COIN-WEIGHTS MADE BY THE FOUNDERS

NORMAN BIGGS

Introduction

There is ample documentary evidence about the activities of the Worshipful Company of Founders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but when Geoffrey Wills wrote his book on Copper and Brass in 1968, he was right in saying that there were few artefacts that could be attributed to individual members of the Company. However, since 1968 there have been important advances in our knowledge about one of the founders’ main products, the ‘trade weights’ used for commercial transactions. Also, it has been possible to identify a significant number of individual founders who produced coin-weights at the end of the seventeenth century. The names of these founders correspond to initials that also appear on bullion weights and trade weights, and hence we can identify the makers of these items too. A full list of the makers and the relevant items is given in an Appendix.

The named coin-weights have a distinctive style, examples of which occur up to the 1750s. Recognition of this ‘Founders style’ provides insights into the development of the weight-making trade in general, and the evidence discussed here also throws some light on the monetary history of the period.

The Founders

As is well-known, from about 1588 onwards the Founders Company had the right to check all ‘brazen’ weights used in London. Most of these weights were trade weights made of what we now call bronze, and they were denominated in the averdepois system, which was used for weighing all goods except coins and bullion. The weights were stamped with marks signifying the authority of the crown and the city, as well as a ewer, the mark of the Company itself. A few weights from the time of Elizabeth also have marks that may be the initials of their makers, but it is still too early to draw any conclusions about them.

There is firmer evidence about makers’ marks from the Commonwealth period. At this time the Founders Company continued to exercise its functions regarding the stamping of weights, the royal mark being replaced by the shield of St George. In the records of the Company for 1657 there is an order that every member of the Company making weights should mark them with ‘his own proper stampe’. Some trade weights with the Commonwealth marks also have a mark stamped on the rim, resembling a small tree or bush, and it is reasonable to conclude that this is indeed a maker’s mark (Pl. 9, 1). Similar, but more clearly attributable, marks are found on later weights, and these will be discussed in due course.

Coin-weights

In fact, the truly significant evidence about individual weight-makers comes from towards the end of the seventeenth century, and it relates to coin-weights, not to trade weights. These weights were

Acknowledgements: The author wishes to thank Paul and Bente Withers for helpful comments, Gary Batz and Geoff Newell for information about the marks on bullion weights and trade weights.

4 Williams, as in n. 1, p. 114.
made of brass, rather than bronze. The introduction of milled guineas after the Restoration had, to some extent, provided a stable gold coinage, and the weighing of coins had declined. Consequently weights bearing the portraits of Charles II and James II are very scarce. However, gold coins that have circulated for twenty years or more usually show significant signs of wear, so it is no surprise to find that coin-weights from the reign of William and Mary are more numerous, and there is a veritable explosion in the reign of William. These weights have the royal portrait on the obverse, as had been customary in earlier times, but the reverse type is new, comprising a crown superimposed on crossed sceptres, with the legend 1 GVINEA W or $\frac{1}{2}$ GVINEA W below (Pl. 9, 2). The central thesis presented here is that this form of words characterises coin-weights made by members of the Founders Company.

Contemporary with the weights for checking the current English gold coins, there are weights bearing the portrait of Louis XIII on the obverse and, on the reverse, three fleurs-de-lis with the inscription 1 PISTOL W or $\frac{1}{2}$ PISTOL W (Pl. 9, 3). The name ‘pistol’ (frequently spelled ‘pistole’) was the vernacular term for a foreign gold coin. In this case the portrait of Louis and the mass of 6.75 grams imply that the relevant coin is the French Louis d’or, minted from about 1640 onwards. A similar Spanish coin also circulated in England at this time, and the weights could have been used for checking that too. There are numerous contemporary references to the influx of these coins, for example in the State Papers for 1697. At that time the government did not understand why it was happening, or what to do about it. Bishop Burnet thought it was a plot by the French to influence Parliament’s decision about the succession.

Eventually some sense was introduced when Newton caused careful assays to be made and determined the correct value of the pistol in relation to the guinea. Since the value officially proclaimed was less than the value accepted by custom, large numbers of pistoles were sold as bullion and coined into guineas.

