>
<td>Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. xxiv, 4. (Pl. III, 25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>DEI or DI; ANGL or ANGL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1475–6 (Second Reign)

Archbishop George Neville restored (ob. 8 June 1476).

6 and Rose by bust; quatrefoil on reverse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XVI. 4</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>E.J.W. (Pl. III, 26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rose (over Annulet)</td>
<td>DEI or DI; ANGL or ANGL</td>
<td>C.E.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>DEI or DI; ANGL or ANGL</td>
<td>B.N.J. xxi, Pl. 1, 13. (Pl. III, 17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
York and Durham Pence

1476 (Second Reign)

No marks by bust; rose on breast; quatrefoil on reverse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>Legends</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1476–80 (Second Reign)

Archbishop Lawrence Booth (ob. 19 May 1480).

B and Key by bust; quatrefoil on reverse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>Legends</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>C.E.B., E.J.W. Also DGI; and ΠΗΝΙΩ or ΠΗΝΙΩ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>Cinquefoil</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Ashmolean Mus., piedfort; 117-8 grs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>EDWARD DI GRAT REX ΠΗΝΙΩ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1480 (Second Reign)

B and Key by bust, but no quatrefoil on reverse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>Legends</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(XXI)</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>Also ΠΗΝΙΩ; old obv. dies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1480–3 (Second Reign)

Archbishop Thomas Rotherham.

T and Key by bust; quatrefoil on reverse; some have star on breast, others to right of crown also.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>Legends</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>DI GRAT; ΠΗΝΙΩ</td>
<td>No stars. Also DGI (Pl. III, 30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Star on breast; Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. xxiv, 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>C.A.W. Star on breast and to right of crown, ex Longbottom, 191.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COINS OF THE DURHAM MINT

1462–5

Mule Henry VI–Edward IV. Obv. RIC REX ΠΗΝΙΩ, pellets by crown; rev. DUV ΠΗΝΙΩ (Pl. III, 1)

Heavy and Light coinage from local dies issued with

(a) I.M. Cross, nominally heavy coins, during the suspension of Lawrence Booth between 1462 and 1494.

(b) I.M. Cross, nominally light coins, after the indenture of August 1464.

(c) I.M. Rose, coins otherwise similar to (b).

Note: (a) and (b), with I.M. Cross, are indistinguishable, and weigh when fine about 12 grains.
The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)

(a) and (b):

Obverse: stops, saltires, roses, pellets, or stars; some have pellet or pellets beside or over crown; *Edward Rex Anglie*

Variants:
1. \( \pi \pi \) 8. Edward R...
2. *Rex* × *Anglie* 9. Edward *Rex* × *Anglie*
3. " " × *Anglie* 10. " " *Rex* × *Anglie*
4. *Rex* × *Anglie* 11. " " *Rex* × *Anglie*
5. *Rex:* 12. " " *Rex* × *Anglie*
6. *Rex* × *Anglie* 13. " " *Rex* × *Anglie*
7. *Rex* × *Anglie* 14. " " *Rex* × *Anglie*
8. *Rex* × *Anglie* 15. Edward DI: REX:

Reverse: (i) no marks, (ii) rose in centre, (iii) rose in centre and extra pellet in one quarter. *CIVI / T\(\pi\)S / DON / OLI*

Variants:
1. DVN / OLI 5. DON / OLI 8. DON / OLI
2. DVN / OLI 6. DIVI / T\(\pi\)S / DON / OLI 9. DON / OLI
3. DON / OLI 7. DON / OLI 10. DON / OLI

(c), with I.M. Rose. Legends as on (a) and (b); reverse with a rose in centre and extra pellet in each quarter. [Brooke, English Coins, p. 157, Group (II)].

1465-70

Light Coinage. Bishop Lawrence Booth.

London-made dies. By bust, B and D, quatrefoil and B or D, later 2 quatrefoils, trefoils, or lis; at first B, later no marks on reverse; normal obv. legend: *Edward DI GR\(\pi\) REX ANGLI*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>By bust</th>
<th>Obv. legend</th>
<th>Rev. legend</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. 1</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>B D</td>
<td>Normal; some with saltire stops</td>
<td>DE × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>B on rev.; also DE × R(\pi)M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; (\pi)G (\pi)G</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>B on rev. (Pl. III, 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; (\pi)G (\pi)G</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>R.C.L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; (\pi)G × (\pi)G</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>English Coins, p. 157, Group (II).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. 1</td>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>:: B</td>
<td><em>Rex × Anglie</em></td>
<td>DON / ... I ...,</td>
<td>R.C.L., C.E.B. Local rev., no rose or pellet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; <em>Rex × Anglie</em></td>
<td>&quot; &quot; × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>B on rev., mule with V. (Pl. III, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; <em>Rex × Anglie</em></td>
<td>&quot; &quot; × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>Bootham Find.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. 1</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>B ::</td>
<td><em>Anglie</em></td>
<td>DE × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>Num. Chron., 1909, p. 215. Also DE × R(\pi)M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; <em>Anglie</em></td>
<td>DE × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>L.A.L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; <em>Anglie</em></td>
<td>DE × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>Bootham Find.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; <em>Anglie</em></td>
<td>DE × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>R.C.L.; for DERRAM see Walters Sale, 1932, lot 326.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; <em>Anglie</em></td>
<td>DE × R(\pi)M</td>
<td>Bootham Find.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. 1</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>::</td>
<td><em>Anglie</em></td>
<td>DE × R((\pi)M)</td>
<td>R.C.L. (Pl. III, 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; <em>Anglie</em></td>
<td>DE × R((\pi)M)</td>
<td>Bootham Find.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; <em>Anglie</em></td>
<td>DE × R((\pi)M)</td>
<td>(Pl. III, 6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bishop Lawrence Booth. Local dies, including halfpence.

