THE FOX CLASS SEVEN PENCE OF EDWARD I

D. I. GREENHALGH

WHEN H. B. Earle Fox and his brother J. Shirley Fox published their monumental work on the coins of Edward I, II and III\(^1\) they noted that the pence of class 7 with a rose on the breast were probably issued from 1294 to 1296, with the dating of the issue being based loosely on the coins from the Canterbury mint.\(^2\) Subsequent hoards and finds throw severe doubts on the dating of this issue and its position within the Edwardian series and the order has already been the subject of discussion.\(^3\) G. L. V. Tatler and B. H. I. H. Stewart in their analysis of the Montrave Hoard postulated that classes 6 and 7 were parallel issues.\(^4\)

These anomalies encourage an examination of the coins of classes 6 and 7 in many private collections and museums. This study led to the following conclusions.

1. The issue from Canterbury was far greater than the Fox brothers anticipated and must therefore have been struck prior to 1294.

2. There are no less than seven sub-classes of class 7 and not just two as previously recognised and that class 7b precedes 7a and originates in late class 4.

3. That the accepted order of classes 4e, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, etc. with 7a and 7b being probably parallel to 6a and 6b is wrong and that the order for these classes given by Burns is nearer to the chronology of the series.\(^5\)

The evidence for these conclusions is to be found in the dies of London and Canterbury. So far, for Canterbury, there are no less than 19 obverse dies, 11 equating to class 7a and 8 to class 7b, which would suggest amounts of bullion coined at between 1700 and 2100 pounds based on a rule of thumb that one die will strike on average 100 pounds of silver.\(^6\)

The accounts for Canterbury\(^7\) for the period 1288 to 1299 show the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 1288</td>
<td>6,357 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1290</td>
<td>(between 60 and 65 dies used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1291</td>
<td>910 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1292</td>
<td>(between 8 and 10 dies used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1293</td>
<td>770 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1294</td>
<td>(between 6 and 8 dies used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1295</td>
<td>740 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1296</td>
<td>(between 6 and 8 dies used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1297</td>
<td>90 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1298</td>
<td>(one two dies only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1299</td>
<td>16 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(one die only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(The accounts for Canterbury for 1294/5 appear to be amalgamated into the next accounting period or may be missing entirely so in any analysis of these figures allowances must be made with this in mind. However, the relatively small amounts of silver struck at Canterbury during this time seem to indicate that if the accounts were missing they would not alter the findings significantly.)*

Acknowledgements. I wish to thank the following without whose help this study could not have been produced: Miss M. M. Archibald, The Ashmolean Museum, Mr J. W. J. Atkinson, A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd, the Birmingham Museum, the late Mr C. E. Blunt, the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Galata Coins, Dr E. J. Harris, the Hunterian Museum, Mr K. Jacob, Mr N. J. Mayhew, Mr J. Morris, the National Museum of Antiquities, Scotland, Mr J. J. North, B. A. Seaby Ltd, Mr M. Sharp, Dr I. Stewart, Spink & Son Ltd, Mr C. Wood, Mr P. Woodhead.

7. Fox and Fox, *BNJ* 7 (1911), 138.
So the dating of the Canterbury coins to 1293 - 1296 gives a surplus of dies for the amount coined (19 when 7 to 10 should be more than adequate). Also there is a marked absence of coins from Canterbury from class 6 which the Fox brothers date by default as 1291 to 1293 where one might expect 12 to 16 dies and in fact have only one die known from a solitary specimen of Canterbury class 6 which came to light in 1977.\(^8\) If we consider the premise that class 6 covers the period late 1293 to 1296 then the bullion figures tie in with the one die known for Canterbury for that issue. Thus 7 must either be post-1296, which is impossible, or pre-1294 which is more likely given the estimated die numbers. The issue date is likely to fall within the period: late 1290 to late 1293.

For the London mint coins, of at least 65 obverse dies identified, 46 equate to class 7a and 19 to class 7b. The bullion figures for the London mint for pence during the same periods are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Bullion (pounds)</th>
<th>Dies used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 1288</td>
<td>20,262</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1290</td>
<td>1,670</td>
<td>15-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1290</td>
<td>4,200</td>
<td>40-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1292</td>
<td>2,430</td>
<td>20-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1293</td>
<td>5,090</td>
<td>50-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1294</td>
<td>5,640</td>
<td>55-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1295</td>
<td>3,560</td>
<td>35-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1296</td>
<td>5,790</td>
<td>55-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September 1297</td>
<td>3,560</td>
<td>35-40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again if the dates given by the Fox brothers are accepted, one could expect to find in the region of 140 to 150 obverse dies, when less than half this number have been found. (It is always possible in the Edwardian series that coins can be misidentified. When it has not been possible to see the coins in person (instead relying on photographs and casts sent by the owners), it has been necessary to trust that the source collections have been correctly identified. However, with the class 7 pence, the identification being so obvious for the majority of the coins (i.e. the ‘rose’ on the breast and double barred Ns), it is likely that a large majority of the dies have been identified.) If once again we move the dates back to the period 1290 to 1293 we find that we can expect to find 75 to 88 dies, figures which are more realistic by far.