The first coin-weights that are relevant to the present inquiry are those that have the initials AG or WH as part of the design on the obverse, alongside the head of the king, William III or Louis XIII (Pl. 9, 4–5). The initials occur thus on weights for guineas, half-guineas, pistoles and half-pistoles, and it is practically certain that they refer to the founders Anthony Giles and William Hayward. The justification for this identification is that these names appear in full on related coin-weights, which will be discussed next. In addition, the initials DB have been recorded on weights for the guinea and half-guinea only (Pl. 9, 6). At one time it was thought that these initials might stand for Daniel Brattle, but currently the more likely candidate is a founder, Doughton Bridges.

The fact that underpins the argument being presented here is that the names of Thomas Garrat, Anthony Giles, William Hayward, Samuel Kerison, Richard Litchfield, Thomas Peirson, John Plat, and John Wade, appear in full on coin-weights for guineas and pistoles (Pl. 9, 7–10). All these names also occur in the records of the Founders Company, and further confirmation of this link is provided by the fact that most of the weights are stamped with the ever mark. This mark does not occur on earlier types of coin-weights. (References to individual weights are given in the Appendix, in the form W111, indicating number 1111 in the standard catalogue of Withers.)

It is likely that the initialled types pre-date the types where the name is given in full. One suggestion is that the types with the name on the obverse were introduced after the accession of Anne in 1702, because it was easier to make a die with lettering instead of a portrait. Investigation of the die-links noted in Withers may help to resolve this point. What is clear is that the initials correspond to the names, and the names correspond to individual founders who can be firmly identified. It will now be shown that this correspondence can be extended to other types of weights.

---

7 J. Craig, Newton at the Mint (Cambridge, University Press, 1946).
11 Withers, as in n. 9, pp. 110–12.
Bullion weights

Another class of weights that can be linked to individual founders through the marks stamped on them are the bullion weights used to check the mass of gold and silver items. The traditional form of bullion weight, as used by goldsmiths, was a small square piece of brass marked with a number of annulets to indicate its denomination. Such weights were described by Badcock in 1677, and they are fairly common. They often have a small 'lion' stamped on them, indicating an association (now thought to be unofficial) with the Goldsmiths' Company.

The bullion weights specifically associated with the Founders Company are quite different. They are round, not square, and they are usually stamped with a ewer. As they are not mentioned by Badcock, it is tempting to suggest that they came into use in the 1680s and 1690s. In fact, the form of some of these weights strongly supports that suggestion.

It is possible to distinguish two series of these weights. First there are those with the denomination indicated by symbols of the form D XX, indicating twenty pennyweights. Other recorded denominations are D X, D III, and D I. These weights served the same purpose as the traditional pennyweights described by Badcock, and were probably used mainly by goldsmiths. Secondly, and very confusingly, there are weights denominated in 'currency' values, such as XXX D. The mass of these pieces shows clearly that XXX D stands for the correct mass of thirty pence of the current silver coinage. At the official rating of 5s. 2d. per ounce troy, this is 232 grains, about 15 grams. (Thirty pennyweights would be 720 grains, about 46 grams.) It is this second series that links firmly with the monetary conditions of the 1690s, when the silver coin in circulation was very worn, a situation which eventually led to a major recoinage. As well as the goldsmiths, many people in business and trade must have been in the habit of weighing the silver coins offered to them in payment. A weight marked XXX D, for example, would have been used to ensure that a payment of thirty pence (or half-a-crown) contained the correct amount of silver, rather than silver coins whose face value was thirty pence but which were seriously underweight. Other denominations in this series are VI D (sixpence), XII D (a shilling), and V S (a crown).

Weights of both series have been recorded with initials stamped on them, and in several cases these initials correspond to the initials of the founders who put their names on coin-weights. Thus the initials AG, IW, RL, WH must surely stand for Anthony Giles, John Wade, Richard Litchfield, and William Hayward. The initials TG, DB, and IA probably stand for Thomas Garrat, Doughton Bridges, and John Apthorpe. The initials II and IL have also been recorded.

A few of these bullion weights have additional countermarks that raise interesting questions. One such countermark is the rampant lion, which may indicate a Scottish connection. Following the Act of Union in 1707 the English weights and measures were supposed to be used in Scotland, and it may be conjectured that a rampant lion stamped on a pennyweight was intended to make it more acceptable to the Scots. In fact, not all the Scottish goldsmiths adopted the English troy weight-system; some of them were still using a traditional Scottish unit, the drop, much later in the eighteenth century. Other recorded countermarks are a fleur-de-lis and a cinquefoil: the significance of these marks is unknown.

