Francis Pierrepont Barnard,
NUMISMATA CROMWELLIANA:

OR,

THE MEDALLIC HISTORY

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL

Illustrated by his Coins, Medals, and Seals.

BY

HENRY WILLIAM HENFREY,

AUTHOR OF "A GUIDE TO ENGLISH COINS,"


London:

JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE, W.

1877.

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TO

THE MOST HONOURABLE

The Marquis of Ripon, K. G.

The Eminent Statesman,

The Patron of Archæology and Art,

And a Descendant of the Cromwell Family,

This Work is,

By His Permission,

Respectfully Dedicated.
P RE F A C E.

IN the present work, a complete historical description of all the Coins, Medals, and Pattern Pieces of Oliver Cromwell (himself a coin-collector), is attempted for the first time. Vertue, Snelling, Folkes, and Ruding have all left but very imperfect notes and sketches of Cromwellian numismatics, and the late Mr. Hawkins never published anything on the subject; so that many vexed questions have not hitherto been thoroughly discussed.

In the following pages Oliver's Coins, Medals, and Seals are all carefully described, and the history of each piece given, as far as it is now possible to ascertain it. In Chapters III. and IV. will be found a full account of the Coins made in 1656—1658. The Author having personally searched all the State Papers of the period, now preserved in the Public Record Office, London, as well as the manuscripts, books, and pamphlets of the same period, preserved in the British Museum, has been enabled to print for the first time a large number of documents and entries relating to Cromwell's Coins and Seals, which throw great light on their history, and supply facts which were quite unsuspected by previous numismatic writers. With regard to
the coins dated 1656, it is shown—where the bullion they were made of came from, how they were coined, who by, and in what place, and the quantity made, with a detailed description of the various denominations.

A concise history of Peter Blondeau, and his work in England, will be found in Chapter III., whence it will be seen that Simon only engraved the dies, while Blondeau performed all the other processes of making the beautiful coins of Oliver.

With regard to the interesting question whether the coins bearing Cromwell's head were ever current, the reader is referred to pages 150 et seq., where he will find, given in full, the reasons why the Author is inclined to think that they were in circulation for a brief period.

All the Pattern Pieces of Oliver, both gold and silver, will be found carefully distinguished and described in Chapters III. and IV. After a minute examination of the original steel dies and punches of Cromwell's coins, both those made by Simon and those executed by Tanner (which are now in the Royal Mint, London), the Author has ventured to suggest a new theory, viz:—that all the gold and silver pieces of Oliver that have not "&c." in the obverse legend were struck by Tanner in the reign of George II., although he used the original punches of Simon in making the dies (see pages 137 et seq.).

On pages 118 to 123 is a description of the Trial of the Pix that took place in 1657, with copies of documents from the records in the Royal Mint, taken by kind permission of the Deputy-Master, the Hon. C. W. Fremantle.
Preface.

In the account of the Pattern Farthings of Oliver (pages 154 to 158), the Author has offered a new suggestion as to who made them. A variety of one farthing, hitherto undescribed, is also noticed.

The Medals have been fully described; and, in the plates, representations are given of several pieces never before engraved.

Chapter VI. gives the result of the Author's researches concerning the Seals of the Protector. The State Papers in the London Record Office, and the Manuscripts and Seals in the British Museum have been laid under contribution, and Mr. Thomas Dickson has obligingly searched the Scottish Records.

No trouble has been spared in endeavouring to collect as much information as possible on the subject of the work; all the best cabinets of coins, both public and private, have been examined for their Cromwellian pieces, and the results embodied in their proper places throughout the book.

The Plates (which give, by means of permanent photography, absolutely correct representations of almost all Cromwell's Coins, Medals, and Seals), have been executed by the Autotype Company, from very accurate casts made from the originals by Mr. Robert Ready. A few seals, which were too much damaged to be photographed successfully, are reproduced by means of wood-engraving.

Apologies are due to the original subscribers to this work for the length of time which has elapsed between the publica-
tion of the first and the issue of the last part. The delay has been chiefly caused by a long and serious illness, which for the time prevented the Author from attending to the book at all.

In conclusion, the Author desires to express his most sincere thanks to the numerous gentlemen, both private collectors and curators of museums, who have favoured him with detailed descriptions of Cromwellian pieces, or allowed him to examine their collections. At the same time, he desires to intimate that any further communications of new or remarkable coins, medals, or seals of Oliver Cromwell, will be gratefully acknowledged if addressed to him, care of the Publisher.
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TO DECEMBER, 1653.
NUMISMATA CROMWELLIANA,

or the Medallic History of

Oliver Cromwell.