Type conjectural.

(a) With episcopal letters on obverse (B to l. of crown, V on breast).

(b) Without ..

(a) I.M. Pansy. **Obverse**: B to l. of crown, V on breast; by bust, at first no marks, later crosses; legend as before, but **DEI**

**Reverse**: D in centre, V in OIVI quarter, extra pellet in each quarter; DVNO / LMIN

Note: The first two coins are mules with London-made rev. dies of previous issue.

(b) I.M. Rose. **Obverse**: B and V omitted; crosses usually over crown, sometimes on breast also; legend **DI GRAT**

**Reverse**: D in centre, extra pellet in one quarter (with obv. having cross on breast ?) or in all quarters (with obv. without cross on breast ?); V sometimes in OIVI quarter; DVNO / LMIN

---

1. **Obv. legend**
   - Baldin. Mule with earlier rev. C.E.B.
2. . . . WARD D... - -
   - Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. xxiv, 9.
3. AN - -
   - C.E.B. Pellet in rev. legend.
4. AN - -
   - R.C.L. Pellet before GRAT; one has pellet after REX (Baldwin).
5. **DEI GRAT REX**
   - Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. xxiv, 9.
   - C.A.W. (Pl. III, 10)
6. . . . **DEI GRAT REX**:
   - Normal
   - Baldwin.
7. . . . **DEI GRAT REX**:
   - Baldin.

---

1 To appear in a later article.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. legend</th>
<th>On breast</th>
<th>Over crown</th>
<th>Pellets</th>
<th>V under</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong> (Illegible)</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>LUMI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> DWARD DI GR...AN...</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>DVO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong> ANG</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>CIVI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong> D I X GRAT REX ANG</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>CIVI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong> DI: ANGL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6</strong> DI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7</strong> ANGL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8</strong> EDWARD DI X GRAT REX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Halfpence. I.M. Rose.** Obv. legend uncertain; rev. D in centre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. legend</th>
<th>By crown</th>
<th>By bust</th>
<th>Rev. legend</th>
<th>In centre</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>DG / RAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1476 (Second Reign)**

Sede Vacante, between translation of Lawrence Booth to York, June 1476, and appointment of William Dudley, October 1476.

Local dies. I.M. Rose. No marks by bust. D on reverse. Type conjectural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.M.</th>
<th>By bust</th>
<th>Obv. legend</th>
<th>Rev. legend</th>
<th>In centre</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>EDWARD DI X GRAT REX ANGL</td>
<td>DIVO / LMIE</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mule with rev. of previous issue with extra pellets; C.A.W. (Pl. III, 13)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1476-83 (Second Reign)**

Bishop William Dudley. Type conjectural, local dies. Obverse, small D and V or V only by bust; D[E] / ANG. Reverse, D usually in centre. DIVO / LMIE

I.M., with V only, Rose, with D and V, Cinquefoil (Type XXI).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. legend</th>
<th>By bust</th>
<th>Rev. legend</th>
<th>In centre</th>
<th>Source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong> DWARD D[E] / GRAT REX AN...</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Normal (?)</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> Uncertain</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong> DI</td>
<td>D V</td>
<td>IVI / .S/. RO /</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E.J.W. Also no D on rev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong> DI GRAT ANGL</td>
<td>D V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C.A.W. (Pl. III, 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong> EDW ..........</td>
<td>D V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Described by Brooke, English Coins, p. 160, as perhaps having B and trefoil by bust; such marks seem absent from the coin at the British Museum.
Indenture of 1465

Exchequer K.R. Memoranda Roll 244, 6 Edward IV

Adhuc Communia de termino sancti Michaelis anno sexto Regis [m. 45 Edwardi quarti.

Adhuc Recorda.

Memorandum quod Henricus Chevele unus clericorum Thome Colt unus camerari-
orum ad Receptam hujus Scaccarii exhibuit Curie hic quandam partem
Angliae

Indenture inter dominum Regem et Willelmum Dominum de Hastynges
Camerarium suum confecte cujus tenor sequitur in hec verba:

