

THE COINAGE OF HENRY VII (*cont.*)

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CHAPTER VI. *Type V, The Profile Coins*

ALEXANDER DE BRUGSAL's greatest work was the very fine profile portrait which he produced for the shillings, groats, and halves, and these coins are among the most beautiful of all the English hammered silver. It is true that they were a belated reply to the magnificent portrait coinage which had been appearing on the Continent since as early as 1465 but they have nothing to fear in comparison with the best foreign work.

There has always been some doubt as to the date of the appearance of the new coins as there is no document extant ordering the production of the new shilling denomination, nor, as might perhaps be expected, is there one mentioning the new profile design. However, as will be shown in the final chapter, there are good grounds for supposing that they first saw the light at the beginning of 1504.

It has been suggested that experimental coins were first released to test public reaction to the new style of portrait, and that this was so with the groats is strongly supported by the marking used for what are probably the earliest of these, namely, no mint-mark and large and small lis. They are all rare and it is clear that regular production was not undertaken until later in 1504, while the full-face groats were probably not finally superseded until early the following year.

First, then, the *shillings*, which bear only the large and small lis as mark. These apparently failed to gain public acceptance, for though two types are known from eight obverse dies differing only in minor details, all except the first, which was probably put aside as a curiosity, are very rare. Here is a list of the dies, with details of the more important specimens on which they may be found:

SHILLINGS

Obverses

Type 1. Mm. Small lis, special lettering, hair-line inner circle.

Die 1: HENRICVS*DI*, ends ANGLIE.Z.FR'. *Rev.* I-1. (BM-2, RCL. 1717, HAP. 328, Ryan 968, RCB, Fitz-2, EJW, Raynes 455, Ashm., Hunt., Royal Mint). (Pl. X. 1)

Die 2: HENRIC' DI', no stops, ends ANGLIE Z FRAN. *Rev.* I-2 (BM, Ryan 967) (Pl. X. 2), *Rev.* II-6 (BM). (Pl. X. 3)

Type 2. Mm. Large Lis, lettering G1, ends ANGL. Z. FR(A), hair-line inner circle.

Die 3: HENRIC? SEPTIM? *Rev.* II-3 (BM). (Pl. X. 4)

Die 4: " *Rev.* II-3 (BM).

Die 5: " *Rev.* II-4 (RCL. 1718, Ryan 969).

Die 6: HENRIC? V-I-I. *Rev.* II-5 (EJW ex Ryan 971),

(Crown has six small uprights). (Pl. X. 5)

Die 7: HENRIC? V-I-I. *Rev.* II-6 (HAP. 329).

Die 8: HENRIC? VII. *Rev.* II-7 (BM), *Rev.* II-8 (Ryan 970).

Reverses

Type 1. Ornamental cross-ends with lis in ends, special lettering, mm. Small lis. Plain inner circle.

Die 1: A/DIVTO/E' MEV' Die 2 A/DIVTO/EV' MEV'

Type II. Cross-ends No. 11 with slipped trefoil in ends, lettering G1, mm. Large lis. Hair-line inner circle.

Dies 3, 4: A/DIVTOR/E²MEVM. Die 5: A/DIVTOR/E²MEV². Dies 6, 7, 8: A/DIVTO/E²MEV².

The reasons which have led us to adopt the obverse die order shown may be summarized as follows: Die 1 has been placed first because of the comparatively large number of surviving specimens in excellent state of preservation, such as would represent those put aside as keepsakes. The king's name in full but without numeral, the lettering and the mint-mark small lis also represent the earliest form of these experimental issues, as will be fully shown in the case of the groats. Die 2 is of similar type and style, but is rare and therefore unlikely to have been the first issue. Furthermore, it is known used with a later reverse, one incidentally which is also known used with a tentative groat obverse.

In type 2 the SEPTIM shillings have been placed first as it seems most likely to us that this would be first version of the king's numeral, and this is confirmed by the order of the contemporary groats. Also the bust used on these is of the same fine work as dies 1 and 2, whereas that on the later dies is coarser and the punches more carelessly placed. On the other hand, the legend endings of the reverse dies of the equivalent type (II) are now placed in an order opposite to that which might have been expected from a comparison with the two dies of type I. These have the ending A/DIVTO/E(v). MEV which is that found on reverse dies 6, 7, and 8, among which is the only die of type II found used with the earlier type 1 obverses, and therefore might have been expected to be an early reverse.

The two types of shilling are quite distinct, the first bearing every mark of a special issue with lettering, bust, and reverse cross of elaborate design. The second, however, with the exception of the SEPTIM shillings, is of coarser style with normal lettering and reverse cross such as would have been used for a regular issue. All the busts have the wide single-arched crown with strawberry-leaf decoration, which adds to the dignity of the portrait, and all with the exception of die no. 6 have the arch surmounted by small crosses as jewels. It is unfortunate that the only coin from this die should be so worn but the crown undoubtedly has six uprights as jewels, as found on all the type II groats. One other point is that the reverses of type I have a plain field whereas both types of obverse and type II of the reverses have the hair-line circle around the field which adds such distinction to the design.

The surviving *groats* with profile portrait are known with six different marks, viz. no mint-mark, small and large lis, greyhound's head, cross-crosslet and pheon, and it is evident that the first three at any rate must be in the nature of trial pieces, as they do not bear marks in the regular series. The late Mr. Carlyon-Britton, in his article on these coins already referred to, suggested that the trial pieces may be distinguished from the eventual definitive issue by the base of the crown. This is made up of two bands on all the profile groats with the first four marks mentioned, and some of the crosslets, but of three bands on the majority of the groats of the latter mark, and all the pheons.

