

THE COINAGE OF EDWARD VI IN HIS OWN NAME

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PART I. SECOND PERIOD: JANUARY 1549 TO OCTOBER 1551

INTRODUCTION

THE first period of Edward's coinage, from his accession in January 1547 to near the end of January 1549, was merely a continuation of the last period of his father's reign, and in fact the two indentures of April 1547 and February 1548, making up the first and second issues or coinages, provided merely for the continued striking of the current 20-ct. gold sovereigns and halves and the 4-oz. silver testoons, groats, and smaller money. Thus not only were the standards and denominations unaltered, but the only change in the great majority of coins was to be found on the half-sovereigns, where a youthful figure replaced that of the old king on the throne, though still with Henry's name. Only a very few half-sovereigns are known of this type actually bearing Edward's name. On the silver, where no change at all occurred, the coins of the two reigns are conveniently divided by the substitution of Roman letters for the old Lombardic lettering which occurred about this time, at first sometimes on one side only.

The coinage of this first period has already been described and discussed in this *Journal* by Mr. C. A. Whitton in his articles entitled 'The Coinages of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name' (vol. xxvi, 1949). These actually include the half-sovereigns in Edward's name mentioned above and also the rare groats with his name and profile portrait which were undoubtedly struck during this first period. They also include the groats and smaller money which were coined during the remaining periods as they always bore Henry's name and portrait. In this article, therefore, it is proposed to deal with the rest of Edward's issues during the second and third periods comprising the crown and fine gold money and the 8-oz., 6-oz., and 3-oz. shillings.

In addition to Whitton's papers all the base silver has also been fully covered by Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton in a series of articles published in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* over the months from July 1949 to May 1950. For some reason these articles have been largely overlooked and are not now, perhaps, very readily accessible. I have necessarily utilized much of the material supplied by Carlyon-Britton, and have had the opportunity of examining a large part of the many specimens which he assembled and listed, the most significant of which have since been acquired by the British Museum.

As I am not dealing with the small silver, Carlyon-Britton's coinages do not always agree with mine. I have kept these to the several indentures and commissions which altered the terms of minting. In addition I have transferred the 3-oz. shillings from the third to the second period to which they so obviously belong. It is entirely illogical and misleading to include them in the third period as is usually done, as it gives the impression that the very base and the fine money was being issued simultaneously when in fact the former appeared more than a year before the latter and had ceased to be issued some months before the appearance of the fine money.

The issue of the 3-oz. shillings was the unfortunate but necessary preliminary to the restoration of the coinage, as the only means of raising the money required to buy the bullion in the impoverished state of the country's finances. They represent no break whatever in the general issue of base shillings, merely a change in the fineness. The bust was the same as the last which appeared on the 6-oz. shillings, and in fact there are probably mules between the two standards. The fine silver coinage, on the other hand, represented a complete break with the old money in every way, and this alone would justify its relegation to a separate period.

Here is a summary of the various coinages of the reign arranged as explained above:

First Period

1st Coinage, Apr. 1547
2nd Coinage, Feb. 1548 } 20-ct. gold and 4-oz. silver mostly in Henry VIII's name.

Second Period

3rd Coinage, Jan. 1549, Crown gold sovereigns of 169½ gr., ½-sovs. of 86 gr., ¼-sovs. and ⅛-sovs. in proportion. 8-oz. shillings of 60 gr.
4th Coinage, Apr. 1549, Crown gold as before, but 6-oz. shillings of 80 gr.
5th Coinage, ? June 1550, 3-oz. shillings of 80 gr.

Third Period

6th Coinage, Dec. 1550, Fine gold of which only a pattern was apparently struck.
7th Coinage, Oct. 1551, Fine gold sovereign of 30s. wt. 240 gr., angel of 10s. wt. 80 gr. and angelet of 40 gr. Crown gold sovereign of 20s. wt. 174½ gr., ½-sov., crown, and ⅛-crown in proportion. Fine silver crown of 480 gr., half-crown, shilling, and sixpence in proportion. 3d. added later. Also sovereign penny.

Full details of the indentures and commissions listed have been given in an important article by Henry Symonds in this *Journal* for 1915, vol. xi, entitled 'The English Coinages of Edward VI' to which reference is recommended. Any additional information which has since come to hand can be found in Whitton. Here I will only summarize the general sequence of events. But first a word as to the mints operating at this time.