CHAPTER I.

THE DUNBAR MEDALS.

The Numismatic History of Oliver Cromwell commences with the Battle of Dunbar, on the 3d of September, 1650. For a full and clear description of this memorable victory we cannot do better than refer the reader to Thomas Carlyle’s *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*. There he will also find printed the letter of Oliver himself, addressed to the Hon. William Lenthal, Speaker of the Parliament of England, and dated the day after the Battle, the 4th of September, 1650. This rather lengthy epistle was first published in the contemporary newspaper *Severall Proceedings in Parliament*, under the date of September 8th, on which day probably it was read before the House. See *Cromwelliana*, pp. 87 to 91. From this account we learn, that Cromwell, with an army of scarcely eleven thousand men, totally routed the Scotch force of twenty-two thousand under General David Lesley. Three thousand of the enemy were slain on the spot, and the prisoners numbered ten thousand more, while the Parliament lost not thirty men. Captured, to use Oliver’s own words: “all their train, about thirty guns great and small, besides bullet, match and powder, very considerable Officers, about two-hundred colours, above ten-thousand arms.”—*Letter to his brother* Richard Mayor, Esq., 4th September, 1650.

Two days after the receipt of these great news the House of Commons made a resolution, important to our Medallic History, that Medals should be given to the officers and soldiers engaged in this service in Scotland. This is the first instance in English History where the same medal was distributed to officers and men alike, as is our present practice; and it was never done again.
by the Supreme Authority until the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, when a
general distribution of silver medals to every man present at the action, was
authorized by the Sovereign's command. Many medals were, from much
earlier times than Dunbar up to the date of Waterloo, struck as merely
commemorative of great events, and a few were presented during this period
to officers of high rank, captains, and commanders of successful expeditions;
but in the whole space of our history preceding the Battle of Waterloo, the
Commonwealth with its Dunbar Medals stands alone in the instance of its
liberal gift of medals to be worn as personal decorations by every man of
every grade of the army.

The Order is thus recorded in the Journals of the House of Commons,
vol. vi., page 465 —

"Die Martis, 10 Septembris, 1650.

"Ordered,

"That it be referred to the Committee of the Army, to consider what
Medals may be prepared, both for Officers and Soldiers, that were in this
Service in Scotland; and set the Proportions and Values of them, and their
Number; and present the Estimate of them to the House."

Besides ordering an Estimate, the Parliament sent to Edinburgh an
Official Medallist to take the Effigies, Portrait, or Statue—as it is variously
called—of the Lord General, to be placed upon the Medals. This Thomas
Symonds, Symons, or Simon as it is now spelt, was, on the 25th April, 1649,
appointed sole Chief Engraver to the Mints and Seals, but as we intend to
give a detailed account of his Life further on in our work, we will leave him
for the present.

Fortunately for our object, there has been published a very interesting
and characteristic letter of Oliver relating to this journey of Simon from
London to Edinburgh. It is dated from the latter place on the 4th of Feb-
uary, 1650-1, and addressed to the Committee of the Army at London.
Where the original manuscript is now preserved, we have not been able to
discover, after many enquiries. In 1772 it was in the possession of James
Lamb, Esq. of Fairford, Gloucestershire; in 1780 it belonged to John Ray-
mond, Esq. of the same place. But here all further trace is lost.

This letter was printed first in the Appendix to Harris's Life of Oliver
Cromwell, 1st edition, London 1761, page 519 (2nd edit. 1772, pp. 538-9),
and again by R. Gough in his edition, the second, of George Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, London 1780, page 74*. We reprint from Gough's version, as although differing slightly in orthography from Harris's copy, it appears to have been carefully collated with the original manuscript, and to be therefore more accurate—

"For ye Honble the Committee for the army these.

Gentl.

It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey about a business importinge so little as far as it relates to me, when as if my poore opinion may not be rejected by you, I have to offer to that wth I thinke the most noble end, to wit the comemoracon of that great mercie at Dunbar, & the gratuitie to the Army, wth might better be expressed upon the meddal by engraving as on the one side the parliam*t wth I heare was intended & will do singularly well, so on the other side an Army wth this inscription over the head of it, The Lord of Hosts, wth was o' word that Day; wherefore if I may begg it as a favo'r from you I most earnestly beseech you if I may do it wthout offence that it may be see, & if you thinke not fitt to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see Cause, only I doe thinke I may truely say it wil be verie thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will spare the having my Effigies in it.

