

I.

NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF COINING INSTRUMENTS IN THE
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By the kind permission of the Director, I was afforded facilities for examining the coining instruments in the National Museum, Edinburgh. The collection is of much value historically, while numerically it ranks in this country next to that in the Royal Mint Museum.¹ It is well known that our national records are deplorably lacking in examples of the mediæval tools used in the production of medals and coins. On this account alone, therefore, it is of special interest to find that this collection includes a coinage die of the fourteenth century, a medal die of the sixteenth century, and a considerable number of both coinage and medal dies of the seventeenth century. Fresh material is thus added to the scanty store existing for the study of the rise and development of this important branch of the fine arts.

Amongst the collection, which is mainly composed of dies prepared for use, there are also pattern dies. The latter, in addition to their special features of workmanship and design, have an attraction for the numismatist because, so far as can be ascertained, no corresponding coins or medals have as yet been recorded.

The collection contains in all 163 matrices, puncheons, and dies in great variety. For the purposes of this paper they may be divided into the following classes:

- (I.) 137 for coins.
- (II.) 11 for medals.
- (III.) 3 for tradesmen's tokens.
- (IV.) 12 sundry small punches.

COINAGE DIES.

(I.) I have placed in this group all the matrices, punches, and dies which appear to have been used or prepared for the striking of coins. Nearly the whole of the group belongs to the second coinage of Charles II. for Scotland. Of the 137 dies, 1 only is of the fourteenth century, 2 are of Queen Anne's reign, while the remaining 134 are for the

¹ I find, however, that the collection at the British Museum, including medal dies, contains, with recent additions, between 400 and 500 pieces, and therefore comes next to that at the Mint, which numbers upwards of 7000.

silver and copper coinages undertaken in the years 1675 to 1682, including pattern dies.

The oldest tool is a reverse die for striking silver pennies (fig. 1;



Fig. 1. David II. penny, reverse die or trussel.

and fig. 2, No. 1). This coining iron is about $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and of the roughly cylindrical shape usual in the upper die or trussel of the mediæval period, when the percussive blow necessary to impress the disc of silver or other metal with a copy of the engraved face of the die was delivered by means of a hammer.

The reverse of this die only records the title of the issuing sovereign, his name appearing on the obverse, to which in this case we are not able to refer. The type or device consists of a long cross pattée, the four limbs of which extend to the outer edge of the face of the die, which is 0·75 inch in diameter. There is an inner circle, 0·5 inch in diameter, which encloses four six-pointed mullets, one in each angle of the cross. Surrounding this circle is the legend SCOTORUM REX.

This form of the royal style is first found on the pennies of the second issue of Alexander III. (1279), and was continued on the coins by successive monarchs, with minor modifications. In the reign of David II. (1329-1371), moneyers were introduced into the Scottish Mint from Italy, and a marked artistic improvement is observable in the coins of this reign, analogous to the improvement which characterises contemporary English coins. This Lombardic influence is noticeable in the lettering as well as in the portraiture and the general style of the coins of David II., and constitutes a mark of identification.

From the style of the letters, this die should be assigned to the first coinage of David II. (1329-1358). Its letters, however, are clumsily formed, and the inscription is blundered. The die has not been used to strike coins, and because of the obvious errors in engraving it was probably discarded as a spoilt tool.

The circumscription is divided, according to the usage of the period, into four sections by the limbs of the cross, and its arrangement, compared with coins of David II. and with those of his predecessor, Robert Bruce, is as follows:

				?		
(1)		✠ S O	T O R	V M ✠	R E X	(Museum die.)
(2)		S O O	T O R	V M R	E X ✠	(Bruce: No. 225 in Burns.)
(3)		R E X	S O O	T O R	V M ✠	(David II.: No. 229 in Burns.)
(4)		R E X	S O O	T T O	R V M	(David II.: No. 233 in Burns.)

It will be observed that in three out of the four instances (Nos. 2-4) the inscription is divided into four equal groups of three letters each.¹ In No. 2, the coin of Bruce, the balance is obtained by adding a small cross pattée after EX; and in No. 3, the coin of David, the cross is added after VM, making the title read REX SCOTORUM ✠ instead of SCOTORUM REX ✠ as in the previous reign. In the later coins of David, two TT's were used and the cross pattée omitted to secure a symmetrical distribution of three letters in each quadrant (No. 4). SCOTTORUM is the invariable spelling on the Great Seals, but the second T was suppressed on the coins to

¹ The inscriptions are taken from the plates in vol. iii. of Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*.



Fig. 2.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. David II. long cross penny, reverse. | 8. Anne twopence, obverse. |
| 2. Charles II. dollar, obverse. | 9. Anne twopence, 1711, reverse. |
| 3. Charles II. dollar, reverse, date? | 10. Charles II. pattern reverse, 1675. |
| 4. Charles II. merk?, obverse, pattern. | 11. Charles II. twenty-merk?, pattern reverse, outline only. |
| 5. Charles II. eighth-dollar, 1675, reverse. | 12. Charles II. pattern reverse, 1675. |
| 6. Charles II. pattern twenty-merk?, obverse. | |
| 7. Charles II. quarter-dollar, obverse. | |

maintain twelve characters in all for equal subdivision when the cross pattée was included.

In the case of this die (No. 1), however, there is evidence of a cross before the S and after the M also, resulting in four letters in one of the quarters. The engraver by the addition of a horizontal stroke has produced a Lombardic E where C should be. Having regard to the frequency with which mediæval coins occur having misshapen letters and blundered inscriptions, it must stand to the credit of some unknown cuneator or moneyer that this die was not brought into use.

The M is not very distinct, but it appears to be Roman rather than Lombardic. In this respect it corresponds with the coins of Robert Bruce and with the very earliest coins of David II. From the general style, however, there is, perhaps, the greater reason for attributing the die to the latter monarch.

It appears that this trussel was discovered in the ruins called King Malcolm's Castle, in the grounds of Pittencrieff near Dunfermline. Dr Scott, in the Society's *Proceedings*,¹ assigns it to Alexander III., but he is inclined to regard it as a contemporary forgery. Opposing the theory that it was an authorised die thrown aside on account of its blunders, Dr Scott states that in such a case it would have been first defaced. This argument is of course inconclusive, since it would be impossible to establish (1) that there were no exceptions to the general rule of defacement, and (2) that this die was not one of the exceptions. Blundered dies were not only produced sometimes, but used, for many coins of most periods are extant bearing silent witness to the fallibility of die-engravers and cuneators.