The main establishment at the Tower at the beginning of the reign had been divided into three, each under one of the joint under-treasurers, namely, Sir Martin Bowes, Stephen Vaughan, and Thomas Knight, but by the beginning of the second period only that of Sir Martin Bowes was still functioning. In addition, however, there were no less than four provincial mints at work, at Southwark under John Yorke, at Canterbury under William Tillesworth, at York under George Gale and finally at Bristol under William Sharington replaced in January 1549 by Sir Thomas Chamberlain, while a fifth was opened in December 1548 at Durham House in the Strand under John Bowes, a distant relative of Sir Martin.

The main purpose of all these mints was, at first, the flooding of the country with the base coinage of Henry VIII, especially the 9-oz. testoons, and later their recoinage into still baser money. As the inflow of the better money declined, all but one of these outside mints were closed, Bristol and Durham House in October 1549, Canterbury in February 1550, and Southwark some time early in 1551, while at York, though it continued working until the end of 1551, only groats and smaller money were struck after 1549.

Southwark, Canterbury, and York relied entirely on the Tower for their dies, but Durham House and Bristol were apparently independent establishments having their

own graver. At Bristol Castle we know that the staff included a graver, Giles Evenet, but the indenture establishing the staff at Durham House has been lost. Though later in the period the busts on the Tower coins were reproduced with modified detail at both these mints, none of the Tower punches appears to have been used in the preparation of any of their dies.

SECOND PERIOD

The second period of the coinage opened with the Proclamation of 24 January 1549 (Harley MS. 38) 'stating that the King, to the intent that money might be more plentifully and richly made, had caused certain new coins to be struck, namely the 20s., 10s. or Edward royall, 5s. and 2s. 6d. in gold, shillings and half shillings' (H. Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 136). On the same day a commission was signed and sent to Sir Edmund Peckham, the treasurer, and Sir Martin Bowes, under-treasurer at the Tower mint, ordering the striking of this coinage. The terms are not known as the document is missing though mentioned in Bowes's accounts. There is little doubt, however, that they were the same as those embodied in the similar commission which has survived to John Bowes, treasurer of the mint within the king's manor of Durham House, Strand, dated 29 January 1548/9, ordering him to strike the four coins of crown gold according to the proclamation and the two coins of 8-oz. silver. The 4-oz. groats and smaller money of the previous indenture were to be continued. The part of the order concerning the 8- and 4-oz. silver was also sent to the mints of Bristol and Canterbury, and presumably also to Southwark, though all records of this mint have been lost. The half-shillings are unknown of any mint, and would presumably have been impracticable as they would have weighed less than the groats.

Incidentally, it will be noted that the name Edward Royal is applied in the Proclamation to all the half-sovereigns to be coined, and as this is dated five days before the commission to Durham House, the exclusive application of this name to the Durham House coins is incorrect.

That a new coinage of improved standard had been provided was actually a delusion, for instead of a rise in intrinsic value, the gold was slightly reduced, while the silver remained unchanged, i.e. in place of a sovereign containing 160 gr. of fine gold one of only 155½ gr. was ordered, while in place of the 120-gr. testoon of 4-oz. silver, one of half the weight but twice the fineness was to be issued.

The existence side by side of a 40-gr. groat and a 60-gr. shilling, however, was soon found to be too much even for the bemused public to swallow, and on 12 April 1549 a new commission was sent to Peckham and Bowes at the Tower, to John Bowes at Durham House and to Chamberlain and Tillesworth at Bristol and Canterbury, ordering them to strike the shillings at 72 to the lb. or 80 gr. each, but of 6-oz. instead of 8-oz. silver. These 6-oz. shillings form the bulk of the silver money of the second period, and they continued to be struck until the summer of 1550.

No commission has survived for the change in the standard from 6- to 3-oz. silver which occurred probably in July 1550. Ruding quotes an entry in the king's journal for 18 June of that year that it had been decided to strike these very base shillings, and it is probable that an order was issued to the Tower and Southwark shortly afterwards. The plan was to coin 20,000 lb. weight of silver to provide a profit of £160,000 and with this to pay off pressing debts of the administration and also to build up a fund for buying

bullion. This was in preparation for the task they then had before them, namely to bring the coinage back again to the fine standard which had existed for centuries before 1544 and which had given English money the pre-eminent position it enjoyed among world coinages. No records of the amount of this coinage eventually struck can now be found but it certainly continued well into 1551.

A. *Silver*

It is now possible to turn our attention to the coins produced under these various orders, and, contrary to normal practice, I propose to deal first with the silver. This, though confined to one denomination, the shilling, is much more complex than the gold, due firstly to the three standards and two different weights employed, secondly to the large number of mint-marks with muling and overstriking, combined with the date on every coin, and lastly to the many modifications made to the bust. The reduction of all these to a simple sequence of issue should then make it possible to fit the gold coinage, at present virtually unclassified, into the general picture.