This difference is certainly a very convenient dividing line, whatever may have been its original significance, as all the varieties are to be found on the coins with the two-band crown, whereas those with three are all of one standard type of lettering, legend, and bust. It is therefore proposed to adopt it here, with the proviso that there is some evidence that the crosslet groats with the two-band crown at least may have been in the

regular series and not experimental issues; they are very much more common than the others.

Before attempting to classify these trial or tentative pieces, as Mr. Carlyon-Britton called them, and to put the known dies in order of production, it would be as well to describe the varieties we are dealing with and the many ways in which they differ from the regular series which followed.

To take the obverses first, the varieties to be noted are to be found in the king's name, the bust, the jewelling of the crown, the lettering, and the decoration of the field. The king's name is found in five forms, similar to those on the shillings, viz. HENRICVS.DEI, HENRIC.DEI, HENRIC.DI, HENRIC.SEPTIM, and HENRIC.VII. As to the busts, Mr. Carlyon-Britton in his list recognized five types, but to our minds, the differences are not great enough to warrant separate classification, being only such as might occur in five separate essays engraved from the same original. They chiefly differ from the bust adopted for the regular issue in the hair, which is shown as ending in tight curls, four down the cheek and four across the neck as on the shillings whereas in the regular issue profiles there are not such definite curls shown.

All the crowns have a wide single-arch with double bar, surmounted by orb and cross, and very large strawberry (?) leaves beneath, quite different from the conventional lis on the full-faced groats. Three jewels are found on each side of the orb and cross, and these jewels take three forms: crockets, small uprights, and pellets over uprights.

The lettering is rather more complicated than would at first appear. Many punches of slightly differing forms were used for the earlier coins including some of the distinctive punches prepared for the first of the shillings. There is, however, the same general distinction of style between the majority of those groats having marks other than the crosslet and the crosslet-marked groats as has already been noted between the regular G.H. 2 and the full-faced crosslet groats. The former have the more delicate and plainer lettering G1 including F1, S1, and N10, and both E5, and E7, a small round e also found, curiously enough, on some late regular crosslets with the compound marks, while the latter show the slightly coarser and larger lettering G3 which includes F2 and F3, S2, N11, and E5a.

Finally, there is what we have called the decoration of the field. On some of the earlier groats, as on the shillings, we find an extra hair-line inner circle on each side, which gives the appearance of a raised centre with bevelled edge, an attractive feature which, unfortunately, was not carried on to the regular issue. Also on two crosslet dies a tressure was inserted on each side of the head, where space was found, in imitation of the full-face groats.

The reverses show two varieties apart from legend differences, which do not seem to have any significance, namely: the cross-ends, and the decoration of the field. Two main types of cross-end are found on the trial reverses, namely no. 10, already encountered on the later full-face groats, and the new no. 11, developed purely for the profile issues. Both these, however, differ slightly from the forms found on the regular issues, usually having a small stroke issuing from the centre of each end.

As already mentioned, the early reverses with no. 10 have a hair-line inner circle to match the obverses for which they were obviously made. Two reverses with no. 11, however, are also known with hair-line inner circle, and as these are found only with two obverses having a similar inner circle (see list) it is probable that these were essays from

which the later regular type 11 was developed. One of the shilling reverse dies was used with a groat obverse.

In the preceding chapter it was shown that it is possible to place the known dies of the full-face issues of the greyhound's head and crosslet groats in a sequence which has every appearance of probability, taking into consideration the lettering, legends, and cross-ends. Using the same aids and methods and with the assistance of the list of shillings, a similar task for the tentative groats can be attempted with a reasonable prospect of success. Here, then, is a list of the obverse dies with no mint-mark, small or large lis, and greyhound's head marks with the reverses found with them, in their probable order of production. In the case of the crosslets other than the tressure groats, only the main groups have been given in view of the much larger number of dies.

GROATS

Type I. Six crockets as jewels, hair-line inner circles.

(a) Mm. Small lis, lettering as shillings type 1:

Die 1: HENRICVS.DEI—ANGLI	Rev. 10, mm. large lis. (Pl. X. 9)
	„ 11, mm. large lis.
Die 2: HENRIC.DI—ANGLIE.	Rev. 10, mm. small lis. (Pl. X. 6)

(b) No mm. lettering G1.

Die 3: HENRICVS.DEI—ANGLIE.	Rev. 10, mm. large lis. (Pl. X. 7)
Die 4: HENRIC.DEI—ANGLIE.	Rev. 10, mm. small lis.
	„ 10, mm. large lis.

Type II. Six uprights as jewels, ordinary inner circles except die 5, lettering G3.

(a) No mint-mark:

Die 5: HENRIC.SEPTIM—ANGL.	Rev. 11, mm. large lis, hair-line, as reverse of die 1. (Pl. X. 10)
Dies 6/7: HENRIC.VII—ANGL.	Rev. 10, no. mm. or saltire before POSVI.
(Pellets struck over uprights)	
Die 8: HENRIC.VII—AGLI.	Rev. 10, no mm. or large lis.
Die 9: HENRIC.VII—AGL.	Rev. 10, no mm.

(b) Mm. Large lis.

Die 10: HENRIC.VII—ANGL.	Rev. 10, no mm. (Pl. X. 11)
Die 11: „	Rev. 11, mm. large lis. (Pl. X. 12)
Die 12: „	Rev. 11, mm. G.H. 2.
Die 13: HENRIC.DI—ANGL.	Rev. 11, „
Die 14: HENRIC.VII—AGLI.	Rev. 11, „ (also shilling rev. die II-1. (Pl. X. 8))

(c) Mm. Greyhound's head no. 2:

Dies 15/16: HENRIC.VII—AGL.	Rev. 11, mm. G.H. 2 (Pl. X. 13)
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Type III. Mm. Crosslet.

(a) Six uprights as jewels, HENRIC.VII. Rev. 11.
legend ends ANGL, AGLI, AGL (F2a, F3).