On the whole, it would seem that there are good grounds for accepting this die, in spite of its faults in workmanship, as a genuine coining tool of the fourteenth century.

As already remarked, nearly the whole of these coining dies relate to the second issue of the Scottish coinage of Charles II. They range from 1675—the date of the introduction of what is usually called the silver dollar² and its parts—to 1682, and include dies for the new coinage of copper money ordered in February 1677. The matrices, puncheons, and dies are badly worn and corroded. Amounting to 134 in number, they comprise 65 for the silver coinage, 44 for the copper coinage, 21 which are indecipherable, and 4 for coins of other periods. The general shape and size of these coining instruments may be seen in the photo-

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 54. Dr Scott speaks of the engraver "cutting A for O in the same word," but I think he must mean "E for the Lombardic C."

² In the Privy Council Act referring to the coinage, the terms for the various denominations are based on the merk as the unit.

graphs reproduced with this paper, and it will be found that they correspond in these respects with contemporary tools of a similar class in use in the English and French Mints. A pair of matrices for dollars is shown in fig. 3, Nos. 1 and 2, and also impressions from two dies for dollars in fig. 2, Nos. 2 and 3.

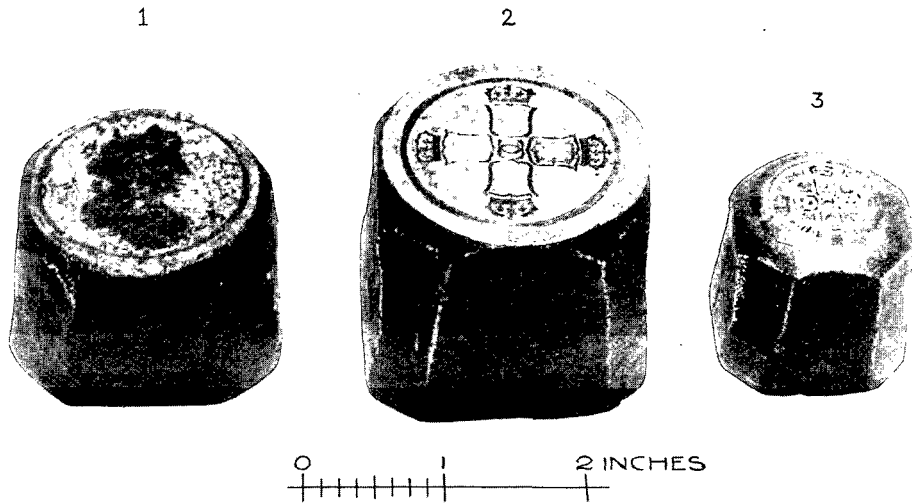


Fig. 3.

1. Charles II. dollar, obverse matrix. 2. Charles II. dollar, reverse matrix, outline only.
 3. Charles II. eighth-dollar, 1675, reverse die.

The following statement shows how the tools for the silver and copper coins are distributed under their several denominations:

Denomination.	Obverse.			Reverse.			Total.
	Matrices.	Punches.	Dies.	Matrices.	Punches.	Dies.	
Dollar, or four merks . . .	2	...	1	1	1	1	6
Half-dollar, or two merks . .	4	1	1	4	1	1	12
Quarter-dollar, or merk . . .	6	1	5	4	2	7	25
Eighth-dollar, or half-merk .	3	...	3	3	...	4	13
Sixteenth-dollar, or forty-penny piece . . .	1	...	6	2	9
Bawbee, or sixpenny piece . .	8	...	14	4	...	3	29
Bodle, turner, or twopenny piece . . .	4	...	2	7	...	2	15
Totals . . .	28	2	32	23	4	20	109

The reverse dies, bearing dates which remain legible, are as follows :

Half-dollar	1681
Quarter-dollar	1679, 1681, 1682
Eighth-dollar	1675, 1676, 1680
Sixteenth-dollar	1681
Bawbee	1679
Bodle	1677

It was a well-established Mint custom that, upon the introduction of a new coinage, the dies of the preceding type were formally defaced.¹ In view of this practice it is difficult at first sight to account for the great preponderance, in this collection, of dies appertaining to one short period only, 1675-1682, and for the entire absence of their immediate predecessors and successors.

The Scottish records relating to this period show, however, that in 1682, the latest date appearing on any of these dies, a Commission was appointed under the Great Seal to inquire into the management of the Mint and the conduct of the officers.² In consequence of the report of the Commissioners, it was ordered by royal warrant that all coinage work should cease forthwith, and that the Lord Hatton, General of the Mint, Sir John Falconer, Master of the Mint, Alexander Maitland, Warden of the Mint, and Archibald Falconer, another officer, should be removed from their respective offices and prosecuted for malversation.

It would therefore seem more than probable that the whole of the working stock of dies in the Mint at the time were impounded by the Commissioners, along with the official accounts and other items, for use as evidence in the trial of the defaulters.

A note of Cochran-Patrick³ states that, in 1862, 128 dies of Charles II. of which "there is no list extant" were presented to the National Museum of the Antiquities of Scotland by the Queen's Remembrancer. Presumably those dies are included with the ones here described. It would be interesting to learn the whereabouts of these dies between 1682 and 1862.

This silver coinage was authorised by an Act of the Privy Council

¹ See Act of Parliament of Scotland, James II. (25th Oct. 1451), c. 13.

² It may be more than a coincidence that two years before, Henry Slingsby, Master of the Tower Mint, was suspended by royal warrant, dated 9th June 1680, and a Commission was appointed to examine Mint affairs in London and to carry on the work of the department.

³ *Records of Coinage of Scotland* (1876), vol. i. p. liv.

dated 25th February 1675, in accordance with a royal warrant dated the 11th of the same month.¹ By this authority the reverse designs were to be changed. The alteration of the existing designs consisted mainly in the disposition of the royal arms upon the four shields, which were arranged cruciformly in both issues. In the earlier coinage the arrangement was as follows: the arms of Scotland were placed on the first and third shields, of France and England quarterly on the second, and of Ireland on the fourth. This was in accordance with the arrangement adopted on the Great Seals and coins of both James I. and Charles I. By the new authority the order of the shields of arms, each of which was crowned with the English crown, was to become: (1) Scotland, (2) England, (3) France, and (4) Ireland. This was analogous to the disposition introduced on the English coinage in 1663, the positions of the shields of arms of England and Scotland being relatively reversed. Apparently the change was not welcomed in Scotland, for the quarterings used by Charles I. were revived under James VII.