This Endenture made betwene our soaigne lord Edward by the grace of god Kyng of
England and of sfrance & lord of Irland of that oon ptie
and William lord Hastyng the Kyng
by his tres patente3 hath made and ordeigned the seid
lord Hastyng maist and Werker of his moneys of gold
and Sylver and Wardeyn of all mañ his eschaunge and
oue Chaunge within his Towre of London his Reaume
of England and his Towne of Caley the which lord
Hastynges haft undertake afore our seid soaineg lord
the Kyng to make the same moneys vndre the pell and forme that foloweth that is
to sey to make v manœ moneyes of gold oon the pece therof rennyng for x §. sterlyng
which shall be called the Newe noble of gold and there shall be xlv such peces in the lb
of the Weight of the Tower aforesaid and an othir money of gold weyng the halfe
of the money aforesaid rennyng the pece for v, §. of Sterlyng & ther shalbe iiiij. x
such peces in the lb Weight of the Toure aforesaid and an othir the iiijde monye of
gold weyng the iiijth parte of the seid first money rennyng the pece for ij. §. vij d.

st³lynges and ther shall be c. iiiij such peces in the lb of the same Toure and oú this
the seid maist hath undertake to make two othir moneys of gold oon pece thereof
hauing on that oon syde an ymage of an Angell enprented rennyng for vij. §. viij d
st³lyng which shall be called an Angell and ther shall be lvij such pecys and an half in
a lb weight of the Toure aforesaid and an othir mony of gold hauing also on that oon
syde an ymage of an Angell emprented weyng halve the seid moneys rennyng the pece
for ij. §. viij d. of Sterlyng which shall be called a Angelet And there shall beexxv
such pecys in the lb. weight of the Toure forseid. And eyy pounde weight of the
seid Toure of the seid moneys shall be worth xxij li x §. of st³lyng of all the peces
aforesaid The whch shalbe of xxijij Caracte iij Greynes & dj of fyne gold of the
which monye of gold our seid soaineg lord the Kyng shaule haue of eyy lb weight xx §. x d.
st³ingses of the which the Wardeyn of the mynte Controller Grauer of Irons and
Clerk of the coignes and Eschaunge shall haue their fees and Wages by the handes of
the same Wardeigne of the mynte and the seid maister shall haue and take for his
werkynge and coignyng lacke wast wages of the monyours and all othir mañ expenses
and costes by hym to be made ij. §. iiiij. d. that is to sey for hym sifl xij d. for lakk x. d.
and the seid monyours for their wages and wast vj. d. of eyy lb weight and so shall
there remaigne to the rrichuant of eyy such lb weight of gold xxij li x §. iij. d. by nombre
and in case that the same rrichuant will not abyde the coignyng but desire to be
answered sone and speed forthwith at the Kyngge Chaunge than our soaineg the
Kyng shall haue of eyy lb weight of such coigned gold xxij §. xj d. of nombre of which
the seid Wardeyn Controller Grauer of the Irons Clerk and maist of the moneys
shall haue and tak as is aboueseid and so thà that their shal remaigne to the rrichuant
of eyy such lb Weight of gold xxij li. vij §. jd. and the seid maist shall make of the seid
moneys of gold that is to sey of eyy lb weight of golde c³tain vnces in nobles c³tain
vnces in half nobles c³tein vnves in tertlinges of gold c³tain vnves in Aungells &
c³tain vnves in Angelettæ as9 as he therpysh shal be required by the Controller and
Chaungeour which in this part shal haue consideracion to the desire ease and conten-
tacion of the people and by cause the seid moneys of gold may not continually be
made accordinly in all thyngæ to his Ryght standard but peraurent in defaute of the
maist\textsuperscript{9} or the Werkers it shall be founden somtyme to stronge or to feble be more or lasse in weight or in alaia or in that oon or in that othir our soigne lord the Kyng wolleth that whan the seid monye so founde at the assai afore the deluyauance therof to stronge or to feble all oonly in the weight or all oonly in the allay or in that oon or in that othir as is aboueseyd by the viij\textsuperscript{th} part of a Caract in the lb weight of gold and nomore ouer the which viij parte in that oon and viij part in that othir shalbe called remedye for the maist the monye shalbe deluyid for gode whan the seid defauta shall happen\textsuperscript{9} casully and othirwyse not but if defauta be founde in the same monye in allaye or in weight or in that oon or in that othir ou the viij parte of a Caracte which is called remedye as is aboueseyd than cesse the deluyauance and the monye to be challenged and juged by the assaiour lasse than good and newe molto\textsuperscript{n} and reforged at the coste of the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} tyll it be put to poyn\textsuperscript{t} And also the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} has unde\textsuperscript{9} tak to make v monye of monyes of sylu\textsuperscript{e} of euych of which v monye of monyes of sylu\textsuperscript{e} shall entre in the lb weight of the Towre xxxvij \(\frac{\text{v}}{\text{j}}\) d. of st\textsuperscript{1}lynges that is to sey oon the pece remnyng for iij d. of st\textsuperscript{1}lynges which shalbe called a grote and there shalbe exij such pecys \& an half in the lb weight of the Towre and an othir monye the pece remnyng for ij d. which shalbe called half a grote and there shalbe cxxv. such pecys in the lb weight aboueseyd and the thirde for a j d which is called a st\textsuperscript{1}lyng and there shalbe ccccl. such pecys in the lb weight aboueseyd and the fourth monye which shalbe called half a peny which shalbe worth half a sterlyng and ther shalbe \(\frac{\text{v}}{\text{j}}\) such pecys in the lb weight aboueseyd and the viij\textsuperscript{th} monye shalbe called a ferthyng the which shalbe worth half the seid half peny \& their \(\text{\[f. 45d.