It is unfortunate that the bullion figures are not available for the mints of Durham or Bury St Edmunds as these coins come from only one and three dies respectively and could be crucial in the accurate dating of class 7 and also the dating of the sub-classes.

Examination of the punches used to manufacture the dies reveals that the sub-class 7b precedes sub-class 7a. The main criteria for this is the upright punch used for the letter I, N, D etc. The punch used in 7b develops a flaw which is found in a more advanced state in some dies from 7a thus proving that 7b precedes 7a. With this premise in mind, further examination of the punches and their replacement, shows that at least seven sub-classes of class 7 can be easily recognised. These are designated 7i through to 7vii and in the following table the new sub-class is listed along with the existing sub-class and North number, and the mints where each has been found.

---

\(^8\) R. S. Sharman and E. J. Harris, ‘An Edward I class VI-V mule of Canterbury’, *SCMB* 704 (1977), 130-1.
The breakdown of the two Fox sub-classes into seven new sub-classes is based on the changes in the style of certain punches used in the manufacture of the dies, namely the initial cross (three styles) (pl.7, 1-3), the crown (two styles) (pl.7, 4-5), the hair (two styles) (pl.7, 6-7), the uprights (four styles) (pl.7, 8-11) and the letter S (four styles) (pl.2, 12-15). The following table gives the distribution of these punches in the seven sub-classes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FOX</th>
<th>NORTH</th>
<th>LONDON</th>
<th>CANTERBURY</th>
<th>BURY</th>
<th>DURHAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7i</td>
<td>7b</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7ii</td>
<td>7b</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7iii</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7iv</td>
<td>7a</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7v</td>
<td>7a</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7vi</td>
<td>7a</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7vii</td>
<td>7a</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus it can be seen from table 2 that although it is quite a complex class, the breakdown into sub-classes is quite straightforward and individual coins can be assigned to their respective sub-classes without much trouble. Further analysis of table 2 gives further insight into the separate sub-class.

**Class 7i**

This is the typical early form of class 7 and is found for the mints of London, Canterbury and Durham. Coins from the mint of Bury St Edmunds are not found, but may well have been struck. The coins of London are found from ten obverse dies, all of which, barring the last, bear the classic marks of this sub-class, namely the initial cross very reminiscent of late class 4 (pl.7, no. 1); the typical class '7b' crown (pl.7, no. 4); long hair (pl.7, no. 6); straight
sided letter fonts occasionally found with the beginnings of a flaw or nick developing on one side of the upright punch (pi.7, nos 8 and 9); a single punch S found on both obverse and reverse (pi.7, no. 12); double barred N; and the rose on the breast. Nine of the dies in this sub-class are of this conventional style but the tenth die differs in having no rose on the breast, this may be a die-sinker’s error or a die sunk for use at Canterbury. (Unfortunately this specimen is slightly clipped and it is not possible to determine if the coin has single or double-barred Ns on the obverse.)

Coins of Canterbury are found from eight obverse dies and are identical to the London coins, apart from the letter N which is only single-barred and the rose on breast which is absent on all the dies of Canterbury from this sub-class.

The Durham coin, of which there are only two specimens, mules with a class 7b obverse and a class 4 reverse, has been assigned to this sub-class as the crown, hair and portrait are certainly from this sub-class of class 7 though the letter punches are typical of late class 4. It has been postulated that this coin may be class 4 but as a coin must be classified by its latest feature, in this case the crown and portrait etc., then the die must have been sunk at least during the class 7 issue, although it may well represent a transitional form between class 4 late and class 7 which is as yet missing for London and Canterbury.

The numbers of coins examined for this sub-class are: London 21; Canterbury 12; Durham 2.

Class 7ii

This sub-class is found (as yet) only for London and is identical to 7i in all respects except that the letter S on the reverse is of the composite form (pi.7, no. 13) it may be that this is simply a variety of 7i but of the eight obverse dies used with these reverses none is found using a reverse of 7i with the single punch S. Again one of the dies is found without a rose on the breast, this specimen almost certainly being a London obverse owing to the presence of double barred Ns on the obverse.

The numbers examined for this sub-class are: London 13.