The second-period silver can be divided into three types coinciding with the three coinages which make it up, namely:

1. (3rd coinage)—the 8-oz. shillings dated 1549 with TIMOR legend on the obverse;
2. (4th coinage)—the 6-oz. shillings dated 1549 and 1550, with TIMOR legend on the reverse;
3. (5th coinage)—the 3-oz. shillings, mm. lis, lion, and rose, dated 1550 and 1551.

The last-mentioned are distinguished from the 6-oz. shillings partly by their appearance but more certainly by the mint-marks listed, which were confined solely to this type. Among these three types are to be found seven different busts but normally only one reverse design. The Durham House and Bristol issues can be included in these types, the former belonging only to the third and fourth coinages, and the latter which is extremely rare, only to the fourth, but the reverses and busts do not come into the normal series.

1. *The Third Coinage* (type 1). The general type of the base shilling was foreshadowed by the pattern produced very early in Edward's reign, with mint-mark rose and the date MDXLVII (cf. Lockett sale, lot 1882) having the crowned profile portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse a garnished shield between ER and the legend: TIMOR.DOMINI.FONS.VITÆ. Political considerations and the desirability of disassociating the new reign as long as possible from the deplorable debasement of the previous administration were probably the reasons for delaying the general issue for two years, and when this was finally authorized in January 1549 two versions of the type appeared. Durham House copied the pattern almost exactly, including the frosted crown and the elaborate tunic and collar on the obverse (Bust no. 1), and the large reverse shield (Pl. XII. 1). The other mints, however, produced a simplified version with what I have called Bust no. 2, distinguished by the large head, and a reverse having a smaller and less-elaborately garnished shield as found on nearly all the subsequent shillings (Pl. XII. 3). According to Sir Thomas Chamberlain's account Bristol struck no 8-oz. shillings and none have been identified.

Both these issues, as mentioned, are distinguished from the subsequent types firstly by their weight, 60 gr. (average say 55), and secondly by the legends being reversed, with TIMOR.DOMINI and the date MDXLIX on the obverse. Carlyon-Britton and others have listed a coin from Durham House (mint-mark bow) having the king's name spelt

EDWARDVS on the obverse and the TIMOR legend and date MDXLVIII on the reverse, supposed to have been struck there in the first period, though the mint was only established in December. There are actually three slightly different specimens of this in the British Museum, but whatever they are they are not coin struck for currency. They are of a brass alloy probably originally silvered, they weigh between 63 and 69 gr. and appear to have been produced by some form of stamping machine (Pl. XII. 2). It is just possible that they are patterns for the new coinage but they look more like medalets of continental origin, of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. It is curious, however, that they should reproduce the Durham House bust, unless it was copied from the original rose-marked pattern mentioned. In any case, as already stated, the order for the striking of the first coins at Durham House is dated 29 January. It is also quite clear from the coins produced by the other mints in execution of this order, mostly in February 1549, that the new style dating of the year as beginning on 1 January had been officially adopted at this time, as they are all dated 1549, as are, in fact, the regular Durham House 8-oz. shillings.

The mint-marks found on both sides of these type 1 coins are: bow for Durham House (John Bowes), arrow for the Tower (Sir Martin Bowes) and γ for Southwark (John Yorke). There are, however, three groups of shillings of this type without any mint-mark on the obverse which present certain puzzling features. The first has a rose on the reverse and is usually attributed to Canterbury in view of the fact that some of the base groats from this mint have the rose as mint-mark, and Canterbury certainly received the order to coin the new shillings. The second has no mint-mark on either side and is usually attributed to the Tower, but I think this very unlikely, as all Sir Martin Bowes's coins throughout the period were scrupulously marked with emblems usually taken from his arms or perhaps his name. These unmarked shillings should, I think, be attributed to York, as all the smaller money bearing this mint-name on the reverse has no mint-mark. I am aware that no order for this coinage is known to have been addressed to that mint and that no accounts for shillings struck there have been discovered, but neither is there known any order for Southwark other than for groats nor any return of money coined, and yet the γ of John Yorke is one of the commonest and longest-used of any mark in the series. In the next coinage a significant pointer to a coinage of shillings at York will be discussed. Incidentally these no-mint-mark coins differ from those of the other groups in the spelling VITE, as on all later shillings.