The Gentlemans paynes & trouble hither have been verie great, & I shall make it my second suite unto you that you will please to Conferr upon him that imploym*t in yo'r service wth Nicholas Briott had before him, indeed the man is ingenious and worthie of incouragem*t. I may not presume much, but if at my request & for my sake he may obtayne this favo'r, I shall putt it upon the acount of my obligacons wth are not a few, & I hope shal be found readie gratefully to acknowledge & to approve myself,

Gentl.

Yo'r most reall serv't,

O. CROMWELL.

Edinburgh, 4th of Feb. 1650.

In the original, Gough says that the name of Nicholas Briot is inserted in another hand.
This letter is also printed in Appendix ii. pp. 234, 235, vol. ii. of "The Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards. By Colonel Mac Kinnon." 2 vols, 8vo, London 1833. It will also be found, with the spelling and punctuation modernized, in Mr. Carlyle's Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, vol. ii. pp. 109, 110, of the 1st edition, 1845. Both are taken from the above mentioned Life by Harris.

As we shall presently see when we come to the description of the medals, Oliver's suggestions concerning their design were all carried out, with the exception that the Parliament were resolved to have his bust upon them. The House of Commons sitting, a view of the Army in the Battle, with the word of the day The Lord of Hosts, are all there, in addition to a life-like portrait of the General. His recommendation of Simon to the place of Briot, was also adopted.

Nicholas Briot was a foreign artist, a native of Lorraine, and sometime Graver-general of the Monies in France. Quitting that kingdom in disgust at the treatment he received, he offered his services to King Charles I., who immediately gave him great encouragement. Charles established him in the Mint at the Tower in 1628, and afterwards granted to him, upon the 27th of January, 1633, the office of one of the Chief Engravers of the Irons for the Mint in the Tower of London, during pleasure. See Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, 3rd edition 1840, vol. i. page 385, and Hawkins's Silver Coins of England, 1841, p. 164. Mr. Carlyle remarks "We may subjoin, rather than cancel, the following authentic particulars. In the Commons Journals of 20th August, 1642, it is: 'Ordered, That the Earl of Warwick, now Admiral of our Fleet, be desired that Monsieur Bryant may have delivery of his wearing apparel; and all his other goods stayed at Scarborough, not belonging to Minting and Coining of Monies.'—This Nicholas Briot, or Bryant, then, must have been Chief Engraver for the Mint at the beginning of the Civil Wars. We perceive, he has gone to the King northward; but is here stopt at Scarborough, with all his baggage, by Warwick the Lord High Admiral; and is to get away. What became of him afterwards, or what was his history before, no man and hardly any Dilettante knows."—Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, 1st edition 1845, vol. ii. pp. 110, 111.

However, Horace Walpole, in his Anecdotes of Painting, makes the following statement, on what authority we do not know, though to judge by
The Dunbar Medals.

the passage just quoted from the Commons Journals, it seems extremely probable:— “Briot returned to France about 1642, having formed that excellent scholar Thomas Simon.” See Horace Walpole’s Works, edition of 1798, vol. iii. page 179. George Vertue, in his Works of Thomas Simon, 1st edition 1753, pp. 60, 61, says that Briot returned to France in 1646, but the last figure is probably a misprint, as Briot appears to have gone to France from Scarborough in 1642.

To return to the Dunbar Medals. Mr. Carlyle mentions “an Order, in favour of one whose name has not reached the Clerk, and is now indicated only by stars, That the Council of State shall pay him for ‘making the Statue of the General,’—doubtless this Medal or Effigies of the General; the name indicated by stars being again that of Symonds. The Order, we observe, has the same date as the present Letter (Commons Journals, 4 February, 1650-1).” See Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, 1st edition 1845, vol. ii. page 111.

It is now time that we should give the reader some idea of the Medals themselves. There are three varieties: one of a large size with a design on both obverse and reverse; a second smaller in size with both obverse and reverse; and a third the same size as the second, but with a plain reverse.

Medal No. I.—Obverse, a profile bust of the General, Oliver Cromwell, to the left, bare-headed, and in armour with slight drapery. Under the shoulder is the artist’s name in small letters, THO. SIMON. FR., for “Thomas Simon fecit.” On either side of the bust a view of the Battle of Dunbar is seen in the distance. The legend over the head—

WORLD AT OVERT.

THE LORD OF HOSTS.

SEPTE.

1650.

Reverse, a view of the House of Commons sitting. No legend or inscription on this side. Oval, size 1.35 by 1.1 inches.

This Medal no. 1 is rather common in silver, and sometimes occurs in copper; there is a proof in the British Museum, struck from the same dies upon a circular piece of lead 1.75 inches diameter.