Class 7iii

Coins from this sub-class represent a transitional state. Whilst the crown is of the previous issues (pi.7, no. 4), the hair is of the short form (pi.7, no. 7) found on the next four sub-classes. The portrait is also of new form, being smaller and neater in style. Coins are known only from London and from one obverse only. Only two specimens are known at present, one in the British Museum from the Middridge hoard and the other in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh.

Class 7iv

This sub-class is something of an anomaly and appears to be somewhat experimental. It is known from three dies from the London mint and one die from Canterbury. Changes that mark this sub-class are a new form of crown (pi.7, no. 5), which is adopted from now on and is used into class 6, a new small initial cross (pi.7, no. 2), and a letter S (pi.7, no. 14) on the obverse and occasionally on the reverse which is abandoned in favour of the previous form in the next sub-class. The obverse dies used for this issue are all peculiar in some respect and deserve individual note:

Die 1. Old style initial cross, the letter ‘h’ is absent in HYB (3 specimens seen).
The Fox Class VII Pence of Edward I

Die 2. New style initial cross, 2 associated reverses, 1 with unbarred Ns, the other with S in TAS (3 specimens seen).

Die 3. New style initial cross, no rose on the breast (2 specimens seen).

Canterbury die. Old style initial cross, portrait punch from 7i, mixed upright fonts (pl.7, nos 9 and 10) and composite S (pl.7, no. 15).

Class 7v

Coins from the mints of London, Canterbury and Bury St Edmunds are found for this large sub-class. There are twenty obverse dies for London, four for Canterbury and one for Bury St Edmunds. During this issue the damaged upright punch finally breaks up, and the punch for the letter S develops a flaw on the bottom curve (pl.7, no. 10), and is replaced in the subsequent issue by a composite form. The initial mark is of the small style (pl.7, no. 2), and the crown is as the previous issue (pl.7, no. 5). The majority of the dies have the straight-sided upright punch in various states of wear (pl.7, nos 9 and 10) before this is replaced by a new punch with concave sides (pl.7, no. 11), but these dies still retain the single punch S (pl.7, no. 12). This occurs on two dies which are found at the end of 7v and could be considered as transitional 7v/7vi issues.

The Canterbury coins follow the London coins closely but differ in using a composite form of letter S (pl.7, no. 15) on the obverse, a feature that is not found at London until the next sub-class, but they are placed in 7v by virtue of their straight-sided uprights and single punch S on the reverse. The Canterbury coins also differ from the previous Canterbury coins in that the letter N is now double-barred and there is a rose on the breast, thus bringing the design in line with the London coins.

Unlike London and Canterbury, the Bury St Edmunds coins from the solitary die attributed to this sub-class do not have the double-barred Ns or the rose on the breast. However, they do have the crown, initial mark, letter fonts, hair and portrait of the regular coins. The numbers examined for this sub-class are: London 31; Canterbury 9; Bury St Edmunds 5.

Class 7vi

The general appearance of this issue is subtly different from the preceding in that the upright punch is of concave form (pl.7, no. 11), and the letter S is always of composite form (pl.7, no. 15) on both obverse and reverse. Coins are found from London (ten obverse dies), Canterbury (five obverse dies), and Bury St Edmunds (two obverse dies), which differ from the regular London and Canterbury dies in the same points as outlined in sub-class 7v.

The numbers examined for this sub-class are as follows: London 17; Canterbury 8; Bury St Edmunds 4.

Class 7vii

This is the last issue of class 7 found for the mints of London and Canterbury. As yet no coins from Bury St Edmunds have been found. From their appearance in class 6, coins should exist, but the rarity of surviving specimens may mean that no examples from the dies have survived. A new initial cross (pl.7, no. 3) and a generally untidy appearance to the coins are the guidelines for identification. Twelve dies are known for London and only one for Canterbury, which has a distinctive lopsided appearance.

The numbers examined for this sub-class are as follows: London 26; Canterbury 4.
THE FOX CLASS VII PENCE OF EDWARD I

Class 7/6 Transitional

A note must be made at this point of two peculiar dies from London which appear to be class 7/6 transitional. One has the portrait of 7vii combined with the hair, initial mark and lettering of class 6a (3 specimens seen), and the other has the crown, portrait, hair and some letter fonts of class 7 coupled with the initial mark of class 6. Neither die has the rose on the breast (5 specimens seen).