The third and last of these unusual coins with no mint-mark on the obverse has the arrow on the reverse and so must be recognized as a Tower coin, though obviously an exceptional one, as it is the only shilling die known to me from that mint with the mint-mark on one side only. Two features make it very puzzling indeed. Firstly, only one obverse die is known and the bust used is different from any other of the period (Pl. XII. 4). I have called it no. 3. It has the same crown as no. 2 but the profile and tunic decoration have been modified. Secondly, of the three coins I have seen from this die, two weigh just over 50 gr. but the third weighs 71 gr. and must therefore have been struck under the amending order of 12 April increasing the weight to 80 gr. As will shortly be seen, however, all the other shillings struck under this order have bust no. 4 and the legends are arranged in the normal way. I have no explanation to offer for the existence of this curious die, but it was obviously being used at the Tower in April 1549 just when the standard was being changed.

2. *The Fourth Coinage* (type 2). One would have thought that the order to change the fineness and weight of the shilling would have involved merely technical and administrative changes, an alteration in the mixing of the alloy and in the preparation of the blanks, using thicker sheets of metal if the flans were to remain the same size. What is therefore very surprising indeed is to find that the new issue of 80-gr. shillings brought a complete change of style as well. Not only was an entirely new bust engraved and the legends transposed, as already mentioned, but all the old letter punches were discarded and a new plainer alphabet employed. Furthermore, it was as though a new and less conscientious spirit was abroad in the mint, if not a new staff employed. The blanks were prepared with less care, the letters were irregularly punched in and the finished coins were less pleasing in appearance. Although other busts were subsequently introduced, no such change occurred again, and in fact, when the final debasement to the 3-oz. shillings was made, only the mint-marks were altered, the bust, style, and detail remained the same. At this distance of time and in the absence of any but the most laconic of official documents I cannot even hazard a guess for this state of affairs; I can only record it.

The new and smaller bust (no. 4), which distinguishes the first type 2 base shillings from the Tower, Southwark, and Canterbury, is immediately identified by the noticeable hollow or gap which appears just behind the arm and I have called these type 2*a*. The mint-marks used are the arrow and Y at the Tower and Southwark as before, with an additional mark, the grapple, from the former, and a small 't' for Tillesworth from Canterbury. The reverses are usually of the normal type as before, but I have noted two coins with a larger and more elaborately garnished shield, larger even than the Durham House type which it closely resembles. These coins are of the marks Y (BM ex RCB, Pl. XII. 5) and grapple (RCL 4365). This link between these marks will be discussed later.

The Durham House issues, with mint-mark bow, continued with the original bust and reverse but employed a new obverse legend: INIMICOS.EIVS.INDVAM.CONFVSIONE without the date. Shillings with this legend on the reverse are also known, though extremely rare. The only known Bristol shilling of this coinage is in the British Museum (Pl. XII. 6), and has a normal Tower obverse with bust no. 4 and the mint-mark TC in monogram struck over G. The reverse has a larger shield than normal, something like the Durham House design but with curious curved lines for the quartering divisions. There are roses before and after the date MDXLIX, and the mint-mark is the monogram TC.

The coins of this type (2*a*) were probably issued during the first six months or so of 1549. The remainder of the second period 6-oz. shillings have different busts. They covered the period up to the summer of 1550 and are much less scarce than those of type 2*a*, but before passing on to these there are four coins of the latter type with over-stamped marks which need special mention. The first is the Bristol shilling with TC (monogram) over G just mentioned, and two of the others have a similar mark, a Southwark shilling with Y over G on the reverse and a Canterbury shilling with 't' over G on both sides. Both these coins were in Carlyon-Britton's collection and are now in the British Museum. Carlyon-Britton suggested, and I agree, that this shows that obverse and reverse shilling dies of this issue were prepared for the York mint under George Gale but not used, and the dies were subsequently over-stamped and sent for use at Bristol, Southwark, and Canterbury. It was to these over-stamped dies that I referred when discussing the attribution of the no-mint-mark coins to York. In the case of

Canterbury we see that the no-mint-mark obverse and rose reverse of type 1 gave place in the new 80-gr. issue to dies with a small 't' for Tillesworth on both sides, and it seems to me that if we find dies for the second issue with G for Gale on both sides, though not so used, it is logical to assume that the previous unmarked issue matching the smaller money without mint-mark should be from York.¹

The fourth coin is another Southwark shilling which has a reverse with Y over grapple. This coupled with the existence of the shillings of these two marks each with the same unusual reverse shield might well suggest that the grapple was a Southwark mark. Later, however, another case of the overstriking of a Tower die with Y will be encountered and I think that the simple explanation is that these were emergency issues to Southwark when an extra die was suddenly required. The grapple has also been attributed to Durham House on the strength of a REDDE.CVIVQE groat quoted by Snelling as having a grapple-marked reverse. This coin has not since been traced, but there is an undoubted half-groat of the period, noted by Whitton, with the marks arrow/grapple and the POSVI legend, which I think confirms that this is a Tower mark. It is true that the origin of this mark, found also on the smaller money, is something of a puzzle. The arrow for Sir Martin Bowes is an obvious heraldic emblem as his arms were surmounted by a sheaf of arrows. Similarly, the swan which later replaced the arrow as his chief mark appears in the arms themselves, and the martlet which followed the swan could be considered a martin, but the grapple remains unexplained on these terms.