No mention is made in these official documents of any change to be made in the obverse of the silver coins. But a new effigy of the King, usually regarded as the work of one of the Roettiers, was certainly introduced, which faced to the left instead of to the right as upon the earlier coinage.

Coins corresponding with the dates on certain of the dies as enumerated above are known to exist, with the exception of the eighth-dollar, 1675 (fig. 2, No. 5; and fig. 3, No. 3). This was the first year of the coinage. Rare specimens of the half-dollar and the quarter-dollar of 1675 occur, but it may be presumed, either that no eighth-dollars were struck from the die or dies prepared in 1675, or that very few were issued, none of which survive.

The copper coinage of sixpenny and twopenny pieces was authorised by an Act of the Privy Council dated 27th February 1677.² The amount authorised was 3000 stone weight to be coined in three years, commencing 10th May 1677, which at the rate of two merks to the pound weight was equivalent to £64,000 in nominal value. It was part of the charge brought against the Mint officers by the Commissioners that, much to their personal advantage, they coined this "black money" to the value of £503,466 $\frac{2}{3}$, or nearly eight times the proper amount. There appears

¹ After a trial of the pyx of the money coined from 22nd July 1664 to 4th December 1673, the King wrote on 24th March 1674 to the Privy Council of Scotland, granting the officers of the Mint a "sufficient approbation and exoneration," *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*. See also Cochran-Patrick, *op. cit.*, ii. 163. Accordingly, in 1675, a new coinage followed the issue of this official quietus.

² *Register Privy Council of Scotland*, third series, vol. v. pp. 122, 123.

to have been an Act of the Privy Council directing that the coinage should cease from the 10th February 1680.¹

We now come to the dies for pattern or other coins. This division comprises two punches (an obverse and a reverse) and five matrices or dies. The obverse punch consists of a laureated bust, in profile, of Charles II., facing to the right, in mantle and armour. Its general

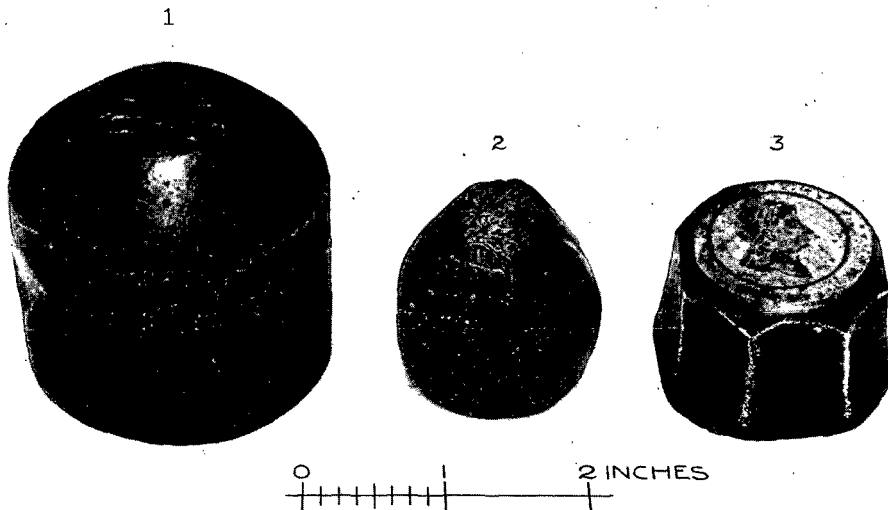


Fig. 4.

1. Charles II. pattern twenty-merk?, reverse punch, outline only.
2. Charles II. pattern merk?, obverse master puncheon.
3. Charles II. pattern twenty-merk?, obverse matrix.

appearance corresponds with the series of effigies used in the first coinage (1664-1675), while its dimensions suggest that it may have been used for the silver merk dies (fig. 2, No. 4; and fig. 4, No. 2).

The obverse matrix has a profile bust of Charles II., laureated and facing to the left, but without any inscription (fig. 2, No. 6; and fig. 4, No. 3). The neck is shown bare and not mantled. The bare-necked bust was at that period employed in many countries on gold coins as a mark of ready distinction from silver coins. This matrix is about the diameter of the English guinea, viz., 1 inch, and would therefore be of suitable proportions for the Scottish twenty-merk piece, puncheons for which

¹ *Register*, vol. vi. pp. 400, 401.

Thomas Simon was ordered to prepare in 1662. It would be gratifying to believe that this represents the work of the celebrated Simon, but it must be admitted that the fact of the bust facing to the left classes it with the second rather than with the first issue, which looked in the contrary direction. On the plate (fig. 2, Nos. 6 and 7), the two busts are placed side by side for comparison, No. 7 being an impression from a matrix for the quarter-dollar (second issue, 1675-1682).

As there were no gold coins for Scotland struck by Charles II., this matrix must be regarded as a pattern, and is on that account of much interest. It is quite probable that the reverse punch was prepared in conjunction with it for the projected gold piece. Its diameter at any rate is in favour of this theory, and the escutcheons placed crosswise associate it with the coinages of Charles II. (fig. 2, No. 11; and fig. 4, No. 1).

Two of the remaining dies possess features of special interest. Both are dated 1675, which is the year of the introduction of the new silver coinage, and two years before the copper coinage of 1677. The type of the two dies is similar, and consists of a sword and sceptre arranged in the form of a cross of St George, in the angles of which are a rose, thistle, lis, and harp respectively, each being crowned; around is the inscription MAG: BR: FRA: ET HIB: REX, with the date (fig. 2, Nos. 10 and 12; and fig. 5, Nos. 3 and 4).

The dies or matrices are 0·88 inch in diameter, which is greater than that of the bodle and less than that of the bawbee, but is near to that of the eighth-dollar. There is, however, no coin extant, so far as is known, bearing this type. Montagu mentions¹ two pattern farthings, one dated 1676, both of which have the same four symbols, arranged crosswise, but without the sword and sceptre. The inscriptions are similar, but there are four interlinked C's in the centre of the field (see Montagu's No. 33). One of the patterns Montagu himself had not seen, but noted it from a description by the Rev. Henry Christmas.

The dies from their date fall into the period when many patterns were prepared in connection with the introduction of a copper coinage in England. It is quite conceivable therefore that patterns for a similar purpose were engraved for Edinburgh. It will be remembered that a sword and sceptre in saltire formed one of the main features of the design for the copper bodle of 1677, and that the silver sixteenth-dollar in 1675 had a St Andrew's cross with the four national emblems in its angles.