Trade weights

It will be recalled that our account of makers' marks began with a small tree stamped on the rim of trade weights in the Commonwealth period. This mark is also recorded on weights from the reign of Charles II, and another pictorial mark, resembling a bunch of grapes (some call it a strawberry) appears on weights of James II. From the Charles II period there are also weights with the initials

AG stamped on the rim, presumably referring to the Anthony Giles who was Renter Warden of the Company in 1679. The same initials AG have been recorded on the rims of weights made in subsequent reigns, and it is likely that some of them refer to his son, the second Anthony Giles, who was freed in 1690, Master of the Company in 1717, and died in the 1730s (Pl. 9, 16).

Several other initials have been recorded on trade weights from the reigns of James II through to George II. DB and WH clearly correspond to founders who can be identified from the evidence given above — Doughton Bridges and William Hayward — and it is possible to make a good guess that EI is Emmanuel Jacombe. These marks occur only on the larger weights, four ounces and above, and they are often very faint, even on weights that are otherwise in good condition. Hitherto nothing has been written about them, so it is quite possible that many more will now come to light.

The troubles of the Founders Company

The period in question was a troubled one for the Founders Company. Many details are given by Hadley, and only the major points will be reviewed here. Before the accession of James II in 1685 the Company had been forced to accept a new Master, whose loyalty to the crown could be guaranteed. This seems to have split the membership into factions, and many of the leading working founders were excluded from the livery. The affairs of the Company fell into the hands of people who were either dishonest or incompetent. Eventually, in 1697, the Court of Aldermen of the City of London ordered a full-scale inquiry into the company’s affairs. The report of this inquiry contains a sorry tale of mismanagement and corruption: the Court of Assistants was composed chiefly of ‘unskilful men’, the late Master was a rogue, many weights had been stamped without being properly examined, and the late Clerk ‘hath been guilty of many enormous practices’.

However, it appears that these troubles did not affect the business activities of the majority of working founders, who were able to pursue their profitable trade without reference to the Company. Occasionally they might be asked to fill one of the posts in the official hierarchy, but they could not be forced to accept. For example, it is recorded that both Samuel Kerison and John Apthorpe refused to be Stewards in 1697, although Richard Litchfeild did accept the post a year later.

There is some evidence that the number of weights stamped by the Founders increased after the enquiry of 1697, although it took several years for the Company to sort out its problems. Subsequently three of the founders identified by name on coin-weights became Master: William Hayward (1712), John Wade (1716), and Anthony Giles (1717). This suggests that working founders were once more taking a leading role in the affairs of the Company.

As has been mentioned, the Withers’ catalogue contains a study of the die-links among the named coin-weights, and between these weights and the (much more numerous) anonymous ones. The conclusion is that many of them were produced in three workshops, two of them fairly large. The significant point is that, as early as 1700, some of the weights produced by the founders were being made in jointly operated workshops. Even though apprentices were bound to individual masters, it is possible that the ‘mass-production’ aspects of the trade were better served by larger groupings. The apprenticeship system regulated by the Company provided the mechanism for transmission of practical knowledge and, despite many abuses (some of which were discovered by the inquiry of 1697), it continued to operate until the nineteenth century. However, it appears that the influence of the Company over the commercial practices of its members was already weakening by the start of the eighteenth century.

16 Hadley, as in n. 1, Chapter 10.
17 Williams, as in n. 1, p. 129.
18 Stevenson, as in n. 3, p. 6.
19 Withers, as in n. 9, pp. 110–12.
In fact, it is unlikely that the Company could have enforced a complete monopoly of weight-making, because what happened outside London was not under their control. Even within the city the Armourers and Braziers also had interests in the metalworking trade. So it is not a complete surprise to find a few coin-weights from the William III period that do not totally conform to the Founders style. For example, there are very rare weights bearing the name James Hickes, whose name has not been located in the records of the Founders Company. It is possible therefore that Hickes was not a founder, although he made his weights in a loose imitation of their style.