However, I think there is a reasonable explanation for this and the other unusual Tower marks which will be encountered. Although officially there was only one establishment at the Tower at this time, it will appear that two marks must have been used there contemporaneously during the fourth coinage, one being fairly common and the other rare and obviously secondary. I am going to take the grapple, therefore, as the first of these secondaries, and though the primary marks used at the Tower can definitely be related to Sir Martin Bowes, I do not think it is necessary to look for such a close link in the case of these secondaries, although some, as will be seen, can with a stretch of the imagination be so attributed.

Some time still in 1549 a new bust, no. 5, was produced for the shillings, and is found still with the same marks as no. 4, i.e. arrow and grapple for the Tower, Y for Southwark and 't' or T for Canterbury. It is distinguished from no. 4 by the fact that the hollow behind the arm has been filled in, but the profile and decoration of the tunic also differ (Pl. XII. 7). This new bust constitutes type 2*b* and it apparently lasted for only a very short while, for some of the arrow shillings are found with a sixth bust which has larger and more elaborately decorated lapels and collar to the tunic, as well as a slightly different profile. This sixth bust constitutes type 2*c* and it was continued for the rest of 1549 and, from the mints still operating, i.e. only the Tower and Southwark, during the early months of 1550.

The marks found on the shillings of type 2*c* dated 1549 are: Arrow, as mentioned above, pheon and swan (Tower), and Y (Southwark). The Tower marks introduce a new secondary, the pheon, much rarer than the grapple, and also a new practice which did

¹ I have recently acquired a shilling of type 1 which has interesting possibilities. It has no mint-mark on the obverse but certainly had a mint-mark on the reverse, though now almost obliterated, as there is a wide space between the two lozenges beginning and

ending the legend. Towards the lozenge after REX there is part of a curved letter which could only be TC (monogram) or G. It can only be hoped that a clearer specimen will one day come to light. (Pl. XII. 3.)

not occur with the previous primary and secondary, namely a series of mules linking the three marks in almost all possible combinations, i.e.:

Arrow/pheon 1549
Pheon/arrow 1549

Pheon/swan 1549
Pheon/swan 1550

Arrow/swan 1549
Swan/arrow 1549

I think, however, that these mules do prove that the commoner marks arrow and swan were the primaries, and that the swan replaced the arrow shortly after the introduction of the pheon in place of the grapple. The pheon is a reasonable mark for Sir Martin Bowes as it would do as well for the head of an arrow as for the head of a pike. It is, incidentally, identical with the mark used by Henry VII and Henry VIII. In view of its great rarity, however, only one true coin being known (BM ex RCB, Pl. XII. 9), it is certainly curious to find it muled with both primaries and also on the obverse of a coin with the date 1550 on the reverse. One of these, in Carlyon-Britton's collection, was listed by him as pheon/martlet, but, though indistinct, the reverse mint-mark is unquestionably a swan. The second specimen I have noted is in the British Museum and the marks are perfectly clear.

Contemporary with types 2*b* and early 2*c* both Durham House and Bristol produced shillings with a somewhat similar bust, though with the usual individual differences. The Durham House shillings, mint-mark bow, are of two types, one with the INIMICOS legend on the obverse and the other with the legends normally placed. In both cases the reverse shield and letters ER are somewhat smaller than in the previous type. Neither are dated. The very rare Bristol shillings have the mint-mark rose and TC on both sides, and a reverse shield which is a close copy of that used by Durham House (Pl. XII. 8).

Among the type 2*c* coins dated 1549 we encounter another case of the interchange of dies between the Tower and Southwark. The coin with Y on the obverse and arrow on the reverse in the British Museum is an undoubted forgery, but there is a genuine coin with swan over Y on the obverse and swan on the reverse from Carlyon-Britton's collection now in the British Museum. This is a reverse exchange to the previous cases and the obverse die must have been a spare which was taken over and used at the Tower.