A pair of dies, presented by Robert Sclater in 1865, are included in the collection. They have been described by Cochran-Patrick and

¹ *Copper, Tin, and Bronze Coinage of England*, second edition, 1893, p. 56.

Burns¹ as Maundy twopenny dies of Queen Anne, with which they correspond in general design. On investigation, however, it is found that these coining tools are undoubtedly of Scottish production, and they form the heading for a new chapter in the history of the Edinburgh Mint after the conclusion of its final coinage in 1709 (fig. 2, Nos. 8 and 9; and fig. 5, Nos. 3 and 4).

The date of the dies, 1711, places them in the period immediately

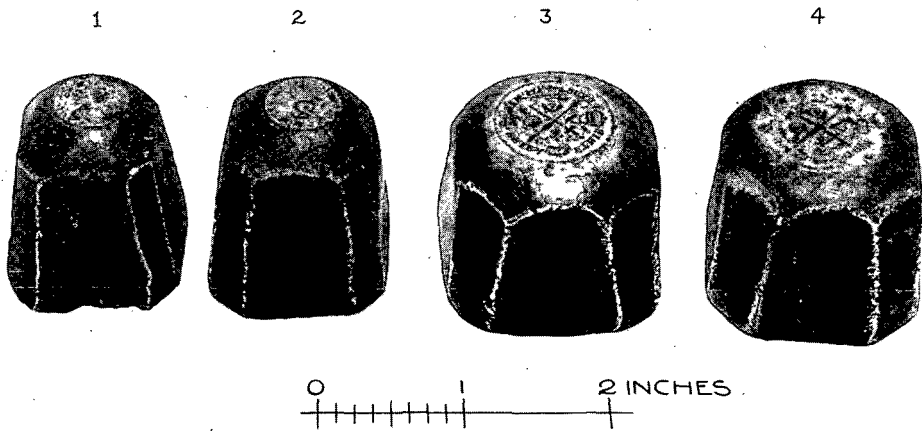


Fig. 5.

1. Anne twopence, obverse die.
2. Anne twopence, 1711, reverse die.

3. Charles II. pattern die, 1675.
4. Charles II. pattern die, 1675.

following the Act of Union, which received the royal assent on the 6th March 1707, and after the close of the great recoinage in 1709. It will be helpful in discussing their origin to state briefly some historical facts regarding the Edinburgh Mint at that time, carrying the history a little further than the point where Mr Cochran-Patrick ceased in his valuable collection of Scottish Mint records, with a view to ascertain what may be known of the work of the Mint in 1711.

After the Act of Union, arrangements were made almost immediately to withdraw the Scottish silver from circulation and to recoin it with designs identical with those in England, but having as a distinguishing mark the letter E for Edinburgh placed under the bust. Officers from the Tower Mint were sent to Edinburgh, so that the methods of coinage

¹ Cochran-Patrick, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. liv; Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 535.

and of accounting for the bullion might be co-ordinated with those of London, from whence the necessary puncheons and dies were to be supplied.

By the terms of his indenture,¹ the Master of the Scottish Mint, George Allardes (Allardice), was empowered to coin gold and silver bullion into the several species of money named in the indentures of the London Mint officers—that is, gold pieces from five guineas to half-guineas, and silver pieces from crowns to pennies. The powers relating to gold and small money were not exercised. So far as gold is concerned, a special convoy was sent from London to Edinburgh in August 1707,² while a special warrant, dated 20th June 1707, directed “Allardess” to coin crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences only.³

Specimens of these four denominations occur in numismatic cabinets, dated both 1707 and 1708, while only rare examples dated 1709 are known, and those of 1709 are confined to the half-crown and the shilling. From the evidence afforded by the dates of existing coins, the conclusion has been drawn by writers on the subject that coinage operations were in progress in the Edinburgh Mint during parts or the whole of the years 1707, 1708, and 1709.

This conclusion is now confirmed from fragmentary evidence found in the Royal Mint record books. The recoinage appears to have come to an end in the early part of 1709, for in a letter addressed to the Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, Sir Isaac Newton desired that two of the moneyers sent to Edinburgh in 1707 (the third having died meanwhile) might now return to the Tower, “the recoinage of Scottish money being now at an end.” This document was dated 14th March 1708/9, and on the same day instructions, signed by Lord Godolphin, the Lord High Treasurer, were sent to the men for their return to London.

The settlements of the accounts of the recoinage formed the subject of a series of petitions and reports which passed between the Scottish and English Mint officers and various high officers of the Crown for a lengthened period, and finally they seem to have been approved by the Queen in December 1713.⁴ In all these documents it is assumed that the recoinage was brought to a conclusion before the close of March 1709.

Another important fact bearing on our present inquiry whether the operations of the Mint were resumed in 1711 is the decease in the latter part of 1709 of the Master and Worker, George Allardes, who was the responsible officer for the actual manufacture of the coinage. There is in the Royal Mint records a copy of a letter signed by him and dated 12th September 1709; but he must have died during the succeeding three

¹ Cochran-Patrick, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 309.

² *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, cii. 113.

³ Cochran-Patrick, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 309.

⁴ *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, cxliv. 33.

months, since a formal notification of his death was sent to the Treasury Chambers on 12th January 1709/10, with a request that a trial of the pyx might be authorised for the clearance of his accounts.

By royal warrant, dated 22nd June 1710, John Montgomerie of Giffen was appointed his successor. A trial of the pyx was arranged to be held on the 21st August following. On previous occasions this ceremony had been performed by a Committee of the Privy Council in Edinburgh, but in this instance the General of the Mint and his principal officers were summoned to attend "at the house inhabited by the Usher within the Receipt of Her Majesty's Exchequer at Westminster," where the pyx of the Tower Mint would be tried simultaneously. This is the only recorded occasion when Edinburgh coins were tried in London, and the denominations of Scottish coin reported upon by the jury were only the four already named: crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences. The preceding and the succeeding trials, on the 28th July 1707 and the 7th August 1713 respectively, relate to London coins only.

The amount of silver recoined in 1707-1709 was considerable, and the coin issued in Edinburgh under the supervision of the Tower moneyers is stated officially to have been 103,346 lbs. weight of £320,372, 12s. 0d. in value, which is greater than the whole amount of silver coined in the Tower during the reign of Anne. It is generally supposed that a much greater amount was issued than the above,¹ but I have found no evidence in support of this theory.