Later weights in the Founders style

The need for coin-weights gradually declined during the reigns of Anne and George I, largely because of the stringent measures introduced by Newton in his time at the Mint, and no weights are known with the portrait of George I. In the reign of George II the condition of the currency became a problem once more, and there are several types with his portrait. In particular there is one group of rather dumpy weights (W1415-1425), in which the reverse has the Founders style of inscription, 1 GUINEA W (Pl. 9, 17). The use of the rounded U in place of the V is consistent with the general usage of the time. The belief that these weights were produced by the founders is reinforced by the existence of a mule (W1170) that combines a Louis XIII WH obverse with a 1 GUINEA W reverse. Presumably the old obverse die was brought into use as an emergency measure.

However, it should be noted that the George II weights do not bear the names or initials of founders, or the ewer countermark. Possibly this is because they were distributed, not by the founders themselves, but by scalemakers, many of whom were members of the Blacksmiths Company. In fact, it was customary for the label in a scale box to claim that the scalemaker ‘makes and sells all kinds of scales and weights’. At the lowest level, this could be interpreted as meaning that the scalemaker made the scales and sold the weights. But the scalemakers certainly liked to give the impression that the accuracy of the weights was their concern, and it is possible that they bought weights roughly finished from the founders, and made fine adjustments before selling them. Further evidence on this point will be considered below.

By the second quarter of the eighteenth century foreign gold coins were once again circulating widely in England, but now they were Portuguese rather than French. A group of ‘dumpy’ coin-weights (W1430-1458) with 1 MOIDORE W on the reverse are clearly parallel with the George II guinea weights mentioned above (Pl. 9, 18). The moïdore was a gold coin that passed (in the 1740s) for 27 shillings, together with the half-moidore (13s. 6d.) and quarter-moidore (6s. 9d.). These coins seem to have been prevalent in the West of England as far back as 1714. A second series of Portuguese gold coins also circulated, the multiples and fractions of the ‘joe’ or johannes, which passed for 36 shillings. Thus, by the middle of the eighteenth century there were many gold coins in circulation, and the weighing of coins became almost a necessity. There are many ‘long sets’ of coin-weights bearing denominations from £3:12s. down to 4s. 6d. One type of long set is clearly in the Founders style, since the weights have an inscription of the form 36 SHILLINGS W on one side (Pl. 9, 19). The other side has several different forms (W1790–1793). This suggests that the Founders continued to make coin-weights in response to the conditions of the time, and that these weights were sold mainly by the scalemakers.

However, by the mid-1740s the established order was being threatened. The inevitable result of the increased demand for coin-weights and scales was that new sources of supply appeared. In particular, the engraver and medallist John Kirk produced a fine series of weights, much to the annoyance of the established trade. The columns of the Daily Advertiser and the London Evening Post for the years around 1750 resound with claims and counter-claims between Kirk and Samuel Read, who had one of the largest scalemaking businesses of the day. Read had assisted the Royal

Society in its studies of weights and measures in 1742/3, and clearly considered himself to be an authority on the matter. In his advertisements he claimed that the weights sold by scalemakers were superior to Kirk's, because they were made according to official standards. Kirk retorted (correctly) that there were no official standards for the weights of foreign coins, adding that 'the making of these weights [ ... ] was never their talent but always the occupation of the Founders, of whom they still purchase them.'

The evidence reviewed above suggests that the great majority of coin-weights produced around 1700, including those with no name or initials, were made by members of the Founders Company. The Founders subsequently produced weights of a similar type in the reign of George II, but their share of the market had begun to decline by the middle of the eighteenth century.

KEY TO PLATE

1 4 ounce trade weight with Founders marks for the Commonwealth period, stamped on the rim with a small tree or bush.
2 Typical guinea weight, William III (W1182).
3 Typical pistole weight, bust of Louis XIV (W1298).
4 Initials AG on obverse of guinea weight (W1155).
5 Initials WH on obverse of guinea weight (W1163).
6 Initials DB on obverse of guinea weight (W1172).
7 WILLIAM HAYWARD guinea weight (W1122).
8 ANTONY GILES guinea weight (W1116).
9 RICHARD LICHEFIELD guinea weight (W1137).
10 JN WADE pistole weight (W1152).
11 10 pennyweight bullion weight stamped AG.
12 10 pennyweight bullion weight stamped IW.
13 4 pennyweight bullion weight stamped RL.
14 5 shillings bullion weight stamped WH.
15 10 pennyweight bullion weight stamped with a lion rampant.
16 4 ounce trade weight with Founders marks for George I period, stamped on the rim with initials AG.
17 Guinea weight in the Founders style, George II (W1419).
18 Moidore weight, (W1432).
19 Johannes (36 shillings) weight (W1793b).