\]}\) shalbe \(\frac{\text{v}}{\text{ij}}\) such pecys in the lb weight aboueseyd And all the seid moneys so made shalbe of the allae of the standard of the old st\textsuperscript{1}lyng that is to sey euy lb of syluer of thies moneys of Weight shal be holde xj vnces \& ij d of sterlyng weight of weight of fyne syluer and xvij. peny weight of allaye euy peny conteignying xxiiij. greynes of which monyes of syluer our seid souiigne lord the Kyng shalbe haue of euy lb so made iij \(\text{\[\text{v}\]}\) d. by nombre and therof the seid maist shalbe haue of euy lb weight of the Towre for his werkyng conteignying scales lake wast wages of the moneyours and all othir ma\textsuperscript{9} expenses and costes by hym made xiiiij \(\text{\[d.\]}\) by nombre onely and therof shalbe payed by the handis of the wardeyn of the monye ou the Wages of the Wardeyn Graneir of the Irons and othir officer\textsuperscript{e} afosed and so their shalbe remaigne toward the marchaunt of euy lb weight of the Towre of fyne sylu\textsuperscript{e} and cleene according to the Standard xxxvij \(\text{\[\text{s.}\]}\) and by cause that the seid moneys of sylu\textsuperscript{e} may not contynuelly be made according in all thynge to the Ryght standard inasmuch as somtyme in defaute of the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} or of the Werkers it may be made to stronge or to feble by more or lesse in weight or in alaie or in that oon or in that othir ou soi\textsuperscript{e}ne lord the Kyng willette that whan the seid moneys of sylu\textsuperscript{e} vpon thassaye afore the delyQaunce be founde to stronge or to feble all oonly in the weight or all oonly in the alaie or in that oon or in that othir ou the iij d weight as is aboueseid that than they shalbe baue at the costes of the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} be newe molto\textsuperscript{n} and reforged tyll it be putt to poynt. And the seid maist shall make of the seid \(\text{\[\text{v} \text{v}\]}\) of monyes of sylu\textsuperscript{e} aboueseyd that is to sey of euy lb of syluer \(\text{\[\text{v}\]}\) vnces in Grotez \(\text{\[\text{v}\]}\) vnces in half grotes \(\text{\[\text{v}\]}\) vnces in penys \(\text{\[\text{v}\]}\) vnces in half penyes and \(\text{\[\text{v}\]}\) vnces in ferthynges aft\textsuperscript{9} as he thervpon shalbe required to do by the Countroller and Chaungenge\textsuperscript{e} which in this partie shalbe baue consideraci\textsuperscript{on} to the desire case and conten\textsuperscript{ation} of the people and the seid Wardeyn of the mynte chaungenge\textsuperscript{e} assauoir\textsuperscript{e} and Countroller of the Kyng shalbe tak hed and ou\textsuperscript{e} the seid moneys of gold and sylu\textsuperscript{e} at all tymes as belongeth to their offices so that as se\textsuperscript{o} as any of the seid moneys shalbe cought or accomplis\textsuperscript{ed} by the seid wardeyn of the moneys
and the maisi they shall putt theym in an huche or cofe closed with ij Keys of the which oono shine remaigne towarde the same Wardeyn and the other towards the seid maist\(^9\) vnto the deluyuance of the seid moneys. And aft\(^9\) that the seid moneys of gold and syluer be assaied and pued for good in the mai as is aforeseid there shalbe before eny deluyuance a c\(^9\)steyn price of all the hole some of gold and sylu wysely made to be putte in a bo\(x\) wherof the assaies shalbe made at Westymestre that to sey of euy x lb by weight of gold to the value of a noble of gold which shalbe taken seily in and of euy sort of the moneys of gold aboue wryte and also to be take of euy c lb weight of sylu ij s. by accompt which shalbe taken seily in and of euy sorte of the seid moneys of syluer of which moneys so take the maist\(^9\) shalbe allowed in his accompt by the seid Wardeyn of the moneys. And whan the seid prices of gold and sylver be made and put in a bo\(x\) lor to make the assaies at Westymestre as is aboueseid they shalbe ensealed with the sale of the forseid Wardeyn of the moneys and with the sale of the maist\(^9\) and Controller and the seid bo\(x\) be shute with iij keyes whereof oon [sic] Key shalbe abide toward the Wardeyn and the second toward the maist\(^9\) and the third toward the Controller and the which Bo\(x\) so shute shalbe put in a cofre for sauf Kepyngh thervpof to be made afose some lorde of the Counsaill of our soaigne lord the Kyng therto assigned and in the p\(se\)ence of the seid Wardeyn of the moneys and the maist\(^9\) there shalbe made assaie of the seid moneys of gold and syluer founde in the seid Bo\(x\) aft\(^9\) the most insta ma\(n\) as they shalbe seme to be made by fyre or by touche or by that oono or by that othir to that ende that if the seid moneys of gold and syluer be founde and pu\(ed\) good and comenable aft\(^9\) the ouverture aforesaid the seid maist\(^9\) to be quite and excused ayenst our soaigne lord the Kyng and all othir vnto that tyme and theroponen the seid bo\(x\) shalbe hauing at his wyll tres patentes vnd\(^9\) the Kynges grete sale without fee therefo payng specifing the seid assaie to be founde such as is aforesaid and if [\(m. 45a.