While there is nothing in the books to indicate that coinage was resumed in Edinburgh after the trial of the pyx in 1710, there are some entries in the Royal Mint record books which throw considerable light on the origin of the dies dated 1711. There is a copy of a petition from James Clerk and Joseph Cave, conjoint engravers of the Scottish Mint, seeking payment for making puncheons for the coinage of fourpences, threepences, twopences, and pence in accordance with a royal warrant addressed to the General of the Mint. These puncheons were in addition to and apparently independent of a shilling and a sixpenny head and reverse prepared during the recoinage.² The petition was referred by Mr Lowndes, the Secretary of the Treasury, to Sir Isaac Newton and other officers of the Mint, who reported favourably upon the charges claimed for engraving, but disallowed their further claim for £90 on account of the "extraordinary trouble during the coinage."

¹ Hoblyn, in his *Milled Scottish Coins* (*Numis. Chron.*, vol. xix., new series, p. 135), states that the amount of the recoinage was £786,117, 10s. 9d., but without quoting his authority. Only the amount mentioned in the text is found in the statement produced at the trial of the pyx in 1710, and also in Mr Allardes' accounts which finally passed the Privy Seal at the close of 1713.

² Copies of these papers are subjoined, in which the claims are made separately, showing that the two services were distinct (pp. 330-332).

There are two conspicuous facts substantiated by these documents. First, we find indubitable evidence that during the recoinage, 1707-1709, in addition to the dies received from London, new dies were engraved by the engravers in Edinburgh for the shilling and the sixpence. Through the observations of Hoblyn and others made on the coins themselves, varieties in the effigies of these two denominations, but especially of the shillings, have been placed on record, while no corresponding differences have been noted on crowns and half-crowns.

This accredited statement that special dies were engraved in Edinburgh for the shilling and sixpence at once suggests an alluring hypothesis in connection with the long-standing numismatic puzzle to account for the presence of a star alongside of the E below the bust on some of the Edinburgh shillings dated 1707, 1708, and 1709, as well as on some of the sixpences dated 1708, if not 1709. Were not the pieces bearing the E and star struck from the dies engraved locally? At any rate, though not proved, this theory that the star was used as a mark of distinction between dies is *primâ facie* more probable than the suggestion that it indicated a difference in standard as compared with coins bearing E only,¹ since in the latter case the star would be a bold advertisement of a serious breach of indenture.²

Burns records three varieties of head on the Edinburgh shillings, two of which correspond with two varieties found on English shillings. He says: "A third head appears to be peculiar to the Edinburgh shillings. This head seems to be met with only on the shillings with the E and a star, and only on those of the dates 1708 and 1709." But with regard to the sixpences, he does not note any varieties of head whatever. This absence of discernible distinction in the case of the sixpence, however, may very well be due to the comparative smallness of the head, and to the great difficulty of detecting minor differences in portraiture on small coins, which are usually badly worn by circulation. At all events, it must be admitted that the sixpence does not afford any positive evidence. And, on the whole, while there is much to commend this hypothetical explanation of the presence of the mullet, it cannot, up to the present, be said to be established beyond question.

¹ Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 533.

² After these notes were set up in type, I had the great pleasure of finding that Miss Helen Farquhar, who, by her indefatigable researches has contributed so much to the solution of so many numismatic problems of the Stuart period, had in a recent paper arrived at a similar conclusion to the one expressed above regarding the significance of the five-pointed star found upon certain Edinburgh shillings and sixpences. From the study of collateral evidence derived from *Treasury Papers*, Miss H. Farquhar also inclines to the belief that this star distinguishes the coins struck from the puncheons and dies engraved in Edinburgh by Clerk and Cave (*British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x., 1914, pp. 233-239). And until some contemporary witness can be cited which definitely assigns another meaning to this mint-mark, the suggested explanation may be accepted as having the balance of probabilities strongly in its favour.

Secondly, bearing on our present inquiry, we find from the engravers' claim that dies were prepared in Edinburgh, judging by the date of the dies and of the petition, in 1711 for each of the four small denominations commonly described as Maundy coins. This work was undertaken, as already stated, in obedience to a royal warrant directed to the General of the Mint. In the absence of a copy of this warrant the reason for this preparatory measure can only be surmised. It may safely be assumed that after the comparatively large coinage in the greater denominations, a necessity would automatically arise in Scotland for small change. But if a scheme was projected for a supplementary coinage to meet this demand it does not appear to have been carried into effect. Whatever the object, however, we have this pair of the twopenny dies as evidence of the work for which Clerk and Cave were paid in 1712.

Previous reference has been made to these dies by Mr James Wingate in 1869, in a short note of his in the *Numismatic Chronicle* on a "Pattern Maundy groat in copper of Anne, E1711."¹ There was also a similar impression in silver in the Richardson collection. This pattern groat is clearly from the companion dies to those for the twopence. But they have no title to be described as dies for Maundy coins. Indeed we cannot imagine preparation for such an issue in Edinburgh by Queen Anne. And it was only in the absence of the documentary evidence to the contrary now adduced that Burns concluded that the dies and the impressions dated 1711 were not of Edinburgh.²

There were at this juncture considerable changes in the personnel of the Mint, and this circumstance strengthens the conclusion that no actual coinage took place after 1709. Apart from less responsible officers, we find that the General, John, Earl of Lauderdale, was succeeded after his death by John, Lord Balmerinoch, his commission being dated 17th February 1711.³ Shortly after, he, in turn, was succeeded by Alexander, Earl of Home, whose commission passed the Great Seal on 19th November 1712.⁴ In the case of the Mastership, although John Montgomerie, as already noted, was appointed, in succession to George Allardes, by commission dated 22nd June 1710, his indenture was not confirmed until 3rd April 1712.⁵ Presumably this delay in the indenture of the Master and Worker for nearly two years after his appointment.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, new series, vol. ix. p. 215.

² Burns, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 535.

³ *Register of Great Seal*, vol. xv. p. 455.

⁴ *Reg. Great Seal*, vol. xvi. p. 51. The Earl of Home was followed on 19th November 1714 by Charles, Earl of Lauderdale.

⁵ *Reg. Great Seal*, vol. xvi. p. 15. I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr G. A. J. Lee, the Deputy Keeper of the Records, for these references to the Great Seal papers.

was owing to the fact that the clearance of the accounts of his predecessor was held in abeyance, pending their scrutiny in London.