As already mentioned, type 2*c* was continued from the Tower and Southwark with date 1550 (MDL), and the first marks found with the later date are the swan for the Tower and Y for Southwark as before. The swan, however, is now found in two forms. The original or elementary type was still used for the earliest of the 1550 shillings, but this was shortly changed to a more elaborate form with longer curved neck, prominent wing, and tail turned down at the back to give the appearance of three thick legs instead of two small ones. Coins with this later version are rare, as the swan was soon replaced by a new primary, the martlet or martin, an obvious choice for Sir Martin Bowes. Meanwhile, however, still another die interchange between the Tower and Southwark is known in which the later-type swan mark on the obverse is over stamped with a Y instead of vice versa, though the coin has a swan on the reverse as before. In Carlyon-Britton's list this coin, now in the British Museum, had against it the remark, 'After Sir John Yorke's transfer to the Tower mint.' This would be a convenient solution to this curious combination but I do not think it can be sustained. Sir John was at Southwark till it closed early in 1551 and by that time the 3-oz. shillings had been in issue for about six months and the swan mark had been obsolete much longer. I cannot suggest where such a coin would have been struck.

The martlet continued as the primary mark for the Tower with Y for Southwark until the end of the issue of 6-oz. shillings some time in the summer of 1550, but in the meantime its accompanying secondary made its appearance. This mark was known to Carlyon-Britton only on the reverse of two martlet coins and he was unable to identify it. These reverses are from different dies and in both cases the mark is obscure, due to what appears to be rusting of the dies. Carlyon-Britton could only guess that it might be a capital T for Canterbury, a very unlikely combination indeed, apart from the fact that no Canterbury dies are known dated 1550. Most fortunately I have recently acquired a unique coin with the mark clearly shown on both sides (Pl. XII. 10), the reverse being from the same die as one of Carlyon-Britton's mule coins, but what the mark is still cannot be said with certainty. A suggestion by Mr. Dolley that it represents a 'marten' skin stretched out to dry is a possibility and as I have nothing better to suggest I am calling the mark 'pelt'. The great rarity of the coins confirms that we have here the last secondary Tower mark.

Some time not long before the appearance of the 3-oz. shillings, which was probably in August 1550, a seventh bust appeared on the 6-oz. coins, constituting type 2*d*. This bust is notably better than any of the previous versions, being distinguished by the elegant slender neck and delicate profile and the decorated high collar. This bust is found on 6-oz. coins with marks martlet and Y only (Pl. XII. 11), but it is just possible that one might be found one day with mint-mark pelt. This last issue of the 6-oz. shillings is rare and cannot have lasted more than a month at most.

3. *The Fifth Coinage* (type 3). It is apparent that the new issue of 3-oz. shillings, though utilizing the seventh bust just described, was to be kept entirely separate from the previous one, for a new series of mint-marks was introduced to emphasize the separation, viz. lion, lis, and rose. In this case we need not look for any connexion between the mint-masters and the selected marks, although it is true that lions' heads occur in Sir Martin Bowes's arms. It seems most likely that it had been decided to make the king responsible for these very base shillings, for the three marks chosen are the principal royal emblems.

As to the mints which used these marks, it has already been suggested that the Southwark mint did not close until some time early in 1551 and it is only reasonable to except that some of the 3-oz. shillings would be struck there, though not usually so attributed. In fact, however, there are rare mules which confirm this and also indicate the new mark chosen for these coins at Southwark. There are two of these mules in the British Museum, one with the marks lis/Y dated 1550 and the other with Y/lis dated 1551. The true coins with the mark lis are dated only in 1551 (Pl. XII. 12). I think there can be little doubt that the lis was the mark used at Southwark until it closed, which is thus definitely shown to have been in 1551. At any rate, there is no room for this mark in the Tower series, which commenced with the lion in 1550, carried on with it into 1551, and followed it with the rose in the latter year. There is, in fact, in Carlyon-Britton's collection a rather worn coin with lion on the obverse and rose over lion on the reverse (not vice versa as stated in his list), which closes any gap there might have been between these two marks. The Southwark mules mentioned also show that production of the 3-oz. shillings at that mint did not commence until the turn of the year, as the first lis dies are dated 1551, though one obverse is found with a reverse dated 1550.

Finally it should be mentioned that an issue of £5,000 worth of very base shillings

was made for Ireland in the summer of 1552. These all have mint-mark harp, the date 1552, and are almost entirely of coppery brass (Ruding says 3 parts in 240 of silver). Of all these base issues a large number of forgeries in silvered copper or lead have survived, varying greatly in their resemblance to the originals. Among them I might mention a harp/lis mule which might just possibly have formed part of the Irish issue.

This completes the story of the base shillings and it is now time to turn to the parallel issues of the second-period crown gold money, consisting of sovereigns, half-sovereigns, and the quarter- and half-quarter-sovereigns with the crowned and uncrowned portraits. Meanwhile here is a list of the types of the base shillings with the respective busts and the mint-marks known:

SECOND PERIOD BASE SHILLINGS FROM TOWER DIES

Third Coinage (8 oz.)