---

22 *Daily Advertiser*, Number 5633, 30 January 1749.
This is a list of names and initials that appear on weights dating from around 1700. The names are followed by references to the weights associated with them and some biographical information. Numbers in the form W999 refer to the Withers corpus (as in n.12), and SM999 to T. Sheppard and J.F. Musham, Money Scales and Weights, London, Spink 1975.

1. Names firmly identified

**Thomas Garrat** [Garat, Garrett]

_Name: W1112 (guinea), W1113 (half-guinea), SM89 (pistole, whereabouts currently unknown). Initials: TG and ewer on 12-pence bullion weight (Simmons Auction, 9/7/1993, W1369).

Son of Thomas Garrat, Old, Northamptonshire, yeoman. Bound to Daniel Houghton 7 May 1683, date of freedom not known. Master of: John Cooper (1693).

**Anthony Giles** [Gilles, Gyles]

_Name: W1116--19 (full set), with ewer cmks. Initials: AG on W1555--61 (full set, with several varieties); stamped on rim of trade weights from the reigns of Charles II to George II.

Anthony Giles I, founder: livery 1668/69, enter warden 1679/80, master of Henry Warren (1669), Henry Soden (1676), Walter Pagan (1683), and others. The earlier marks on the rim of trade weights must denote this Anthony. His son, Anthony Giles II, was bound to his father 16 April 1683, made free in April 1690. Master of: Thomas Dawkins (1690), Emmanuell Jacombe (1693), Thomas Norfolk (1698), Abraham Bishop (1700), Joseph Cook (1705), Henry Edgar (1708), Henry Haus (1712), Murriot Stopes (1718), John Cooke (1719), Frelowe Odell (1722), John Holmes (t.o. from another master 1736), John Milburne (1726, t.o. to another master 1732), Thomas Finch (1729), George Johnstone (1731, t.o. to another master 1737), Thomas Cartwright (1733). Master of the Company 1717. Probably d.1737.

**William Hayward** [Haywood]

_Name: coin-weights W1122--25 (full set), with ewer cmks. Initials: WH on W1163--70 (full set, with varieties); WH and ewer stamped on five-shilling bullion weight (W1370); WH on rim of 1lb bronze weight, William and Mary.


**Samuel Kerison**

_Name: Saml Kerison Fecit on W1131 (guinea), W1132 (half-guinea), W1135 (half pistole), with ewer cmks. Initials: SK as part of die struck design on W1133 (pistole) and W1134 (half-pistole), with ewer cmks.

Son of John Kerison, Shocklach, Cheshire, gentleman. Bound to Daniel Houghton, 3 Aug. 1680, made free: 5 Aug 1687. Master of: Thomas Poyntz (1652), George Griffith (1694), Thomas Price (1701), Edmund Williams (1704), William Ford (1707), William Branch (1719), Ehsha Sad (1724). In 1697 Kerison was deprived of his status as a liveryman for refusing to act as Steward of the Company.

**Richard Litchfield** [Litchfield]

_Name: Richard Litchfield Fecit with ewer cmk, on WI137-40 (full set). Initials: RL (under a small star) and ewer stamped on 4dwt.

Date of binding unknown, made free 13 Dec 1688. Master of: John Awood (t.o. from another master 1689), George Tapper (1690), William Reade (1693), Thomas Powers (1696), Richard Row (1701), Charles Peter (c1701/2), John Parslow (1708), John Jones (1709 t.o. to another master 1712). Steward of the Company 1698. Probably died c.1712.

**Thomas Peirson** [Pearson, Pereson]

_Name: On W1142 (guinea), the only example of this name known.

Son of William Peirson, Derby, tailor. Bound to Abel Hodges 1 April 1683, date of freedom unknown. Master of: George Werden (1691), John Pearson (1693), Samuel Govar (1694), Osmond Hunton (1697).