\)] the seid moneys of golde and syluer by the seid assaies which shalbe thus made at Westm be founde in weight or allai in or in that oono or in that othir more feble than their right standard by more or lasse vnto the remedyes aforesaid and nonore oui than be that same faut entred of Record and the seid maist\(^9\) charged therfor to make agreenent with our soaigne lord the Kyng aboueseid Sauyng alwey that in case that by the seid assaies the seid moneys of gold and Syluer be founde at eny tyme passyng the estandard aboueseid in goodnesse in the weight or in the allai in or in that oono or in that othir than by force of the seid remedie the seid goodenesse be entred of Record and holde place to the seid maist\(^9\) in the charge which he shalbe hauing whan eny defaute shalbe founde in the seid moneys by the assaye at Westm aboueseid and if it happe\(n\) that the seid moneys of gold and syluer vpo\(5\) eny of the iuste assaies at Westm of the moneys aboueseid be eny tyme founde\(n\) in Weight or in allai in defaute passyng the remedyes ordeyned for the seid maist\(^9\) as is aboueseid the seid maist\(^9\) shalke lyke and raumson to our soaigne lord the Kyng at his wyll and he the seid maist\(^9\) holde\(n\) at his peryll to make a priue mark in all the moneys that he shalbe wyrk aswele of gold as of syluer so that an othir tyme if nede be he may knowe or wille which moneys of gold and syluer among othir of the same moneys been of his owen wyrkyng and which not also that the seid maist\(^9\) as oft tymes as nede shalbe shalbe ordeyned by ou\(r\) soaigne lord the Kyng to haue the kepyng of the seid Irons as it appeiyned and that the same Graue\(f\) of the Irons aforesaid shalke not graue elles where but oono in an house withi\(n\) the Towre to hym by the Wardeyn and maist\(^9\) to be assigned and the seid maist\(^9\) and Wardeyn\(f\) of the eschaunge holden\(n\) to receuie all mai\(n\) gold and syluer brought to the Towre and eschanges aft\(^9\) the verray value that is to sey euy pcell in his degree oono to the more aothir to the lesse aft\(^9\) the qualite and if the seid maist\(^9\) and Wardeyn\(f\) of eschaunga and ma\(n\)chaunt which bringeth his gold and syluer may not accorde between hem of the verray value that thang the Kynges assaioms to that deputed in the p\(se\)ence of the seid Wardeyn\(f\) of the moneys
and maist\textsuperscript{9} owe to trie the trouth in that ptie and aft\textsuperscript{9} that it is founde\textsuperscript{n} vpon ij assaies mad the oo\textsuperscript{n} by the seid maist\textsuperscript{r} and that othir by the seid assaiours the seid maist\textsuperscript{r} share take it and stande charged in the ma\textsuperscript{n} as belongeth. And our seid souaigne lord the K\textsuperscript{y}ng wol that at his costez ij good stones called touches and also nedles of goold leefull be ordeigned to the vse of the same our souaigne lord the K\textsuperscript{y}ng for to make assaie of the gold of the caracete betwene the michaunte and the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} and Wardeyn\textsuperscript{9} of th\textsuperscript{e} chaung\textsuperscript{e} and that abyde in the kepyng of the seid Wardeyn\textsuperscript{9} of the moneys and maist\textsuperscript{9} and that the balances and Weighte be alwey amended and put to poyn\textsuperscript{e} frome tymre to tymre as oft as it shalbe nededefull so that noo defaute may be founde in theym to hurte the people and by the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} and Wardeyn\textsuperscript{9} of th\textsuperscript{e} chaung\textsuperscript{e} holde\textsuperscript{n} vpon the receit of gold and syluer to dely\textsuperscript{u}e bylles to the marchaunte of the some\textsuperscript{n} that they shal bryng thidre with the somes which they owe to receyue at the dely\textsuperscript{u}aues so that the seid michaunte or ther attorneys shewing the seid billes may be repai\textsuperscript{e} at the dely\textsuperscript{u}aunce as it appertayneth and the seid michaunte so bringyng gold and syluer to the Toure shawe hau\textsuperscript{e} free entree and issue without disturbance of the porters or of eny othir & withoute eny thynge to eny of hem for to hau\textsuperscript{e} free entree and issue ayenst the free will and gree of the michaunte aboueseid and that dely\textsuperscript{u}aunce be made of gold and syluer ones in the weke or ij. tymes or moo tymes at the will of the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} And aft\textsuperscript{9} the assaie made afore the dely\textsuperscript{u}aunce of the seid moneys the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} and Wardeyn\textsuperscript{9} of th\textsuperscript{e} chaung\textsuperscript{e} shalbe the qualite of the somes receyued And the nombre of the psones to which he shal make dely\textsuperscript{u}aunce so that in case the seid some which is wrought may not suffice to mak plenear full payement to all thanne be the some of dely\textsuperscript{u}aunce amesured in commune so that e\textsuperscript{y} in \textit{m. 45a. dorse} \textsuperscript{e} michaunte may tak parte of his paiement aff the quantite of his some consideracion had to the tymre whan e\textsuperscript{y} michaunte bryngith his gold and syluer and to the tymre whan his gold and syluer was molto\textsuperscript{n} and by the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} and Wardeyn\textsuperscript{9} of eschaung\textsuperscript{e}s holde\textsuperscript{n} vpon the dely\textsuperscript{u}aunce of e\textsuperscript{y} michaunt his some whan he thervpon shalbe shawe by hym required And ther\textsuperscript{e} the seid Wardeigne of moneys take towarde hym all the p\textsuperscript{e}te which appeteignith to the K\textsuperscript{y}ng And therefore make Accomp\textsuperscript{t}e as it apperith aboue and the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} as maist\textsuperscript{9} of moneys shalbe not be holde\textsuperscript{n} to yvee accdept to our souaigne lord the K\textsuperscript{y}ng