Type 1, TIMOR on *obv.* (Bust no. 2)

Arrow b.s. VITÆ

Y b.s. VITÆ

—/rose VITÆ (?Canterbury)

—/— VITE (?York)

—/arrow VITÆ (Bust no. 3)

Fourth Coinage (6 oz.)

Type 2a, TIMOR on *rev.* (Bust no. 4)

Arrow b.s.

Grapple b.s. } (One with special reverse)

Y b.s.

Y/Y over G

Y/Y over grapple

t over G b.s. } (Canterbury)

t b.s.

Type 2b, 1549 (Bust no. 5)

Arrow b.s.

Grapple b.s.

Y b.s. (not yet noted)

t b.s.

Type 2a, 1549 (Bust no. 6)

Arrow/pheon

Pheon/arrow

Pheon b.s.

Pheon/swan I

Arrow/swan I

Swan I/arrow

Swan I b.s.

Swan I over Y/Swan I

t, t/T, T b.s. (Canterbury)

Y b.s.

Type 2c, 1550 (Bust no. 6)

Pheon/Swan I

Swan I b.s.

Swan I/Swan II

Swan II/Swan I

Swan II b.s.

Y over Swan II/Y

Y b.s.

Martlet b.s.

Martlet/pelt

Pelt b.s.

Type 2d, 1550 (Bust no. 7)

Martlet b.s.

Y b.s.

Fifth Coinage (3 oz.)

Type 3, 1550 (Bust no. 7)

Lion b.s.

Lis/Y

Type 3, 1551.

Y/Lis

Lis b.s.

Lion b.s.

Lion/rose over lion

Rose b.s.

Type 4, 1552 (Ireland)

Harp.

B. Gold

Having provided a very detailed picture of the silver of the second period, relating the mint-marks used to the various types and styles, it is now possible to describe the gold and show how it will fit into this framework. Though it is much less complex than the silver and the mint-marks and types used are much fewer, nevertheless the same

Before elaborating the argument for this sequence here is a list of these coins:

The order and times of issue suggested for these coins is evidenced by the following facts. First, there are two dies of the uncrowned series of halves actually reproducing the legends as used on the first shillings. Second, the lettering and the finish on nearly all the coins with uncrowned bust corresponds exactly with that which was specially noticed on the type 1 shillings, in contrast with the much poorer work on those with the crowned profile. In fact, in the case of the later half-sovereigns the deterioration in the work is even more marked. Third, we have the mint-marks, the arrow and Y only, with an additional mark 6, on the uncrowned, and the arrow, grapple, swan, and martlet on the crowned bust coins, corresponding once more with the main marks appearing on the type 1 and 2 shillings. It should be mentioned that coins with the mark 6 are much

rarer than those with the arrow, and I think we have here the secondary mark used at the Tower for the type 1 coins, a mark not apparently needed for the equivalent shillings. The reason may well be the greater issue of gold of this first type, which is comparatively common, whereas the type 1 shillings are scarce if not rare.

As for the coins with the crowned profile, those with the plain breast armour or bust no. 1 were certainly the earlier issue, for here we have the arrow and γ again as on the type 2*a* shillings, with the secondary mark, grapple, which went with them. Finally, we have the halves with the decorated breast armour (Bust no. 2, with different crown and profile), corresponding exactly with the later shillings of type 2*b* and 2*c*, with the marks swan, martlet, and γ . Although there are no arrow or grapple dies known with the decorated armour, there are several swan/arrow mules, which would represent the earliest shillings of type 2*b*. The only thing missing here are the secondaries corresponding to the two minor marks on the shillings, the pheon, and pelt, but this is undoubtedly due to the falling off in gold production at this time, which is most markedly shown in the bullion figures. Although it will be argued later that these cannot be correct, they do indicate the trend which was certainly towards the drying-up of supplies to the mints in 1550.

The only mint other than the Tower and Southwark which struck gold in the second period was Durham House, and here, as with the silver, their types were, in the main, quite distinct from those of the other mints and followed a different pattern. Even when the bust used was similar the details were different and an entirely new legend was used. Here is a list of types. Only one die of each is known and I have indicated against them the specimens I have noted:

- Die 1. *Obv.* Tall uncrowned bust in armour, SCVTVM.FIDEI . . . MDXLVIII
Rev. EDWARD.VI. &c. (BM 1).
 Die 2. *Obv.* Normal uncrowned bust, LVCERNA.PEDIBVS.MEIS.VERBVM.ET
Rev. EDWARD.VI. &c. (BM 5, 6).
 Die 3. *Obv.* Bust of no. 1 crowned, EDWARD VI. &c.
Rev. SCVTVM.FIDEI. &c. without date (BM 4, RCL 1873).
 Mules 3/2 (BM 2, 3, Ryan 239).