Representations, more or less accurate, will be found engraved in—


Vertue remarks that the bust on this medal has a great resemblance to a portrait of Oliver by Walker, done about the same time. Horace Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, thus mentions this artist, "Robert Walker, a portrait painter, contemporary with Vandyck, but most remarkable for being the principal painter employed by Cromwell, whose picture he drew more than once."—*Works*, 1798, vol. iii. p. 278. Walpole then enumerates four of these pictures, and their possessors.

The obverse legend gives the "word of the day," as Oliver mentions in his Edinburgh letter printed above, and also in the long letter giving the account of the Battle: "The enemies word was 'the Covenant,' which it had been for divers dayes. Ours, 'the Lord of Hosts.'"—See Letter to the Hon. W. Lenthall, 4th September, 1650.

The representation of the House of Commons on the reverse, is a minute reproduction of the design, by the same artist Thomas Simon, on the Great Seal of the Parliament 1648, and also on the Great Seal of England 1651. The small size of the numerous figures on this medal is very extraordinary, but much more so on our next medal, No. II., which is, as will be seen, considerably smaller.

In the first edition of the *Works of Thomas Simon*, 1753, Vertue says in a note on page 13, that the die of the large Dunbar Medal, No. I., was kept in the Cromwell family, for on pulling down a house at Hursley, Hants, which was once theirs, this die was found in the walls. In the second edition, 1780, of the same book, we read that the Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England was also found there. Vertue, who saw it in 1741, supposed it to be the very seal which Oliver took from the Parliament.

However this may be, we have now before us a curious pamphlet, which supplies some valuable information relative to the history of the dies. It is entitled *Narrative relating to the real embalmed Head of Oliver Cromwell, now exhibiting in Mead-Court in Old Bond-Street*, 1799. Pages 14 to 20 are explanatory of the original dies of the Dunbar Medals, which were exhibited at the same time and place. We will give the account of their discovery exactly as printed on pages 19 and 20 of the pamphlet—
"Of the two dyes now exhibited and here spoken of, the accurate and spirited expression of parts so uncommonly minute, the singular beauty of the heads, and their exact likeness both to the original, and to each other (of which latter felicity, it has been asserted that there is no equal instance in the history of this art) sufficiently prove their authenticity; it only remains to say, that they were found, near fifty years ago, by Mr. Thomas Gardner, comptroller of the salt-works at Southwold in Suffolk, in the shop of a blacksmith at that place, who asserted that he, or his father, had purchased them (with other articles of iron work) out of a house at Southwold that had belonged to the protector Richard. Vertue's account of their having been found at Hursley may therefore be erroneous; but it is not at all material to the subject. This unlucky fellow, wholly ignorant of the nature and value of those exquisite monuments both of art and of the English history, had already appropriated the reverse of the lesser dye, to make one of those steel instruments with which iron is divided on the anvil. Mr. Gardner instantly rescued all the parts which remained; and on one of his annual journeys to London, presented them to Mr. Cox, on condition that the latter should occasionally furnish him with impressions from them. Mr. Gardner was then far advanced in years, and died soon after, when but a very few of the impressions engaged by Mr. Cox had been taken; and it is now more than twenty years since the dyes were used at all, except for a few impressions from the remaining obverse side of the smaller one. It has already been shewn from Vertue's opinion that these medals exhibit the best likenesses of Cromwell, that have ever been obtained in this mode of imitation.

"The late Mr. Pingo, engraver to the mint, out of a generous regard to the arts, undertook to inclose both parts of the larger dye, at his own expense, in a strong iron frame, in order to its greater safety, and better preservation; and it was done accordingly, in the manner in which it now appears."

We consider that many of the silver specimens of Medal No. I., that are now in existence, are original impressions, struck in 1650, and worn by some of the Army. We have, however, seen others, which appear to have been struck after the discovery of the die by Mr. Gardner, as mentioned in the above extract. They are distinguished by flaws or cracks on either side, probably on account of age and decay in the die.
Medal No. II.—Obverse and reverse exactly similar to the large Medal, No. I., being an accurate and beautiful reduction of it, by the same artist. The name under the shoulder is, however, abbreviated into T.SIMON.F., and the size is 1 inch by .875 of an inch.

This Medal is extremely rare, for we know of only one specimen in gold and one in copper. They are both in the collection at the British Museum. The copper impression is apparently an original artist’s proof; but the gold one has a loop for suspension, and was, we consider, intended to be worn by some officer of high rank in the army, if not actually so worn.