but onely to the Wardeyn\textsuperscript{9} of moneys as the ma\textsuperscript{n} is ontake the damages which shalbe acccepted vpon hyme for the defaute\textsuperscript{e} which shalbe founde vpon the money\textsuperscript{s} and syluer by the assayes at Westmynste\textsuperscript{e} by wey of remedies aboueseid Whereof he shal answe\textsuperscript{r}e to our souaigne lord the K\textsuperscript{y}ng as is aforesaid And our seid souaigne lord the K\textsuperscript{y}ng confermyth by th\textsuperscript{e} endenturs to the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} and ministers Workers of money and all othir officers of lyss myntes the chartres tres patente\textsuperscript{e} and fraunchises afore graunted to the monyours aft\textsuperscript{9} theffecte tenour and purport of the same Chart\textsuperscript{e}s Sounded alwey that the seid monyours shalbe redy to do their werk that to thym belongingh at all tymes whan\textsuperscript{e} they shalb shawe thereto duly be warned by the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} or his deputees vpon payne of lesyng of their fraunchise and their bodys to pryson\textsuperscript{e} And that all the gold and syluer that the same maist\textsuperscript{9} and Wardeyn\textsuperscript{9} of eschaung\textsuperscript{e}s or his deputees shal dely\textsuperscript{u}e to the seid monyours for to be coigned as is aforesaid shalbe in clene Ingot\textsuperscript{e} and dely\textsuperscript{u}e be weight. And the seid monyours shalbe make it and coigne it and than dely\textsuperscript{u}e it ayen to the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} or to his depute by the same weight and if eny thynge lack of the seid weight at any tymre of dely\textsuperscript{u}e they shale content and pai\textsuperscript{e} the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} or his deputees for the same at e\textsuperscript{y} dely\textsuperscript{u}aunce at the balance and that so doo\textsuperscript{e} the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} shalbe paye hem theyr wages aft\textsuperscript{9} the rate of the lb and also the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} and Wardeigne of th\textsuperscript{e} chaung\textsuperscript{e} shal holde and kepe the K\textsuperscript{y}ng Eschaung\textsuperscript{e} in open places and high strete\textsuperscript{s} by hym or his sufficient deputees for whom he wol answe\textsuperscript{r}e and pay to the people all that to hyme of ryght appeteigneth for such eschaung\textsuperscript{e} goode and trewe money of Englande and of such weight and allaie as is aforesaid by weight or be nombre at the eleccion of hyme which shale receyve it frome tymre to tymre withoute eny man\textsuperscript{e} delaye or diffyculte and if it happe in eny of the seid moneys so to be payed eny false money to be founde in weight or in allaie at th\textsuperscript{e} chaung\textsuperscript{e} aboueseid which god defende that it shalbe leefull to eny psones that shalb fynde such defaute afore he
passe the place of the seid eschaunge to refuse that which is defectif and refusable and thervpon the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} and Wardeigne of theschaung\textsuperscript{e} shalbe holden to pay and deluyde sufficiant moneye for the same withoute daunger or delaie and for more suturee of the couenant\textsuperscript{e} aboueseeid well and trewyly to be holden and pflourmed on the partie of the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} and wardeigne of theschaung\textsuperscript{e} and that he shalbe bere hym towarde our souaigne lorde the Kyng and his people in the same office\textsuperscript{e} well and couenable and that he shalbe make gree to the Kyng the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} hath made bodely othe afore our souaigne lorde the Kyng in his Chauncy and byndith hym his heires and his executours to the same our souaigne lorde the Kyng by theis p\textsuperscript{es}sentes. And also for more suturee to make gree to the m\textsuperscript{e}chaunt\textsuperscript{e} of the price of golde and siluer which he shalbe recyue by man\textsuperscript{e} as his aboueseeid as longe as he shalbe in the seid office the forseid maist\textsuperscript{9} hath founde Borowes afore our souaigne lorde the Kyng in his Chauncye that is to sey Rauf Hastynge of Kerby in the countie of Levescey Squier Auerrey Corneburgh Squier William Stephens of London Gentymen Edmund Shawe Robt Hill Goldsmythes Robt Broune Iremonger And Hugh Bryce Goldsmyth Cittezens of London which have vnd\textsuperscript{9}take for the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} that is to sey eulich of them vpon payne of c li that he shalbe make gree to the m\textsuperscript{e}chaunt\textsuperscript{e} aboueseeid of the price of golde and of siluer which he shalbe recyue as is abouewryten the which some of c li euych of the seid borowes by hym self hath granted to be leuyed of their londes tenement\textsuperscript{e} goods and Catelles to the vse of our souaigne lorde the Kyng in Caas it be pued that the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} doo the contrarie hereaft\textsuperscript{9} In wytnesse of which thyng to the oon partie of thees endenturs remaingnyng towards the forseid maist\textsuperscript{9} our souaigne lorde the Kyng hath doo putte his grete seale and to that othir partie of thees endenturs remaingnyng toward\textsuperscript{e} our souaigne lorde the Kyng the seid maist\textsuperscript{9} hath sette his seale Yeve\textsuperscript{n} the vi\textsuperscript{th} day of march the yere of the reigne of ouf seid souaigne lorde the vth.