(b) Six crockets as jewels, HENRIC.VII. Rev. 11.
legend ends ANGL (F3), AGLI (F2), AGL (F2, F3).

(c) As (b) but tressure added round head. Rev. 11.
legend ends ANGL (F2) (Pl. X. 14), AGL (F2).

This list is largely self-explanatory, and it will be seen that the earlier dies follow closely the lines of the shillings, except that the groats without mint-mark have no parallel in the larger coins, while these latter had apparently been discontinued by the time the G.H. 2 mark was being used for the groats.

The various abbreviations of *ANGLIE* again help to confirm the sequence adopted, as type I of the groats copies type I of the shillings in using the full spelling, while the early groats of type IIa use the abbreviated form *ANGL*, as do the shillings of the equivalent type. In the case of the groats, the order *ANGL*, *AGLI*, *AGL* was apparently used twice, first for the no mint-mark groats of type IIa, and second for the large lis groats of type IIb, as the former group all have reverse no. 10 except for the two *SEPTIM* coins with their unusual reverse, while the latter all have reverse no. 11, with the exception here of the coin from die 10 which is undoubtedly a mule of types IIa and IIb.

Two peculiarities among the groats of type II to which attention may be drawn are, first, die 13, which omits the numeral, and second, dies 15/16 with the G.H. 2 mark, on which the h of *HENRIC* is from alphabet E last used on the G.H. 1 groats (Pl. X. 13). Both are probably die-sinkers' errors.

The crosslet tentatives, which also have reverse no. 11, have the later lettering G3 (with F2 and F3), instead of the G1 of type II, and they are also found with the three forms of abbreviation mentioned, so that this must have been the third use of this sequence. There can be little doubt therefore that it was a privy mark of some sort. These groats show both the six uprights and the six crockets as jewels, but the former are much rarer though found with all three forms of abbreviation.

The crosslets with tressure around the profile form a very interesting group of their own. The four known specimens are from two obverse dies. What is probably the earlier, to judge from the abbreviation of *ANGLIE* used, has *ANGL* and the crown with six crockets, while the second die, also having the six crockets, has *AGL*. One coin, now in the British Museum, is known from the first-mentioned die, and three from the second, one in the British Museum and two which went through the Lockett sales (II 1724 and III 3405). Though there are in existence one or two forgeries of this type, the four coins mentioned are undoubtedly genuine, and it is curious that this rather clumsy and unnecessary addition to an otherwise very fine clean design should have been officially attempted and apparently on two different occasions separated probably by some months.

As already mentioned, the regular issue of profile groats is distinguished from the trial pieces just described by the crown. This is of the same style on both issues, but on the former the base is formed of three narrow bands instead of two, and the jewels are reduced to two crockets on each side. These groats, which finally substituted the full-face coinage late in 1504 or early in 1505, continued to be struck in large numbers to the end of the reign in April 1509. The same design with only the change of VII to VIII also served for the first 17 years of Henry VIII's reign.

As to varieties on these regular profile groats, a most remarkable uniformity is noticeable throughout their currency, the only possible points requiring mention being the mint-marks and the stopping, which latter will be found touched upon in the final chapter. It has already been stated that two mint-marks only are found on the regular profiles, namely the cross-crosslet and the pheon. This is in essence true, but at the end of the crosslet period a subsidiary mark consisting of two pellets was added to the crosslet for a short time on both obverses and reverses. On the obverses this mark appeared in various positions, utilizing also saltires, and was even placed by the cross over the crown, but on reverses it appears only before the crosslet. That this subsidiary mark occurred at the end of the crosslet period is made virtually certain by the fact that no normal mule between the two marks is known, but only between the pheon and the crosslet and

pellets. Further, obverse dies of both crosslet and crosslet and pellets are known over-stamped with the pheon mark. Incidentally this method of using up old dies at a change of mark is most unusual, the normal custom being to accept the appearance of the new mark on one side of a coin as sufficient evidence of such change.

The peculiarities of the transitional period between crosslet and pheon are not yet exhausted, however, as there are in existence a number of groats with the two marks on the same side of the coin, one in the normal position and one at the end of the legend. Both versions of this double mark occur, that is, with the crosslet at the beginning and pheon at the end and vice versa, and these occur on both obverse and reverse dies. This unique use of two regular marks to make artificial mules cannot be explained under any hypothesis so far advanced as to the significance of the mint-mark. They only complicate an already very complex picture of what is normally a simple operation. The following list of the various transitional forms we have encountered will illustrate this complexity. The marks over or beside the crown are found above or beside the cross at the top:

1. *With Plain Crosslet obverses*

✠/✠ (EJW), —/↓ ✠—✠ (BM).

2. *With Crosslet obverses and marks by Cross over Crown*

✠ Two saltires over crown./:✠ (Fitz).

Two pellets over crown./:✠ (EJW, BM).

Two saltires to left of crown./✠—↓ ✠ (BM).

3. *With Crosslet and Pellet or Saltire obverses*

*✠/✠ (BM), —/:✠ (BM).

✠*/:✠ (EJW).

✠/:✠ (EJW, Ashm.).

:✠/:✠ (EJW, BM).

✠*/✠—↓ ✠ (EJW).

4. *With Double Marks on obverse*

✠—↓/:✠ (EJW), —/↓ (EJW, CEB),

↓—✠/:✠ (BM).

5. *With Plain Pheon obverses*

↓ over ✠/↓ (EJW, BM).

↓ over:✠/↓ (EJW).

↓/:✠ (EJW, BM), —/✠—↓ (BM-2), —/↓ ✠—✠ (BM).