Representations will be found engraved in: George Vertue’s Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, plate xiii., and The Medallic History of England, 1790, plate xxii. 4.

Medal No. III.—This is merely the obverse side of No. II., struck from the same die, but the reverse is left quite plain, without any impression; size, the same as the preceding medal.

It is common both in silver and in copper. Two specimens in each metal are preserved in our own cabinet.

We have carefully examined a great many specimens of this medal with the obverse only, and we find that they are all struck from the same die, and when the die was in the same condition. Now the gold impression of No. II. has the obverse also struck from the same die, but a great difference is to be remarked. When the gold one was struck, in 1650, the die was new, and the consequence is a perfect impression, with all the details and letters of the inscription quite sharp and clear, and without any cracks or flaws. But on the other hand, all the medals in silver and copper with the obverse only (No. III.) have several slight cracks, and imperfections in the letters of the legend. This is especially observable in the word “SEPTEM”. No specimens have a loop for suspension, or any other contrivance for wearing it, therefore none of them probably were worn by the army.

These facts point to but one conclusion—that all the copies of No. III. Medal were struck after the discovery of the die by Mr. Gardner about the year 1750. The reason moreover, why none of them have the reverse, is supplied by the fact of the destruction of the reverse side of the smaller die by the blacksmith, as described in the extract on the preceding page. The time during which the obverse die had lain by, had corroded and otherwise
injured it, and thus we have the cracks and other imperfections on the more recently struck impressions accounted for.

In concluding our History of the Dunbar Medals, we may submit to the reader's consideration our final conviction that the only impressions struck at the time and worn by the Parliament's army, were some of the large silver ones (No. I.) and the small gold one (No. II.). All other specimens, except perhaps the lead and copper proofs of Nos. I. and II., have been struck in modern times since the discovery of the dies. The large silver ones were most likely given to the greater part of the army and the gold medals only to those high in command.

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THE "LORD GENERAL" MEDAL.

Probably some short time after the completion of the Dunbar Medals, and during the year 1651, Thomas Simon executed that beautiful work of art—his medal of Oliver Cromwell as Lord General of the Army. On the 26th of June 1650, was passed an Act of Parliament appointing "That Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, be constituted Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces raised and to be raised by authority of Parliament within the Commonwealth of England." See Journals of the House of Commons, 26th June, 1650.

"The Lord Fairfax, being pleased this day (June 26) to lay down his commission, it was received by the Parliament, who thereupon voted the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to be General of their forces in England, &c." From the newspaper, Mercurius Politicus, June 20 to 27, 1650, quoted in Cromwelliana, page 82.

Vertue rightly places this medal next in order after those for Dunbar, but the author of the Medallic History of England supposes it to be the first of Cromwell. Now from the letter of the 4th of February 1650-1, printed above on page 3, we perceive that Simon was sent a very difficult and dangerous journey, all the way from London to Edinburgh, expressly to draw the portrait of Oliver. We may therefore ask, if Cromwell had already sat to Simon, and if Simon had already executed a medal with his bust, would
the Official Medallist have been sent so long and expensive a journey merely
to draw the Lord General's portrait over again? We certainly think not.
Further, it is very probable that, seeing his success with the Dunbar Medal,
Cromwell subsequently, in 1651, gave Simon a special order to execute his
portrait on a medal for himself, as many other persons of position also did
about the same time. For instance, Simon, in pursuance of private orders,
made medals of the Speaker William Lenthall, the Secretary Thurloe, the
Clerk of the Parliament Henry Scobell, Mr. and Mrs. Cleypole, Dorcas
Brabazon, and several others. In the letter printed on page 3, we also per-
ceive Cromwell's high opinion of the artist: "indeed the man is ingenious,
and worth of encouragement," and it was not Oliver's custom to use any
superfluous words.

This Medal may be described as follows: Obverse, three-quarter-face
bust of Oliver Cromwell to the right, in armour, and draped. This head is
a very fine likeness and in high relief. Legend—OLI. CROMWEL. MILIT.
PARL. DVX. GEN. (Oliver Cromwell, Lord General of the Parliament's Forces.)
The Reverse is quite plain. The design is oval, size 1·2 by 1·1 inches.

All the original impressions struck in Cromwell's time are impressed
upon a circular piece of metal 1·4 inches in diameter. They are extremely
rare, one in gold is in the possession of the Rev. J. H. Marsden; a silver
and a copper specimen are in the British Museum. It appears that the die
very soon cracked near the edge. On the silver impression in the British
Museum, a slight crack is just visible at the top, running through the let-
ters EL MIL., in the words CROMWEL. MILIT. The copper specimen in the
same cabinet shows this piece of the die broken quite off, thus destroying
a small portion of the design. Probably the occurrence of this accident
hindered the medallist, Simon, from striking any more copies, for an
extremely small number are now known.