**KEY TO THE PLATES (I-III)**


Where the provenance is not given the coin is in the collection of one of the writers.

**PLATE I**

1. Heavy groat, type I, I.M.s Cross Fleury/Lis; lis on neck; E. J. W.
2. " " " " Plain Cross both sides, lis on neck, mascle in legend.
3. " " " " Plain Cross/Lis; lis on neck, E. J. W.
4. " " " " Plain Cross both sides; lis on breast.
5. " " " " Plain Cross/Lis; lis on breast; no pellets by crown.
6. " " " mule I/II, I.M.s Cross Fleury/Rose; lis on neck; E. J. W.
7. " " " " Plain Cross/Rose; lis on neck; E. J. W.
8. " " " II/III " Rose both sides; \(\odot\) \(\odot\) by bust, crescent on breast; Eye before L\textsuperscript{ON}; R. C. L.
9. " " " type III, I.M. Rose both sides; \(\odot\) \(\odot\) by bust, trefoil on breast; Eye before L\textsuperscript{ON}; R. C. L.
10. " " " " Rose both sides; no quatrefoils by bust.
11. " " " " type IV, " " \(\odot\) \(\odot\) by bust; Baldwin.
12. " " " half-groat, type I, I.M. Plain Cross on obverse; lis on breast; R. C. L.
13. " " type III, I.M. Rose both sides; \(\odot\) \(\odot\) by bust, trefoil on breast; Fitzwilliam Museum.

**PLATE II**

1. Heavy half-groat, mule III/II, I.M. Rose; \(\odot\) \(\odot\) by bust, fleur on breast; L. A. I.
2. " type II, I.M. Rose; \(\odot\) \(\odot\) by bust, crescent on breast; H. A. P.
3. " farthing, type I, I.M. Plain Cross, lis on neck, pellets by crown; Fitzwilliam Museum.
4. Heavy penny, type I, I.M. Plain Cross, lis on neck, pellets by crown; same rev. die as no. 5; B.M.
5. ,, ,, mule II/I, I.M. Rose; •• by bust; same rev. die as no. 4; same obv. die as no. 6; C. E. B.
6. ,, ,, type II, same obv. die as no. 5; R. C. L.
7. ,, ,, type IV, I.M. Rose, ○○ by bust; same obv. die as no. 8; R. C. L.
8. Light penny from same obv. die as no. 7; Fitzwilliam Museum.
9. Heavy penny, mule III/II, I.M. Rose, •• by bust; same obv. die as no. 10; C. E. B.
10. ,, ,, type III, same obv. die as no. 9; Eye after TGS; R. C. L.
11. ,, ,, halfpenny, type I, I.M. Plain Cross, lis on neck, pellets by crown; B.M.
12. ,, ,, type II (?), I.M. Rose, •• by bust, pellet stops; R. C. L.
13. ,, ,, type III, I.M. Rose, no marks by bust; B.M.
14. ,, ,, type IV, I.M. Rose, ○○ by bust, DI GRAT; L. A. L.
15. ,, ,, EDWARD REX
16. ,, ,, half-groat, mule III/II, I.M. Rose, no marks by bust; B.M.
17. ,, ,, type IV, ○○ by bust; R. C. L.
18. ,, ,, noble (1461-4), type I, I.M. Lis, lis by shield, pellets by crown; B.M.
19. ,, ,, ,, one pellet by crown; R. C. L.
20. Light (1464-5), type V, I.M. Rose/Lis; • by sword arm; B.M.