It is interesting to note that Montgomerie was empowered by his indenture to coin eight species of money, from the crown piece to the penny, its terms in this respect corresponding with those of Allardes' indenture. But there can be no relation between this authority and the preparation of the dies for the small money by the engravers, as their work preceded the date of the indenture, and was undertaken, as has been shown, in accordance with a special royal warrant to the General, which it is hoped may be some day brought to light.

PUNCHEONS AND DIES FOR MEDALS.

(II.) The dies hitherto described have been mainly of historical interest as coinage records, and, so far as technique is concerned, the engraving of nearly all of them is extremely poor in execution. The class we now approach has value of another order. In these few examples we are able to study the craftsmanship of the steel-engravers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries direct from the burin, and not in a medium of one or more removes from the original, as we must do in medals. Puncheons for portrait medals invariably exhibit work in higher relief than those employed for coinage, and these specimens are specially valuable to this extent. It is easily understood that in preparing for medals of which comparatively few copies are required, the art of the engraver is not restricted in the composition and relief of a design by the necessity of making dies which are suitable for striking large numbers of coins with a minimum of labour.

The obverse die of the Guidiccioni medal, belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century, is perhaps the first in importance in the Edinburgh collection. The period of its origin is notable in the history of numismatic art, since mechanical means then began to be used in the production of medals. Da Vinci and Cellini were among the earliest artists of renown who employed a form of screw-press for striking medals between dies in substitution for the more tedious process of casting them in moulds. Though speedily adopted in France and Germany, it was in Italy that this method originated of rapidly and effectively multiplying replicas of the die-engraver's art.¹

There is good reason for believing that this die was produced in Italy before the middle of the sixteenth century, and therefore in the earliest days of the screw-press. In shape it is cylindrical, and measures 1.625 inch in diameter, and half an inch in thickness (fig. 6). Subsequently, such

¹ *Num. Chron.*, fourth series, vol. ix. pp. 56-76.

dies were made much thicker, being increased to 2 inches and more to suit more powerful presses, as may be seen in the treatises of Boizard and Rochon. But the reverse matrix of the Coronation medal of Charles II. by Simon, which is in the Royal Mint Museum,¹ approximates to the dimensions of the Italian die. It is, however, square and not circular in shape, its measurements being 1·85 inch square and half an inch in thickness.

The portrait is engraved in intaglio upon the face of the die, with the inscription IOANNES GUIDICIONVS, and is enclosed within a border of pearls



Fig. 6. Guidiccioni die (sixteenth century).

or dots of regular size. It presents, facing to the left, a bearded bust in a biretta. The artist, who is unknown, has depicted a person of pleasing expression with much latent strength of character. The modelling and engraving of his subject display delicacy of touch and charm of rendering, and the die is altogether an admirable example of Italian art (fig. 7, No. 1).

Not a great deal appears to be known of Guidiccioni, and nothing which would connect him with Scottish history. He was Bishop of Fossombrone in the Marches near Pesaro in 1524. He was in the service of Cardinal Farnese (who became Pope Paul III. in 1535), and afterwards was made Governor of Rome. He went on an embassy to the Emperor Charles V., and accompanied him on an expedition to Tunis. Further, he is said to have been a poet of considerable merit. He died in 1541.

¹ *Royal Mint Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 192, No. 4.

An illustration of a medal bearing this bust of Guidiccioni is to be found in vol. i. of the *Museum Mazzuchellianum*, P. A. Gaetani (Venice, 1761), tab. lxvi. 1.¹ On the reverse side of the medal illustrated, Neptune in his chariot is represented subduing the turbulent winds of Æolus, in

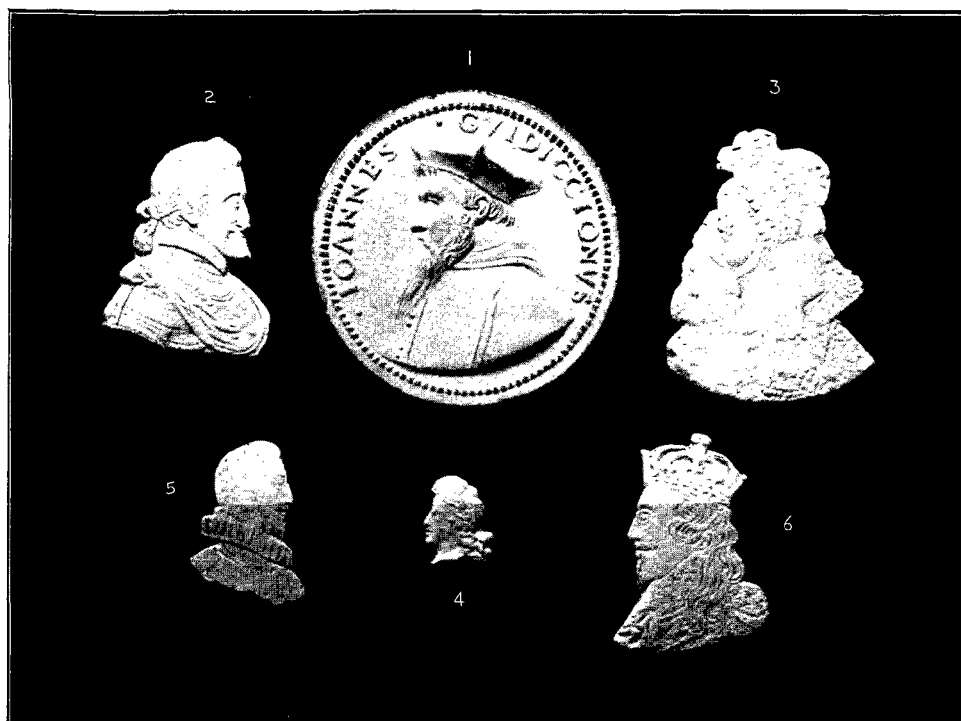


Fig. 7.

1. Joannes Guidiccionus (died 1541).
2. Henry IV. of France (reigned 1589-1610).
3. Marie de Médicis (born 1573, died 1642).
4. Louis XIV. of France, or James, Prince of Wales.
5. Charles I.
6. Charles I. (crowned effigy).

allusion to the successful measures of Guidiccioni in 1539 in quelling political strife in the province of Flaminia.

There are five puncheons evidently prepared for portrait medals. They are without the inscriptions which, following the customary practice, would be placed on the dies when sunk from them. In the

¹ See also *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, Armand, second edition, 1883, p. 154, No. 15. Mr G. F. Hill, Keeper of the Coin and Medal Department, British Museum, kindly furnished me with this reference.

absence of such dies, or medals from them, the attributions that follow must be regarded as suggestive only. The puncheons are, on the whole, in a state of good preservation, and they all attain a high standard in the best class of die engraving.