George Vertue says on page 14 of his 1st edition, "This Dye, 'tis said,
was conveyed into Holland, about thirty years since, and many were struck
off in silver, &c. And tho' crack'd, the Medal sold for an high price here."
This statement of Vertue was published in 1753, which brings the date of
the striking of the new impressions to about 1723.
The Lord General Medal.

One of these more recently struck copies is in the Author’s cabinet. It is a silver medal, of an oval shape, but only the exact size of the design, 1·2 by 1·1 inches, and it has the flaw showing where the edge of the die was broken. The medal exhibits signs of the decay in the die through lying by during the period 1651 to 1723, and many of the details are not nearly so sharp as in the original impressions.

The reader may easily distinguish them, by remembering that the original medals are circular and 1·4 inches in diameter; and that the modern impressions, struck from the old die about 1723, are oval, and 1·2 by 1·1 inches in size.

The “Lord General” Medal is engraved in G. Vertue’s Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, plate xii. b, and in The Medallic History of England, 1790, plate xxi. 2.

It was on the anniversary of Cromwell’s great victory at Dunbar, in the following year, that the crowning Battle of Worcester was fought—3rd of September, 1651. “He here sheathes his war-sword; with that, it is not his Order from the Great Captain that he fight any more.” See Thomas Carlyle’s Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, 1st edition, vol. i. p. 149.

We believe that it was after the Lord General’s arrival in London, and during the latter part of the year 1651, or possibly in 1652, that this Medal was struck; our account of which may be appropriately concluded by the following lines upon these ever memorable events—

SONNET TO THE LORD GENERAL CROMWELL
Written by John Milton, May 16th, 1652.

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough’d,
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast rear’d God’s trophies, and his work pursued;
While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester’s laureat wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer still; Peace hath her victories
No less renown’d than War; new foes arise
Threat’ning to bind our souls with secular chains:
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose Gospel is their maw.
We now come to a perplexing point in the History of Oliver Cromwell. There exists a pattern for a Copper Farthing, which may be thus described:

Overse, a badly executed bust of Oliver in profile to the left, laureate, and with drapery round the neck. Legend—OLIVER PRO. ENG. SCO & IRE. A mullet or five-pointed star over the head. Reverse, a garnished and crowned shield with the arms thus—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, St. George's cross for England; 2nd, St. Andrew's cross for Scotland; 3rd, a harp for Ireland. On an escutcheon of pretence, a lion rampant, the family arms of Cromwell. Legend—CONVENIENT CHANGE, with a mullet at the end of each of these words. The date 1651 above the arms. The edge of the coin is quite plain. Copper, very rare, the only specimen that we have seen is in the British Museum.

It is engraved in Thomas Snelling's View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England, plate 6, no. 9; and in Folkes's and Ruding's plates of the Silver Coins of England, plate xxxii., no. 10.

An author, one of the first who described this curious coin, remarks that "If there is no mistake in this date, we should suspect the protectorship had been long concerted before it was effected." See Thomas Snelling's View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England, folio, London 1766, p. 33. The Rev. Rogers Ruding adopts the same view of the case, he says "It is remarkable that those (farthings) with the date 1651 have the image and superscription of Cromwell, as protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, although he was not publicly invested with that title until the 16th of December 1653. If therefore there be no mistake in the above date of 1651, his assumption of the protectorship must have been determined upon some time before it was actually effected."—Annals of the Coinage, 3rd edit. i. 413.

Looking at this question in a numismatic point of view, we have not the slightest doubt that the date of 1651 is really either a mistake, or a wrong date placed on the coin wilfully, but for what purpose cannot now be discovered. In the first place, the design of this farthing is clearly the same as Simon's crown of the Protector, dated 1658, and it is not very likely that Simon himself would copy the types of the whole of his celebrated coinage of 1656 and 1658 from an obscure pattern farthing by an unknown
The Pattern Farthing of 1651.

The drawing and execution of it are both very bad, and could never be attributed to such an artist as Simon, and therefore Simon certainly did not reproduce his own design by copying this farthing, although one of the two coins is evidently copied from the other. In the next place, it bears the arms of the Protectorate, exactly as they first appeared upon the Great Seal made by Thomas Simon upon Oliver's Inauguration as Lord Protector, 16th December, 1653. The arms upon the Commonwealth's coins current in 1651 are only the St. George's cross and the Irish harp.