I have placed them in the order shown for two reasons. Die 1 is obviously the first as it bears the date 1548. This coin is unique and could well be a pattern produced for submission to the king. Unlike the so-called shillings of Durham House with the same date, this is a genuine half-sovereign of normal size and weight. The date is a little unusual, as the mint was only opened in December of that year, but is quite feasible. For the second I have chosen, not the very similar die with a crown added, but the die with the small uncrowned bust copied, like the normal Tower coins, from the pattern mentioned, as this, like no. 1, has an inner circle of small pellets, as have the Tower half-sovereigns of type 1, whereas my die no. 3, the large uncrowned bust in armour, has the wireline inner circle of the later Tower coins. The curious halves with the name of Edward on both sides are obviously mules with the obverse of die 3 and reverse from that made for die 2.

The first problem presented by these half-sovereigns and smaller 22-ct. gold coins is the reason for the use of the two series: the uncrowned profile with the name and title on the reverse and later the crowned profile with the legends arranged normally. One would like to suggest some political motive for this state of affairs such as a deliberate attempt by the Protector to belittle the importance of the king in the government of the

country, an attempt which was reversed by Edward regaining his personal power and altering the coinage by his amending order of April 1549. History, however, is silent on such a point, and in fact the explanation may be much more prosaic. In the British Museum medal collection of this reign is a medalet or pattern in gold reproducing fairly closely the uncrowned profile bust and having the legend *SCVTVM.FIDEI.* on the obverse. The reverse is plain except for the words *1547/ANNO.DE/CIMO.ETAT/IS.EIVS.* and it seems likely that this portrait with the legend was taken for the half-sovereigns in the same way as the crowned portrait and *TIMOR* legend was taken from the rose-marked pattern for the base shillings. In any case, the sovereigns and shillings of the first issue all show the royal figure properly crowned, and Edward himself referred to the uncrowned halves as his 'Edward royall'.

The second problem, already mentioned, concerns the bullion figures. According to Ethel Stokes and other authorities, Martin Bowes coined 1,287 lb. of gold during the period from 24 January 1549 to 30 June 1550, and a further 131 lb. between 1 July and 31 October 1550, or a total of 1,418 lb. Now I hope to show in articles not yet published,¹ that on the average a pair of dies for the gold coinages about this time produced 10,000 coins, though in the case of these half-sovereigns many look as though they have been struck with dies well beyond their normal tour of duty, so that 12,000 or 15,000 coins could have been produced from them. The point of this is that among the small number of sovereigns and halves I have examined, i.e. 11 and about 60 respectively, I have identified no less than 2 sovereign and 26 half-sovereign obverse dies from the Tower, omitting the Southwark dies whose output is not included in the returns, and on the conservative basis of only 10,000 coins each these dies alone would have dealt with the following weight of gold:

2 sovereign dies at 10,000 coins each	=	20,000 at 170 gr.	=	590 lb.
26 ½-sovereign dies at 10,000 coins each	=	260,000 at 86 gr.	=	3,875 lb.
Total				<u>4,465 lb.</u>

This takes no account either of the quarter- or half-quarter-sovereigns, nor of the many dies from which coins have not survived or have not been noted by me. I think therefore that a reasonable total for this coinage from the Tower would be not less than 7,000 lb. which reveals a very curious discrepancy indeed with the official figures of just over 1,400 lb.

PLATE XII

EDWARD VI BASE SHILLINGS

1. Durham House, bust no. 1. (BM).
2. Supposed Durham House shilling dated 1548. (BM).
3. Type 1, bust no. 2, erased G on reverse? (WJP).
4. „ bust no. 3. (WJP).
5. Type 2a, bust no. 4, large reverse. (BM).
6. „ shilling of Bristol. (BM).
7. Type 2b, mm. arrow b.s., bust no. 5. (WJP).
8. Type 2b/2c, shilling of Bristol. (WJP).
9. Type 2c, mm. pheon b.s., bust no. 6. (BM).
10. „ mm. pelt b.s., bust no. 6 (WJP).
11. Type 2d, mm. Y b.s., bust no. 7. (WJP).
12. Type 3, mm. lis b.s., „ (WJP).

¹ 'The Gold Coinage of Edward III' (NC), and 'The Fine Sovereigns of the Tudor Period' (this *Journal*).



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