Two of them appear to be of French origin, and possess a profusion of detail, which is rendered with richness and elegance. The laureated bust to the right in armour is certainly that of Henry IV. of France

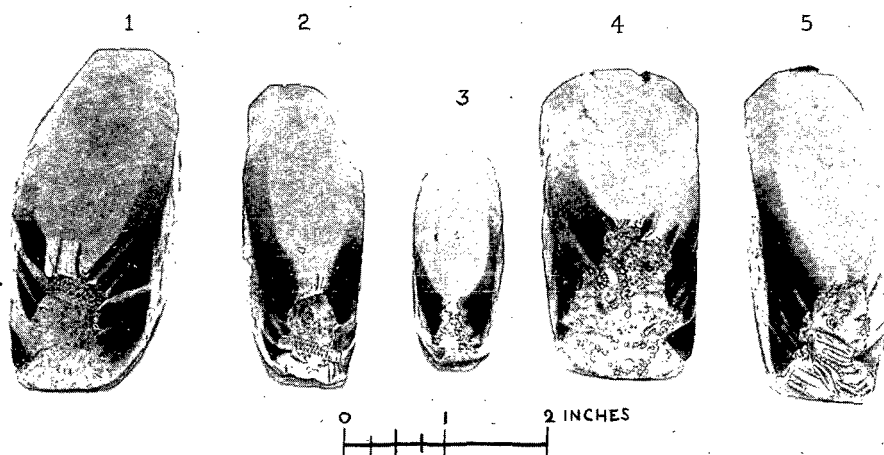


Fig. 8.

1. Charles I. punch (crowned effigy).
2. Charles I. punch.
3. Louis XIV., or James, Prince of Wales, punch.
4. Marie de Médicis punch.
5. Henry IV. of France punch.

(1589-1610); while the crowned bust to the right, with the highly ornamental lace collar and bodice, is certainly a portrait of his queen, Marie de Médicis. There is a medal of hers, dated 1613, in the National Collection at Paris,¹ the bust on which bears an unmistakable resemblance to this puncheon (fig. 7, Nos. 2 and 3; and fig. 8, Nos. 4 and 5).

The small head looking to the left, with long flowing hair, may be Louis XIV. of France, or James, Prince of Wales (fig. 7, No. 4; and fig. 8, No. 3).

The remaining two puncheons have been assigned to Charles I.

¹ *Les Médailles de l'ancienne collection royale*, Paris, 1900, pl. iv., No. 20.

The bare-headed bust to the right with ruff (fig. 7, No. 5; and fig. 8, No. 2) may be compared with the medals illustrated in the *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*.¹ The bust to the left with lace collar is wearing the English, and not the Scottish crown (fig. 7, No. 6; and fig 8, No. 1). In this respect, but in this only, it resembles what is known as the rare variety of the Scottish coronation medals, 1633.² The style of the busts on both varieties of the coronation medals differs from this puncheon. Nevertheless, it may, like them, be the work of the celebrated engraver, Nicholas Briot.

In passing, and with reference to these two varieties of coronation medals, one of which is very rare, I do not remember to have seen the rarity of the one case attributed to the fact that on a medal to commemorate the Scottish coronation the King is depicted with an English crown. The commoner variety bears the correct form of crown, the inference being that the first medal was suppressed for this reason.

This explanation is only tentatively suggested, for it may be alleged, on the other hand, that the English crown was placed on the effigy of Charles II. on the medal commemorating his coronation at Scone in 1651, as well as on the counter-seal of his Scottish Great Seal of 1660.³

Four dies included with this group are more modern, and are of no artistic merit. Two of them are for striking medals of the Beggars' Benison Club of Anstruther in Fife. This club was founded about the middle of the eighteenth century, and the medals are mentioned by Colonel Fergusson in his *Life of Henry Erskine*.⁴ He says: "The price of the medal in gold was five (guineas). These medals, the designs of which are classical, it is understood, have attracted considerable attention from those interested in numismatics by reason of their beautiful workmanship." But not everyone would agree with Colonel Fergusson as to either the beauty or the good taste of the medals (fig. 9, Nos. 2 and 3).

The oval reverse die is for the commoner of these medals, which is of a similar design, but is without a local inscription (fig. 9, No. 1). A fourth reverse die is for a smaller variety of the Anstruther medal (fig. 9, No. 4).

The medals are fully described by Cochran-Patrick,⁵ except that he does not mention the small variety (No. 4).

¹ Vol. i. p. 256, pl. xxi. 2, *et al.*

² *Med. Illus.*, vol. i. p. 265, pl. xxii. 2. Cochran-Patrick, *Medals of Scotland*, p. 19, pl. ii. 2, Nos. 5, 6.

³ Anderson, *Diplomatium et Numismatum Scotie Thesaurus*, Edinburgh, 1739.

⁴ *The Hon. Henry Erskine, Lord Advocate for Scotland, with notices of certain of his kinsfolk and of his time*, by Lieut.-Col. Alexander Fergusson, Edinburgh, 1883.

⁵ *Medals of Scotland*, p. 172, pl. xxxiii.



Fig. 9.

1. Beggars' Benison medal (oval form).
2. Beggars' Benison medal, obverse.
3. Beggars' Benison medal, reverse.
4. Beggars' Benison medal (small variety).
5. Dundee tradesman's token, halfpenny, 1797, obverse.
6. Perth tradesman's token, halfpenny, 1797, obverse.
7. Dundee tradesman's token, halfpenny, 1797, reverse.

TRADESMEN'S TOKEN DIES.