The only plausible explanation of this date of 1651 is then, as we have said before, that it is a false date; the whole design of the farthing being copied, with the exception of the inscriptions, from Simon's silver crown of 1658, though done by a very inferior hand. The bust on the obverse looks the same way, has the same laurel wreath, and also the same drapery. As to the reverse, the arms and shape of the shield and the form of the crown, are exactly similar. From this we conclude that the 1651 farthing was a private pattern, made probably in the year 1658. The proper place for it in our work would therefore be under the latter year, but we considered that our readers might be able to find this piece more readily under the old date of 1651.

ARMS OF THE PROTECTORATE
Chapter the Second,

FROM THE INAUGURATION OF OLIVER CROMWELL
AS LORD PROTECTOR, 16th DECEMBER, 1653,
TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1655.
CHAPTER II.

THE INAUGURATION MEDAL.

"Heaven, that hath placed this island to give law,
To balance Europe, and her states to awe,
In this conjunction doth on Britain smile:
The greatest leader, and the greatest isle!"

So sings Edmund Waller in the ablest of his productions, *A Panegyric to my Lord Protector, of the present Greatness, and joint Interest, of his Highness, and this Nation*, written about 1654.

It is in this position of "the greatest leader of the greatest isle," that we have now to record Cromwell's Medallie History: as "Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging." For a graphic account of his appearance at the Installation in Westminster Hall, and other important matters, the reader should peruse the passage in Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 1st edition, 1845, vol. ii. pp. 226 et seqq. See also the contemporary newspaper report of the ceremony, reprinted in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 130, 131.

We give below, for the benefit of the curious reader, a faithful copy of the original Proclamation, taken from a rare *Collection of Ordinances, Proclamations, &c., from Dec. 16, 1653, to Sep. 3, 1654*; small folio, London, 1654. One of the original printed broadsides is exhibited in Case XII. No. 24 of the King's Library, British Museum.

"BY THE COUNSEL.

WHEREAS the late Parliament dissolving themselves, and resigning their Powers and Authorities, The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a Lord Protector, and Successive Triennial Parliaments, is now established; And whereas Oliver Cromwel, Captain-General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make publication of the Premisses, and strictly to Charge and Command all, and every person and persons, of what quality and condition soever, in any of the said three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the
Government so established. And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Publike Ministers, and Officers, whom this may concern, are required to cause this Proclamation to be forthwith published in their respective Counties, Cities, Corporations, and Market-Towns, To the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.

Given at White-Hall, this sixteenth day of December, 1653."

Thomas Simon executed one of his finest medals in commemoration of this auspicious event. The original (struck) impressions are among the rarest of Cromwell's Medals, though inferior casts in silver not unfrequently occur at the present day.

The Inauguration Medal may be thus described: Obverse, profile bust of Oliver Cromwell, bare-headed, to the left, in armour and draped. Under the shoulder is the artist's name in small letters, SIMON. for "Thomas Simon fecit." Legend—OLIVERVS. DEI. GRA. REPVB. ANGLIE. 800. ET. HIB. &. PROTECTOR. (Oliver, by the grace of God, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc.) Reverse, a lion sejant, crowned with a wreath of laurel, and holding a shield bearing the arms of the Protectorate: Quarterly, 1st and 4th, St. George's cross for England; 2nd, St. Andrew's cross for Scotland; 3rd, a harp for Ireland. On an escutcheon of pretence, a lion rampant, the family arms of Cromwell. (See ante, page 13.) Legend, the motto—PAX QUÆRITVR BELLO. (Peace is sought by war.) A circular medal, size 1½ inches in diameter.

The design is a beautiful work of art, in high relief, and is executed in a bold and masterly style combined with the highest finish and delicacy of workmanship. This medal is extremely rare; the only examples that we have seen are one in gold and one in silver, both in the British Museum.

The Inauguration Medal is engraved in—Gregorio Leti's Vita di Oliviero Cromvela, Amsterdam 1692, vol. ii. p. 316; La Vie d'Olivier Cromwel, Amsterdam 1694, vol. ii., J. Evelyn's Discourse of Medals, 1697, p. 118; Gerard van Loon's Histoire Metallique des Pays-Bas, 1732, vol. ii., p. 367; George Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, plate xii. e &; The Medallic History of England, 1790, plate xxii. no. 6; and by J. Hulett on a separate plate about the middle of the last century. In all these repre-
sentations there are errors in the obverse legend. One engraver has put
OLIVARIVS for OLIVERVS, some have REIPVB. instead of REIPVB., and all the
engravers have omitted the “&.”