One point that might be mentioned is that some of the groats we have seen with the subsidiary mark on one or both sides look decidedly base, as though an admixture of copper is present. Another point concerns the plain crosslet mark itself. A very curious feature of this is that when used on the regular profile groats, the top half of the cross on the right-hand arm is always missing. It is present on the obverses of the majority of full-face groats with this mark, and on some of the tentatives, but we know of only one case in which this mutilation appears on the reverse mark.

Before leaving the groats we would like to mention two unusual attempts at forgery which have come to our notice. Both illustrate the same form of falsification, namely, the recutting of letters or marks on a normal coin to make it appear an extremely rare or unique specimen. The first of these was the tressure groat sold in lot 334 at the

Parsons sale 1954. Although it was referred to as a forgery in the catalogue it was later submitted to the Mint for a technical examination and pronounced genuine. In view of this verdict it was thought desirable to re-examine the coin from a purely numismatic viewpoint, and the first thing noticed was that it was a regular crosslet and pellets groat on which the three bands of the crown had been cleverly reduced to two to make it appear a tentative coin. It could not therefore genuinely have borne an experimental tressure and the next step was to find an unaltered groat from the same obverse die. This duly turned up in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection and it was then obvious that the tressure had been cut out of the raised field surrounding the profile. The forgery was therefore established beyond any reasonable doubt, but it had been done with such skill that even the Mint experts were deceived.

The second coin was acquired by Sir William Hunter in the late 1700's and figures in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. We are grateful to Miss Anne Robertson for letting us examine and illustrate this and other coins in the collection. This groat purports to be a lis/pheon mule, a most unlikely combination, but by coincidence the obverse must also have been from a crosslet and pellets die as the pellets still remain before the lis. In this case also the cutting has resulted in an abnormal shape, the normal being that of the lis in the French arms on the reverse, but it has been done with great skill and delicacy. That the mark is a recutting from a crosslet, however, is made a virtual certainty by the fact that the final F of the legend (there is no R) has also been altered—to an L! No doubt in this case too it would be possible to find a normal coin from the same obverse die. Incidentally, the reverse pheon is somewhat blurred and slightly abnormal in appearance, but it is unlikely to have been altered from a crosslet as this mule is not known on an actual coin.

Finally there are the profile *half-groats*. These are identical with the groats, having the POSVI. DEVM legend on the reverse in place of the mint-name, and three distinct series are known distinguished as follows:

1. Lis and pheon mint-marks,
2. Martlet and rose mint-marks,
3. Martlet and rose marks with keys either side of reverse shield.



Originally the first two were attributed to London and the third to York, but in a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1919 Messrs. Lawrence and Brooke classed the martlet and rose halves together as both coming from the York mint. We think, however, that Mr. Carlyon-Britton in his article already referred to is correct in his view that the three were issued by different mints, namely: London, Canterbury, and York, though we query some of his evidence and the conclusions drawn from it.

The series with the lis and pheon marks are certainly from the Tower, in view of the use of the regular pheon mark which is also found muled with the earlier lis. The lis, of course, was the mark in use on the London full-face half-groats. The known types of *London* profile halves, which all have reverse cross no. 10 are as follows:



- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. 0/1—No. mm, \mathfrak{H} /lis, \mathfrak{H} . | 6. 2/3—Lis, \mathfrak{N} /: lis. |
| 2. 1 —Lis, \mathfrak{H} /lis, \mathfrak{H} . | 7. 3—: Lis/: lis. |
| 3. 1/2—Lis, \mathfrak{H} /lis, \mathfrak{N} . | 8. 3/4—: Lis/pheon. |
| 4. 1/3—Lis, \mathfrak{H} /: lis. | 9. 4/3—Pheon/: lis. |
| 5. 2—Lis, \mathfrak{N} /lis \mathfrak{N} . | 10. 4—Pheon/pheon. |

Of these, the obverse die of no. 1 is the only half-groat die which can be equated with the experimental dies of the larger coins, and is certainly the earliest known from any mint. Apart from having no mint-mark, the king's name has no numeral following it, and the extra space has allowed the full legend: ANGLI.Z.FR'. We know of three specimens of this coin, one in the British Museum collection and two others sold in the dispersal of the Ryan and R. C. B. collections. The : lis mark is obviously the equivalent of the : crosslet mark found on the groats just before the adoption of the pheon mark, and enables us to place these halves as contemporary with the profile groats.

As to the two series with the martlet and rose, Mr. Carlyon-Britton lists them as follows in conjunction with the earliest issues of the next reign. In the case of the latter it will be seen that, except for one instance, the mint is indicated by the initials of the archbishop which appear above the reverse shield;

- CANTERBURY
- Henry VII*
1. Martlet b.s, he'RIC, /H.
 2. „ HENRIC, /H.
 3. Rose b.s, reverse 10.
 4. Martlet/rose, reverse 10.
 5. „ reverse 11.
 6. Rose b.s, reverse 11.

- Henry VIII*
7. Martlet/martlet over rose, reverse 11, w-A over shield.

- YORK
- Henry VII*
1. Martlet b.s, he'RIC, /H.
 2. „ HENRIC, /H.
 3. Rose/martlet, reverse 10, keys.
 4. „ reverse 11, keys.
 5. Rose b.s, reverse 11, keys.
 6. Martlet, b.s. reverse 11, keys.
- Henry VIII*
7. Martlet b.s, keys, reverse 11.
 8. „ no keys, x-B over shield.

Since Mr. Carlyon-Britton prepared his lists there are one or two alterations and additions to be made to the York coins. Firstly, we have been unable to trace his no. 6, martlet both sides, cross-end no. 11, and in view of the fact that some of the earliest martlet halves of Henry VIII of this type (his no. 7) are known with martlet over rose on the obverse, we think it unlikely that such a coin exists. Secondly, two specimens of a most interesting mule have turned up in the interval, which seem to us to confirm the fact that the rose was the last obverse mark of Bainbridge's Henry VII issues. This is the rose/martlet half with cross-end no. 11 and xB for Christopher Bainbridge either side of the reverse shield.¹ One specimen with the king's numeral not clear is to be found in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's own collection now with Messrs. Seaby, while the other, with a clear VII, is in the British Museum.