Mules

Within class 7 several mules have been noted between the various sub-classes from the London mint, as well as mules with other classes. It is difficult to distinguish mules and counter-mules between classes 7i and 7iii and 7iv as there is little difference between the three sub-classes. Mules, if they occur, would only be distinguished by the amount of damage sustained by the upright punch. As has been stated, no mules occur with obverses of sub-classes 7i, 7ii, and 7iii. The sub-class mules found are:

7iv/7ii, 7v/7i, 7v/7ib, 7vi/7iv, 7vi/7v, 7vii/7ii

The other group of mules that occur are between classes 7 and 6 and are found in the following combinations:

7i/6b, 7vii/6a, 7vi/6b, 7vii/6a, 7vi/6b, 6a/7i, 6b/7i

The mules that occur are generally found in only one or two specimens of each mule combination. With such little evidence to work on it is difficult to draw definite conclusions from the findings, but the use of a late class 7 obverse die with class 6 reverses suggests that there is an affinity between the two classes. Also the class 7/6 transitional die mentioned above, whilst not conclusive evidence, does suggest that class 6 is a natural successor to class 7. It was mentioned by the Fox brothers that on some class 6 coins an ornament was found on the breast. Examination of this mark reveals a rose-like shape, evidence again of class 6 following on from class 7, the suggestion being that die sinkers accustomed to putting a rose on the breast could have made a mistake, or altered part-made dies.

By moving class 7 from its present position after class 6 it becomes necessary to examine class 6 in relation to class 8. There are two common features which emerge from both classes. One is the obverse legend, which as a rule ends in a contraction mark in class 6b and in class 8, a feature that is only found on one class 7 die: 7iv. The second is the small letter fonts found both on early class 8 and some class 6b dies (again a feature never found in class 7). If the Fox order of classification is correct then we have a drastic change in design from class 6 to 7 followed by reversion by reversion to the style of class 6 (the main distinction between late 6 and early 8 being the change in the crown), whereas if class 7 is deemed to predate class 6, a smooth change in design from classes 7 to 6 to 8, as would occur by the gradual replacement of punches and irons used in the production of dies, would be apparent.

Unfortunately, as seems to be the case with the Edwardian series, one problem answered leads on to another. The new order of sub-classes, 7b - 7a - 6a - 6b - 8a - 8b - 8c, leaves the problem of class 5 and its position within the classification scheme. It certainly has affinity to late class 4 by design and muling and also to class 6 by muling. Whilst the latter is no criterion for placing class 6 directly after class 5, the former case is almost conclusive, so class 5 cannot be placed anywhere other than in its present position after class 4. Yet the early class 7 (7i(b)), as shown above, seems also to follow on naturally from late 4 and though mule evidence is missing (which could be explained by the scarcity of the
existing coins), it is probable that the missing mule, or a transitional 4d or 4e/7 to match the Durham will be discovered. The problem can be partially explained if class 7 was issued in parallel with class 5 or in close proximity to class 4, in the order

\[
\text{5a - 5b} \\
\text{4e} \\
\text{7i - 7ii - 7iii - 7iv - 7v - 7vi - 7vii-} \\
\text{or} \\
\text{4e - 5a - 5b - 7i - 7vii - 6a - 6b - 8a - 8b}
\]

It is probable that the latter of these two arrangements is nearer to the truth because of the problems raised by the change in letter fonts from late class 5 to the subsequent issues. This arrangement is by no means new for if it is compared to the classification laid down by Edward Burns in his work on the coinage of Scotland a parallel arrangement is found:

\[
\text{A 28 - A 29 - A 30 - A 31 - A 32 - A 33 - A 34} \\
(4e) (5a) (5b) (7) (6) (8a) (8b)
\]

This arrangement seems to reflect the available evidence, though further work is needed to settle the questions of when the issue began, the absence of the rose on the first issue of Canterbury and Durham and subsequent issues of Bury St Edmunds, and the possibility of parallel issues with class 5 or others.

Possible explanations for the rose mark itself include the idea that it could reflect the use of West-Country silver. In May 1292 Vincent de Hilton was sent to Devon to open and work silver mines but as the silver mined from there did not arrive at the mint until 1296-7, the possibility of the rose mark indicating the West Country as the source of the silver is remote as this is later than proposed dates for the issue. Another argument against this theory is the amount of silver mined. This only amounted to £2,356. 13s 5d, which would only require some 20 to 25 dies and at least 30 dies bearing the rose on breast have been discovered, suggesting we must look elsewhere for the answer.

**Key to plate 6**

1. 7i, London
2. 7i, Canterbury
3. 7i, Durham (7b/4 mule)
4. 7ii, London
5. 7ii, London
6. 7iv, London
7. 7iv, London
8. 7iv, London
9. 7iv, Canterbury
10. 7v, London
11. 7v, Canterbury
12. 7v, Bury St Edmunds
13. 7vi, London
14. 7vi, Bury St Edmunds
15. 7vi, Canterbury
16. 7vii, London
17. 7vii, Canterbury
18-19. Transitional 7/6i, London
20. Transitional 7/6ii, London

---

*Burns, I. 198-9.
Mavis Mate, ‘Monetary policies in England, 1272-1307’, *BNJ* 41 (1972), 72.*
GREENHALGH: FOX CLASS VII (2)