Plate III
1. Durham heavy penny, obv. of Henry VI, pellets by crown, DVNOLIR.
2. ,, light L. Booth, 1465-70, type V, I.M. Rose, B and D by bust, B on reverse, DERAN.
3. ,, ,, type VI, I.M. Sun, • and B by bust, DVNOLIR.
4. ,, ,, type VII, I.M. Crown, D and • by bust, DERAN.
5. ,, ,, type VIII, I.M. Crown, •• by bust, DERAN; R. C. L.
6. ,, ,, type VIII, I.M. Crown, 2 lis by bust, DERAN.
7. ,, ,, 1471-3, type XII, I.M. Short Cross Fitchy, no marks by bust, R5 in DERAN.
8. ,, ,, type XVa, I.M. ○, B and • by bust, D in centre of reverse, DERAN.
9. ,, ,, type XVb, I.M. Rose, 2 lis by bust, D in centre of reverse, DERAN; E. J. W.
10. ,, ,, 1473-6, local dies, I.M. Pansy (?) B by crown, V on breast; D in centre of reverse, DVNOLIR.
11. ,, ,, halfpenny local dies, I.M. Rose (?) V by neck, D in centre of reverse; R. C. L.
12. ,, ,, penny local dies, I.M. Rose, * * over crown, D in centre of reverse, DVNOLIR.
13. ,, ,, Sede vacante, 1476, I.M. Rose, no marks by bust, D in centre of reverse, DVNOLIR.
14. ,, ,, W. Dudley, 1476-83, I.M. Cinquefoil, D and V by bust, D in centre of reverse, DVNOLIR.
16. ,, light G. Neville, local dies, I.M. Cross, G and Key by bust; E. J. W.
17. ,, ,, 1475-6 (second reign), I.M. Rose, G and Key by bust (this coin should appear later on the plate).
18. ,, ,, 1465-70, I.M. Sun, G and Key by bust.
EDWARD IV, 1461-4
HEAVY GROATS AND HALF-GROATS
EDWARD IV, 1461-4
HEAVY HALF-GROATS TO FARTHINGS, AND NOBLES
EDWARD IV, 1461-83; HENRY VI, 1470-1
DURHAM AND YORK ECCLESIASTICAL COINS
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Heavy Coinage</th>
<th>Light Coinage</th>
<th>Heavy Coinage</th>
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<td>NORWICH</td>
<td>Ryal</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Great</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Half-Groat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YORK Royal</td>
<td>Ryal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Half-Ryal</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Quarter-Ryal</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Great</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Half-Groat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>CANTERBURY</td>
<td>Halfpenny</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Half-Groat</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Penny</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Halfpenny</td>
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HENRY VI

2nd Reign

RESTORED

1st Reign
# TABLE OF COINS OF EDWARD IV

(except ecclesiastical coins of Durham and York.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>INITIAL MARK</th>
<th>London</th>
<th>Bristol</th>
<th>Coventry</th>
<th>Norwich</th>
<th>York (Royal)</th>
<th>Canterbury</th>
<th>Archbp.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Cross Fleury, Plain Cross, Lis</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Rose, Pall (Canterbury)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Sun, Pall (Canterbury)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<td>VII</td>
<td>Crown, Lis (York), Pall (Canterbury)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Crown, Sun, Lis (York)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Crown/Rose, Rose (Canterbury)</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>L.C.F./Rose, Sun (York, Bristol)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>L.C.F., Lis (York)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry VI</td>
<td>Restoration Cross, Cross patty, S.C.F., Rose, Trefoil, Lis</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<td>S.C.F., Rose (Bristol), Lis (York)</td>
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<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<td>XIII</td>
<td>Large Annulet, Trefoil, Rose (Bristol)</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Small Annulet, Sun (Bristol)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>Pierced Cross</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>Pierced Cross</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>Pierced Cross + Rose (Canterbury)</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>Pierced Cross + central pellet, Rose (Canterbury)</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>Cinquefoil, L.C.F. (Canterbury)</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>Cinquefoil, Rose</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>x*</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


On the gold of the first reign certain variations in the I.M.s shown in the above table are found, notably on type VIII where the crown occurs alone and where the sun struck over the crown is also found. Details will be given in due course in the lists.

* Known from mule only.

HENRY VI

Restored

Restoration Cross, Cross patty, S.C.F., Rose, Trefoil, Lis


On the gold of the first reign certain variations in the I.M.s shown in the above table are found, notably on type VIII where the crown occurs alone and where the sun struck over the crown is also found. Details will be given in due course in the lists.

* Known from mule only.
Key to Plates

20. ,, ,, ,, ,, type VII, I.M. Large lis, no marks by bust.
21. ,, ,, ,, ,, type VIII, I.M. Large lis, 6 by bust; R. C. L.
22. ,, ,, ,, ,, type X, I.M. Small lis, 6 and Key by bust; E. J. W.
23. Henry VI York penny, G. Neville, 1470-1, 6 and Key by bust; R. C. L.
24. York penny, Sede vacante, 1472-5, I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, 6 and Key by bust, no quatrefoil on rev.; E. J. W.
25. York penny, Sede vacante, 1472-5, I.M. Rose, 6 and rose by bust; E. J. W.
26. ,, ,, G. Neville, 1475-6, I.M. Rose, 6 and rose by bust; E. J. W.
27. ,, ,, Sede vacante, 1472-5, I.M. Rose, no marks by bust; E. J. W.
28. ,, ,, L. Booth, 1476-80, I.M. Cinquefoil, B and Key by bust.
29. ,, ,, Sede vacante, 1480, I.M. Rose, B and Key by bust, no quatrefoil on reverse; E. J. W.
30. ,, ,, T. Rotherham, 1480-3, I.M. Rose, T and Key by bust.

(To be continued)