(III.) These three dies are reminiscent of the large issues of copper tokens for minor currency purposes which were made by tradesmen

and others at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. These tokens were without legal sanction, but were nevertheless freely accepted in the transactions of local trade and commerce. Many thousands of varieties were put into circulation, mainly by individual enterprise, proceeding from most of the important trading towns and manufacturing centres in the three kingdoms. In 1817 an Act of Parliament was passed (57 Geo. III., c. 46) which pro-

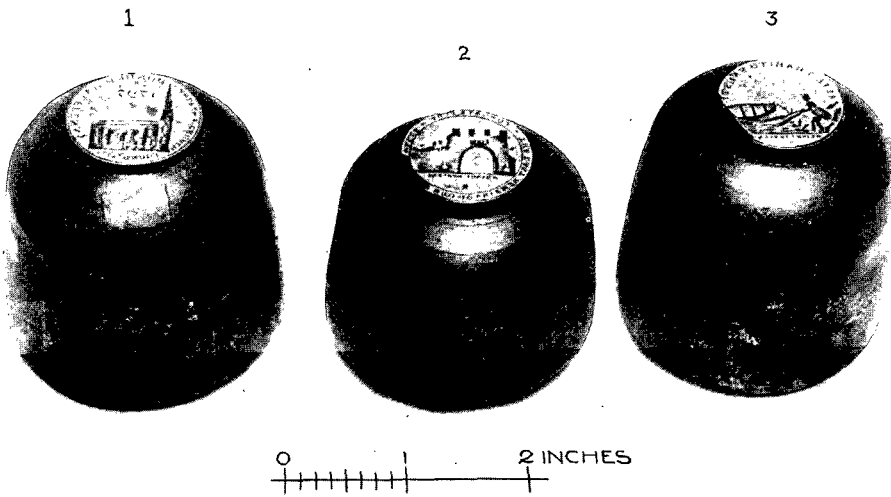


Fig. 10.

1. Dundee halfpenny, 1797, obverse die.
2. Dundee halfpenny, 1797, reverse die.
3. Perth halfpenny, 1797, obverse die.

hibited the manufacture and circulation of private tokens, and imposed heavy penalties for any infringement of its provisions. This measure, coupled as it was with a liberal supply of subsidiary currency, was effectual in suppressing these private coinages.

Two of the three dies form the obverse and the reverse of a Dundee halfpenny, 1797 (fig. 9, Nos. 5 and 7; and fig. 10, Nos. 1 and 2), while the other is the obverse of a Perth halfpenny of the same date (fig. 9, No. 6; and fig. 10, No. 3).

On the obverse of the Dundee token there is a view of St Andrew's Church, which was founded in 1772; and on the reverse is a representa-

tion of the ruins of Cowgate Port, with the inscription, THE LAST REMAINS OF OUR ANCIENT WALLS.¹ On the Perth halfpenny a man is depicted dragging a fishing net ashore, the boat being drawn up on the beach. The inscription is RETE TRAHITO FAUSTE. There is no die for the reverse, but the design consists of a view of the Tay Bridge, which was finished in 1770, and of the arms with motto of Perth.² The token from this die was lettered on the edge PAYABLE ON DEMAND BY JOHN FERRIER.

In the exergue of the dies are the words WRIGHT JUNR. DES. This indicates that they were designed, though not cut, by James Wright, junior, of Dundee, a noted coin-collector of the time. He took an active and zealous part in supporting and spreading the issue of private tokens, in silver as well as in copper. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1796, writing as "Civis," he, with more enthusiasm than justice, compared his times with the Grecian age when every city issued its own coins. Wright also wrote introductions to two contemporary handbooks on coins, viz., Conder's *Provincial Tokens*, and Denton's *Virtuoso's Companion*.

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS.

(IV.) This class comprises sundry small punches and tools which were used by the engraver in the preparation of various dies. Whatever small interest they possess is purely technical, and does not call for special remark.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS AT THE ROYAL MINT.

To the Right Hon^{ble} Rob^t Earle of Oxford
L^d high Treasurer of Great Britain.

The Petition of James Clerk, and Joseph Cave conjunct Engravers
of her Maj^{ty} Mint in Scotland

Humbly Sheweth,—

That your Petitioners at the time of the ReCoining in Scotland did by order of the Master and Worker make One Shilling Head and Reverse, one Six penny Head and Reverse, and by virtue of a Warr^t from her Maj^{ty} directed to the General of the s^d Mint they have since made Puncheons and letters for Small Coine, viz. Four pence, Three pence, Two pence and One penny, having only a Sallary of £50 a year as Sinkers, and no allowance as Gravers.

¹ See Atkins, *Tokens of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 296, No. 16.

² Atkins, *op. cit.*, p. 324, No. 1.

That they have received no paym^t for their Extraordinary trouble during the great coynage as has been allowed to the other Officers.

That there is owing to them on the above Accounts and for Mr Cave's charges in attendance as by Schedule annexed the sum of £210.

Wherefore they humbly pray your Lordship to give such directions for payment thereof as your Lordship in your great Wisdom and Goodness shall think fitt, and your petitioners shall ever pray &c.

For the Shilling Head and Reverse	£30
Six penny Head and Reverse	20
The four pence, three pence, two pence, and one penny Heads and Reverses with letters	70
Their extraordinary trouble during the coynage	60
Mr Cave's charges and attendance	30
	<hr/>
	<u>£210</u>

WHITEHALL TREASURY CHAMBERS,
7th Jan. 1711.

The Right Honorable the Lord high Treasurer of Great Britain is pleased to referr this Petition to the Warden Master and Worker and Comptroller of her Maj^{ty} Mint, who are to consider the same and report to his Lordship with all convenient Speed a true State of the matter therein contained together with their Opinion what is fit to be done therein.

W^m LOWNDES.

Clerke and Cave referred to Officers of the Mint.

To the R^t Hon^{ble} the Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer
Lord High Trearer of Great Britaine.

May it please Your Lordship,—

In Obedience to Your Lordships Orders of Reference of the 7th of January last upon the Annexed peticon of M^r James Clerk and M^r Joseph Cave Conjunct Engravers of Her Maj^{ty} Mint in Scotland craving an allowance for making puncheons for the Use of that Mint; We humbly Represent to Your Lordship that We have considered the Same, and finding that they are only allowed a Salary of £50 p. ann. between them for Sinking and finishing of Dyes, and have no allowance for puncheons We are humbly of Opinion they be allowed for their Work of this kind after the following rates, Viz^t

For the Shilling head and Reverse fifteen pounds; for the Sixpenny Head and Reverse Ten pounds (which were the Rates allowed to the

Gravers of the Mint in the Tower for the like puncheons made by them for the late Recoinage of the Moneys in Scotland) Also for the four penny Head and Reverse Eight pounds; for the Three penny head and Reverse Seven pounds; for the Two penny head and Reverse Six pounds, and for the penny head and Reverse four pounds in all Fifty pounds.

As for the Extraordinary trouble of the Officers of that Mint during the Recoinage, We humbly Certifye to Your Lordship that we have hitherto reported no Allowance, and that We find that Mr Cave's attendance was without Order and Voluntary.

All w^{ch} is most humbly Submitted to your Lords^{ps}
great Wisdom.

MINT OFFICE, *the 16th July 1712.*