The reverse die used for these two should certainly be of Henry VIII, though we have so far been unable to find it used in his reign. The Henry VIII halves with x-B on the reverse are scarce, if not rare, and were not apparently the very first issue. These were the halves with martlet both sides, on obverse over rose, already quoted, so that the rose/martlet York coins, or one or two of them, may be further Henry VII/VIII mules. Finally it should be mentioned that at both mints two sizes of rose mark are found on some late obverses as follows:

- Canterbury—Large rose/rose, reverse 11;
York—Large rose/martlet, reverse 11;

but it is to be doubted whether this size-difference has any special significance.

¹ See *BNJ* 1954, p. 218, Pl. VIII. 9.

As regards Mr. Carlyon-Britton's attribution of the two series of rose and martlet halves to Canterbury and York, it is reasonable to think that the evidence for this has been strengthened rather than otherwise by the additions and alterations mentioned above. Further, his comparisons with the early issues of Henry VIII which usually bore the archbishops' initials are wholly justified and to our mind are conclusive when taken in conjunction with the other points quoted.

When we come to the question of the order of appearance of the two marks at the two mints we are on more debatable ground. We have, of course, nothing but the marks and cross-ends to help us as the lettering is the same throughout, except for the special A which appears on the earliest issues from all three mints with the curious spelling *he'RIC*. Mr. Carlyon-Britton has assumed that the martlet/rose and rose/martlet halves are not mules but compound-mark coins. This is one of those points which are almost impossible to prove or disprove. Except for the very special greyhound's head/rose groats such coins in this or the following reign are always mules, but unless we accept the opposite view in this case, at least for the latest issues, it is virtually impossible to arrange the known halves in a rational order.

In the case of Canterbury we can reasonably assume Mr. Carlyon-Britton's no. 4, martlet/rose, reverse 10 (Pl. X. 16), to be a 2/3 mule, but the similar coin with reverse 11 (Pl. X. 17) is a different proposition. Though it might be a mule with a no. 2 obverse used after the lapse of a year or two, it is more likely that it was in fact a compound mark which would have followed and not preceded the half with rose both sides. In a similar way, at York the rose/martlet half with reverse 10 (Pl. X. 18) is probably a mule 2/3, whereas the half with reverse no. 11 (Pl. X. 19) would be the compound mark for the last issue. The correctness of this reading for both mints is made almost a certainty by the rare mule rose/martlet *x-B* (Pl. X. 20) which is mentioned above, and which must be the last Henry VII issue.

Here is the revised list of the profile halves of Canterbury and York:

CANTERBURY	YORK
1. Martlet b.s, <i>he'RIC</i> , <i>H/H</i> .	1. Martlet b.s, <i>he'RIC</i> , <i>H/A</i> .
2. „ <i>HENRIC</i> , <i>A/A</i> .	2. „ <i>HENRIC</i> , <i>A/A</i> .
2/3. Martlet/rose, <i>rev.</i> 10.	3/2. Rose/martlet, <i>rev.</i> 10.
3. Rose b.s, <i>rev.</i> 10.	3. Rose b.s, <i>rev.</i> 11, keys.
4. „ <i>rev.</i> 11.	4. Rose/martlet, <i>rev.</i> 11, keys.
5. Martlet/rose, <i>rev.</i> 11.	4/H8. Rose/martlet/ <i>x-B</i> , <i>rev.</i> 11.

CHAPTER VII. *The Pennies, Halfpennies, and Farthings*

E. J. WINSTANLEY

1. *The pennies.* The pennies of Henry VII are of unusual interest for this small coin because, after an early issue of the ordinary full face-crowned bust types, copying on a smaller scale the half-groats, the bold step was taken of transferring to their small

surface the elaborate design of the sovereign, that is the figure of the king, robed and crowned and holding sceptre and orb, seated facing on the throne. It is to be doubted, however, whether this design was really suitable for such a tiny flan. Nevertheless, that it was brilliantly executed can be seen from the occasional well-struck and well-preserved specimen that has survived.

The earliest known of these sovereign pennies have no mint-mark and were therefore probably issued very shortly after the appearance of the first sovereign, which bears the cross fitchy mark immediately preceding the 'no mint-mark' coins. It will be recalled that a solitary trial piece for the groat is known with this type, but this has the cinquefoil mark, found also on the pennies, and was therefore struck subsequently to the earliest of these. On this much larger flan the design would have been a success. The sovereign pennies are known not only from the Tower, but also from the ecclesiastical mints of York and Durham, and the fine workmanship mentioned as found on some pieces comes equally from all three mints. This would suggest that local dies were not made in the provinces at this time. No doubt the fabrication of such small and elaborate dies called for a high degree of skill to be found only at the Tower.

The open-crown pennies are known from the three mints mentioned, and also from Canterbury, and are of two types, as will be seen from the detailed lists which follow. The London pennies have first the lis on half rose, and second no mint-mark. This gives a pointer to the date of the appearance of the sovereigns that is probably half-way through the currency of the 'no-mint mark' coins. At Canterbury, which issued no sovereign pennies, an issue of the later arched-crown type pennies is known.

The London sovereign pennies are rarer than those of York or Durham and the majority have no mint-mark, though some of the regular marks are to be found. The heraldic cinquefoil fits neatly into the design, as do also the cross-crosslet (made from four crosses) and the pheon (with shortened staff), but the pansy seen on the reverse of a penny in the British Museum is much too big for so small a coin. Was it perhaps this difficulty that prevented the use of such complicated marks as the crowned leopard's head and the lis issuant from rose?