**John Plat** [Platt]

_Name: On W1147 (half-guinea), W1148 (pistole); a guinea (SM81) was sold in Simmons Auction 18/2/1994.

Son of William Plat, Swallowfield, Berkshire. Bound to John Atherope 4 June 1688, made free 5 Aug 1695. Master of: William Jones (1696), James Hartop (1704), Edwin Grant (1715), Thomas Fitchew (1722). Fitchew was turned over to another master on 25 October 1725, which may indicate that Plat died around that time.
John Wade

Name: On W1150–3 (full set), with ewer marks.
Initials: IW and ewer stamped on set of bullion weights (W1365–68); IW and ever stamped on 10dwt.

Son of Philip Wade, citizen and draper. Bound to Thomas Gold 29 Sept 1677, made free 8 Feb 1685. Master of: Christopher Morrison (i.o. from another master 1689), John Houlden (1692), John Snexell (1694), Michael Masters (1699), Daniel Rayner (1700), John Wheeler (1704), Corbett Dodd (1707), Richard Gilbert (1713), Thomas Elvick (1718) and Richard Wood (1720) are recorded as bound to John Wade jnr. Master of the Company 1716. Probably d. 1717/8.

2. Initials only, probably Founders

IA

Initials: IA and ewer stamped on thirty-penny bullion weight.
Possibly John Apthorpe [Abthorpe], son of Stephen Apthoipe, Gamlingay, Cambridge, who was bound to Thomas Cockin 10 Nov 1677. Master of: John Plat (1688) and several others.

DB

Initials: DB as part of die-struck design on W1172 (guinea) and W1173 (half-guinea); DB and ewer stamped on 2dwt (two examples).
At one time it was thought that the initials might stand for Daniel Brattle, a member of a family with connections at the Royal Mint, but this now seems unlikely, since Brattle was not a Founder. The only Founder with these initials at the relevant period was Doughton (or Downton) Bridges, son of George Bridges of Willham Holy Cross, Essex, yeoman. He was bound to Daniel Houghton on 25 July 1671. Houghton was Master of the Company 1679/80 and, significantly, he was the apprentice-master of Thomas Garrat and Samuel Kerison. Withers suggest that the initials DB may be from a die that originally read DH. In 1706 Bridges was accused of complicity in the unauthorised removal of the Company's books. He accepted the charge but claimed that it was a mistake, and was punished by being disbarred from office (not a very worrying prospect).

EI

Initials: EI stamped on rim of 1lb and 2lb bronze weights, George II.
One strong possibility is Emmanuel Jacombe [Jacomb], son of Nathaniel Jacombe of Glen Parva, Leicestershire, bound to Anthony Giles 7 August 1693. He was master of Josiah Jacombe, not his son but possibly a nephew (1729). His son Samuel was bound to his widow Elizabeth in 1739, so the initials could be hers.

II

Initials: II (surmounted by a small crown) and ewer on 4-pennyweight.
There are two serious candidates for these initials. (i) Josiah Jacombe, son of Josiah Jacombe of Southwark, bound to Emmanuel Jacombe 7 April 1729. (ii) John Jones, son of John Jones of Stepney, bound to Richard Litchfield 17 October 1709, turned over to another master in 1712. He was master of William Wase (1718), Joseph Denton (1719) and Henry Aynsley (1721).

IL

Initials: IL and ewer on 20-pennyweight and 10-pennyweight.
There are about six possible candidates for these initials.

3. Uncertain names and initials, possibly not Founders

James Hickes

Name: on W1128 (half guinea) and W1129 (pistole). Sheppard and Musham (p.171) mention a guinea weight in the Morten collection, the fate of which is not known.

There is no one of this name in the Founders' records, and there is no ewer stamped on the weights. The style of the weights is different from those produced by the Founders: the king's head is on the obverse, with the denomination and name of Hickes on the reverse.

RG (or RC)

Initials: RG in small cartouche stamped on 3dwt, with rampant lion but no ewer.
Possibly Richard Gilbert, bound to John Wade 7 Sept 1713. On the other hand, the weight with these initials is an unusual one and may be of Scottish manufacture.
BIGGS: COIN-WEIGHTS MADE BY THE FOUNDERS