The classification adopted for this denomination does not differ radically from that of Brooke, but it enlarges and extends it. The open-crown pennies follow the pattern set by the larger coins and present little difficulty apart from their rarity, and the consequent lack of specimens for study. On the other hand, the sovereign penny presents a great variety of detail. The mint-marks, which follow the normal sequence, are of great assistance when present, and the changes of lettering have also been of great use. The variety of detail includes the presence or absence of pillars to the throne and the various objects surmounting the sceptre and pillars as well as, in the case of the coins from provincial mints, episcopal insignia at either side and small objects placed seemingly haphazard in the field.

Using all the evidence available, therefore, it has been possible to place the London sovereign pennies in an orderly sequence based on the gradual development in the number and ornamentation of the pillars to the throne, from none to single pillars and finally to double ones. It is significant that arranged in this sequence the coins show a gradual change of lettering in conformity with that on the series of groats, while it has been possible to show that at York and Durham the series, though less complete, follows that of London with a consistency which strongly suggests that the sequence is correct.

THE OPEN-CROWN PENCE

LONDON:

Type I. HENRIC DEI GRA REX AG CIVITAS LONDON

Mint-mark lis and rose on obverse only—no stops—reverse cross ending no. 1.

1. British Museum ex Walters 1913 lot 494, Montagu 676, Shepherd 199.
2. R. C. L. 1702 ex Roth 416 and Wheeler 294. (Pl. XI. 1)
3. R. Carlyon-Britton ex Lawrence 680.

Type II. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL CIVITAS LONDON

No mint-mark but there is a small cross in its place. The crown is higher than in type I and there is a cross at either side of the neck. There are trefoil stops and cross ending on reverse is no. 1.

1. Ashmolean (Pl. XI. 2).
2. C. E. Blunt ex Walters 1913, lot 495.

CANTERBURY:

Type I. Not known.*Type II.* HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL CIVITAS CANTOR

Mint-mark tun on obverse only—low crown—crosses in saltire at neck—trefoil stops—reverse cross ending no. 1. Struck by Cardinal Archbishop John Morton with his Ω in the centre of the reverse.

1. British Museum ex Montagu 677. (Pl. XI. 3)
 2. British Museum.
 3. Fitzwilliam ex Henderson bequest.
 4. R. C. L. 1738 ex Walters 1913 lot 496.
- The dies are not identical.

So few of the above coins are known that I have thought it worth listing all that I could trace.

YORK:

Type I. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANG CIVITAS EBORACI

Mint-mark lis over sun and rose—low crown—no stops visible— τ and trefoil at neck—extra pellet in two quarters of reverse—reverse cross ending no. 1. Brooke and Lawrence both list a penny of this type with τ and key at neck. I have been unable to find such a coin though in the face of such authorities I hesitate to say that it does not exist.

Type II. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANG CIVITAS EBORACI

Mint-mark uncertain—sometimes given as rose (L. A. L.)—taller crown— τ and cross by neck—trefoil stops—Lombardic H in centre of reverse—cross ending no. 1. This coin appears to correspond with the London and Canterbury pennies of type II. (Pl. XI. 5)

DURHAM:

Type I. Not known.*Type II.* HENRIC DI GRA REX AN CIVITAS DE. RAM

Mint-mark a cross—tall crown—s on breast—no stops—D in centre of reverse and cross ending no. 1—struck by Bishop John Sherwood. (Pl. XI. 6)

ARCHED-CROWN PENCE

Canterbury alone struck full-faced pence with an arched crown. They are commonly believed to represent a sharing of the working of the mint between the king and Archbishop Morton. They bear Morton's tun as mint-mark, usually on both sides, but his Ω is not present on the reverse. The crown has two arches, the outer one crocketed; the stops, if present, are rosettes. The reverse cross ending is no. 7 and the lettering is E (Pl. XI. 7). The reader is referred to Brooke's paper 'The Mints of Canterbury and York in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII' (*BNJ* xxi, pp. 73–87).

SOVEREIGN PENCE

Type I. No Pillars to Throne

LONDON:

HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL (ANGAN) CIVITAS LONDON

No mint-mark—no stops—the lettering is A with L2. The sceptre is lis-topped, and the reverse cross ending is no. 1. One specimen known only—R. C. L. 1713, now in British Museum. (Pl. XI. 8)

YORK:

Legend as at London.

Obverse as at London, but the sceptre is in the left and the orb in the right hand. There are no stops and the reverse cross ending is no. 1. There are keys below the shield.

DURHAM:

No pennies of this type are known.

Type II. One Pillar above the Leg of the Throne on the King's Right Side

LONDON:

- (a) Legend as before—mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil—trefoil stops—lettering A. The reverse cross ending is no. 2 and the sceptre and pillar are lis-topped. (Pl. XI. 9)
- (b) No mint-mark—trefoil stops—lettering A. The reverse cross ending is sometimes no. 2 and sometimes no. 7. The sceptre and pillar are trefoil-topped (Pl. XI. 10). Were it not for the existence of the two sorts of reverse found linked with this obverse, one would have placed it as earlier than the heraldic cinquefoil.
- (c) Mint-mark lis—rosette stops—lettering B—reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre and pillar are trefoil-topped (Pl. XI. 13). There are mules of IIb/IIc and IIc/IIb in the Brit. Mus. (Pl. XI. 11 and 12)

YORK:

- (a) Not known.
- (b) Legend as before—no mint-mark—trefoil stops—usually a trefoil over the crown. The lettering is A and the reverse cross ending is no. 2. The sceptre is lis- and the pillar trefoil-topped. (Pl. XI. 21)
- (c) No mint-mark—rosette stops—lettering D. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre and pillar can be either lis- or trefoil-topped. (Pl. XI. 22)

DURHAM:

HENRIC DI GRA REX A (AN) CIVITAS DIRHAM

- (a) Not known.
- (b) The head of a crozier occupies the place of a mint-mark, while the crozier staff leans against the king's left shoulder. There are no stops. The lettering is A and the reverse cross ending is no. 2. The sceptre is lis- and the pillar trefoil-topped. The vertical line of the transverse cross on the reverse is continued above the shield to form the head of a crozier. On either side of the shield are the letters D.S. (John Sherwood). (Pl. XI. 24)
- (c) No crozier on either side of the coin but a mitre over the reverse shield. No mint-mark and no stops. Lettering D and the reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre can be lis- or trefoil-topped. The pillar may be topped by a lis, a trefoil, a rosette, or a cross. Beside the shield are the letters D.R. or R.D. (Richard Fox). The size of the letters can vary (Pl. XI. 25). There are a few Durham pennies of this reign that do not conform to these details. They have none of the features of the early pennies and were presumably struck late in the minting.

Type III. Two Single Pillars

LONDON:

- (a) No mint-mark—no stops—large lettering E. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The pillar on the king's right is lis-topped. The one on the left is very short and not topped at all. (Pl. XI. 14)

- (b) Normally no mint-mark, but one coin (British Museum ex L. A. L.) has a pansy on the reverse. Some have saltire stops. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The lettering is as in type IIIa. The sceptre is lis-topped. The pillars may be topped by lis, trefoils, or crosses. (Pl. XI. 15)

YORK:

- (b) No mint-mark—no stops—lettering as at London. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre can be lis- or trefoil-topped. The pillars are topped by trefoils or crosses in saltire. On some coins from one to five crosses may be found between the legs of the throne. (Pl. XI. 23)

DURHAM:

- (b) Legend as before—no mint-mark—no stops—large lettering E. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre is usually lis-topped, but one penny (E. J. W.) has a cross-topped sceptre. The pillars are topped with lis, trefoils, or crosses. There is a mitre over the shield with R.D. or D.R. in large letters either side of the shield. (Pl. XI. 26–28)

Type IV. Two Double Pillars

LONDON:

(No other mint known.)

- (a) Legend as before—no mint-mark—crosses in saltire as stops. The lettering is still E, sometimes large, sometimes small. When small the lettering is more like F. One coin (E. J. W.) has large lettering on the obverse and small on the reverse. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre and pillars are always lis-topped. (Pl. XI. 17)
- (b) Mint-mark cross crosslet, not always on both sides, crosses in saltire as stops. The lettering is G and the reverse cross ending is no. 7. (Pl. XI. 18)
- (c) Mint-mark pheon, not always on both sides. In all other respects as type IVb. (Pl. XI. 19)

2. *The Halfpennies*. These coins are no less rare than those of the preceding hundred years. The few that have survived come from the mints of London, Canterbury, and York. None are known of Durham. The criteria used to put the pennies in order can be applied to the halfpennies with much the same result, allowing for the greater scarcity of the latter. It should also be remembered that a good proportion of the surviving halfpence are so ill struck or worn as to be virtually indecipherable. The classification that follows has been built round reasonably legible specimens as can be seen from the illustrations.

THE OPEN CROWN

LONDON:

Type I. HENRIC DEI (DI) GRA REX

- (a) Mint-mark lis over rose—no stops visible—reverse cross ending no. 1—lettering A. (Pl. XI. 29)
- (b) Mint-mark halved lis and rose—no stops visible—reverse cross ending no. 1—lettering A. (Pl. XI. 30)
- (c) Mint-mark rose—trefoil stops—crosses or trefoils at neck—reverse cross ending no. 1. (Pl. XI. 31)

L. A. Lawrence had a cross fitchy halfpenny that he attributed to this reign (NC 4/xviii, 1919). Today it seems probable on stylistic grounds that this halfpenny is a Restoration coin of Henry VI. It is in the Henry VI tray in the British Museum.

CANTERBURY:

Type I. The solitary specimen (BM) is attributed to this mint and type by virtue of the reverse which reads *Civitas Cantor* and has in the centre of its reverse cross the M of Archbishop Morton. There are crosses by the neck on the obverse, and the legend ends AN. (Pl. XI. 32)

On the reverses of these half-pence of London and Canterbury the three pellets in each quarter are joined.

THE DOUBLE ARCHED CROWN

LONDON:

Type II. Legend as before.

- (a) No mint-mark—no stops visible—crosses at neck—reverse cross ending no. 1—lettering uncertain. (Pl. XI. 33)
- (b) Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil—trefoil stops—no crosses at neck—reverse cross ending no. 2—lettering A. (Pl. XI. 34)

There is a coin (E. J. W.) that may be a mule linking I1b reverse with III obverse. The obverse has a single arched crown and no mint-mark, the reverse has cross ending no. 2 with pellets joined.

CANTERBURY:

The coin published by Mr. P. Frank Purvey in *BNJ* xxx, pt. i, pp. 191–2 and illustrated (Fig. 4) could conceivably be of type II. Its worn condition makes certainty difficult. (Pl. XI, 40)

THE SINGLE ARCHED CROWN

LONDON:

Type III. (a) No mint-mark—no stops visible—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 35)

(b) No mint-mark—rosette stops—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 36)

(c) The bust and the lettering are smaller:

- (1) No mint-mark—crosses in saltire as stops—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 37)
- (2) Mint-mark lis—crosses in saltire as stops—reverse cross ending no. 7 (Pl. XI. 38). Seems to be unpublished.
- (3) Mint-mark pheon—crosses in saltire as stops—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 39)

CANTERBURY:

Type III. (a) Mint-mark 'eye in profile'—no stops visible—Morton's Ω on reverse (Pl. XI. 41). This is the first of the two coins published by Mr. P. Frank Purvey in *BNJ* xxx, pt. i, pp. 191–2 (Fig. 3) and appears to be of type IIIa.

(b) Mint-mark large lis—rosette stops—no M on reverse—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 42)

It has not proved possible to trace the Canterbury halfpenny with no mint-mark and crosses in saltire as stops given in Brooke's *English Coins*.

YORK:

Type IIIc. Mint-mark perhaps martlet—crosses in saltire as stops—key below bust—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 43)

3. *The farthings.* A few little coins of this reign are known that by reason of their weight can safely be called farthings. The weights of the three specimens examined are:

British Museum	2.8 gr.
Fitzwilliam	2.6 gr.
E. J. W. (ex L. A. L.)	2.3 gr. (Pl. XI. 44)

The crown is arched and the legend appears to be HENRIC DI GRA REX CIVITAS LONDON. The student should perhaps remember the warning given by L. A. Lawrence in his paper (*NC*, 1919, pp. 265–8) on the 'Halfpence and Farthings of Henry VIII' that any farthing-like coin weighing 3 gr. or more is likely to be a clipped halfpenny. The paper also quotes Ruding as saying that in the reign of Henry VIII the people had difficulty in distinguishing farthings from half-pence until the portcullis type farthing was introduced. Lawrence suggests that in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII, and possibly in that of Henry VII too, farthings and half-pence were possibly struck from the same dies.

[To be concluded]

KEY TO PLATES

PLATE X

CHAPTER VI: *Profile Coins*

1. Shilling, type 1, die 1, small lis. *Rev.* I-1 (Fitz.).
2. " " die 2, " *Rev.* I-2 (Ryan 967).
3. " " " " *Rev.* II-6, large lis (BM).
4. " type 2, die 3. *Rev.* II-3, large lis b.s. (BM).
5. " " die 6. *Rev.* II-5, large lis b.s. (EJW ex Ryan 971).
6. Tentative groat, type Ia, small lis b.s., shilling lettering on obverse (EJW).
7. " " type Ib, no mm./large lis, shilling lettering on reverse (EJW).
8. " " type IIb, die 14, large lis. *Rev.* Shilling die II-1 (BM).
9. " " type Ia, small lis/large lis, shilling lettering on obverse (EJW).
10. " " HENRIC. SEPTIM, no mm./large lis, reverse no. 11 (BM).
11. " " type IIb, large lis/no mm, reverse no. 10 (RCL 1721)
12. " " type IIb, large lis b.s. reverse no. 11 (RCL?)
13. " " type IIc, GH 2 b.s. (Fitz.)
14. 'Tressure' groat reading ANGL, mm. crosslet b.s. (BM).
15. Regular groat, mm. lis/pheon, altered obverse mark (Hunterian).
16. Half-groat, Canterbury, mm. martlet/rose, *rev.* no. 10 (EJW).
17. " " " " *rev.* no. 11 (EJW).
18. " York, mm. rose/martlet, *rev.* no. 10 (EJW).
19. " " " " *rev.* no. 11 (EJW).
20. " " " " HENRIC. VII on *obv.* and X-B on *rev.* (BM).

PLATE XI

CHAPTER VII: *Pence, Half-pence and Farthing*

1. Open crown London penny of type I (RCL 1702).
2. Open crown London penny of type II (Ashm.).
3. Open crown penny of Canterbury of type II (BM).
4. Open crown penny of York of type I (EJW).
5. Open crown penny of York of type II (LAL).
6. Open crown penny of Durham of type II (LAL).
7. Arched crown penny of Canterbury (EJW).
8. Sovereign penny of London of type I (BM ex RCL 1713).
9. Sovereign penny of London of type IIa (EJW).
10. Sovereign penny of London of type IIb (EJW).
11. Sovereign penny of London of type IIc/IIb (BM ex LAL).
12. Sovereign penny of London of type IIb/IIc (BM ex LAL).
13. Sovereign penny of London of type IIc (Hunterian).
14. Sovereign penny of London of type IIIa (EJW).
15. Sovereign penny of London of type IIIb (LAL).
16. Sovereign penny of London of type IIIb (pansy) (BM ex LAL).
17. Sovereign penny of London of type IVa (EJW).
18. Sovereign penny of London of type IVb (EJW).
19. Sovereign penny of London of type IVc (EJW).
20. Sovereign penny of York of type I (EJW).
21. Sovereign penny of York of type IIb (EJW).
22. Sovereign penny of York of type IIc (EJW).
23. Sovereign penny of York of type IIIb (EJW).
24. Sovereign penny of Durham of type IIb (EJW).
25. Sovereign penny of Durham of type IIc (EJW).
26. Sovereign penny of Durham of type IIIb (EJW).
27. Sovereign penny of Durham of type IIIb (variety) (EJW).

28. Sovereign penny of Durham of type III*b* (variety) (EJW).
29. Open crown halfpenny of London of type Ia (EJW).
30. Open crown halfpenny of London of type Ib (CEB).
31. Open crown halfpenny of London of type Ic (Hunterian).
32. Open crown halfpenny of Canterbury of type I (BM).
33. Double arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIa (EJW).
34. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type II*b* (EJW).
35. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIIa (EJW).
36. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type III*b* (EJW).
37. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIIc 1 (EJW).
38. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIIc 2 (EJW).
39. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIIc 3 (EJW).
40. Double arched crown halfpenny of Canterbury of type II (*BNJ* xxx, i, p. 19).
41. Single arched crown halfpenny of Canterbury of type IIIa (*BNJ* xxx, i, p. 19).
42. Single arched crown halfpenny of Canterbury of type IIIc (EJW).
43. Single arched crown halfpenny of York of type IIIc (EJW).
44. Farthing of London (EJW).