THE GREAT SEAL FOR ENGLAND.

WHEN Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector, upon the 16th Decem-
ber 1653, a Great Seal for England was made according to orders by Thomas
Simon. The following is a description of it—

Seal or O bake, the Protector on horseback to the left, in full armour,
bare-headed, and with his sword in its sheath at his side. He holds a baton
or truncheon in his right hand, and in his left the horse’s bridle. In the
field, to the right, is an oval garnished shield bearing the arms, Quarterly,
1st and 4th, the Cross of St. George; 2nd, the Saltire of St. Andrew; 3rd,
the Harp of Ireland; on an escutcheon of pretence a lion rampant. Under-
neath, in the background, appears a view of the City of London, the River
Thames, and London Bridge. Legend—OLIVARIVS. DEI. GRA. REIP. ANG-
LAE. SCOTLAE. ET. HIBERNIAE &c. PROTECTOR. (Oliver, by the grace of God,
Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc.)

Counter-seal or Reverse, a square garnished shield bearing—Quarterly
of four, 1st and 4th, the Cross of St. George; 2nd, the Saltire of St. Andrew;
3rd, the Harp of Ireland; over all, on an Inescutcheon, a Lion rampant, the
paternal arms of Cromwell. The shield is surmounted by the royal helmet,
ensignied with the royal crown, supporting the Crest of England—a Lion
statant-guardant, Imperially crowned. Supporters—Dexter, a Lion guard-
ant crowned; Sinister, a Dragon. Beneath the shield is the Motto—PAX
QVÆRITVR BELLO (Peace is sought by war), upon an ornamented label.
Above the shield, and behind the helmet, is an elaborate mantling.
Legend— MAGNVM. SIGILLVM. REIPVB. ANGLAE. SCOTLAE. ET. HIBERNIAE &c.
(Great Seal of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc.)
Both sides of the Seal are surrounded with a closely woven oak wreath.
Size, 5·75 inches in diameter.
THE PRIVY SEAL.

After the Great Seal, the Privy Seal of the Protector next demands a notice. The design is circular, 2½ inches in diameter, on one side only, and is also the work of Thomas Simon. In the centre are the Arms, Crest, Supporters, and Motto, exactly as upon the Great Seal. They are encircled by the legend OLIVAR. D. G. REX. IREFB. ANGLIAE. SCOTIÆ. ET. HIBERNIAE. &. PROTECTOR. Round the edge is a closely woven wreath of oak leaves.

A representation of this seal is engraved by George Vertue upon plate xxxviii. of his account of the Works of Thomas Simon. It is copied from "the Impression of the Original Dye in Steel, which was in the Possession of Thomas Freman of Chelmsford, in this County of Essex, Gent. untill the Year 1749; to whose Hands it came by Descent, from his Ancestor, Keeper of this Seal, and is now in the Possession of his Son Thomas Freman of Chelmsford aforesaid; who favour'd me with this Opportunity to oblige the Publick."—Vertue, 1st edition, 1753, page 65.

THE ORDINANCE OF TREASONS.

The first act of the new government concerning the Coinage, and the next occurrence in the order of time relating to the Numismatic History of the Protector, was the publication of an Ordinance by his Highness and his Council, declaring what offences should be adjudged High Treason, 19th January, 1653-54. The part relating to the counterfeiting and clipping of the current coin is, as the Rev. Rogers Ruding remarks, "nearly in the same terms as the act of 1649, chapter the 44th."—Annals of the Coinage, 3rd edition, vol. i. page 418.

We reprint this portion from the same book which we have quoted above for the Proclamation: the Collection of Ordinances, Proclamations, &c., from Dec. 16, 1653, to Sep. 3, 1654, (page 29.)
The Ordinance of Treasons.

"An Ordinance declaring that the Offences herein mentioned, and no other, shall be adjudged High Treason within the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

..."

"Or if any person or persons shall counterfeit the money of this Commonwealth, or shall bring any fals money into this Land, either counterfeit or other, like to the money of this Commonwealth (knowing such money to be fals) to the intent to Merchandise, or otherwise; Or if any person or persons shall hereafter falsly forge or counterfeit any such kind of Coyn, either of Gold or Silver, which is not the proper Coyn of this Commonwealth, and yet is or shall bee current within the same; Or shall bring from the parts beyond the Seas into this Commonwealth, or into any the Dominions of the same, any such fals or counterfeit Coyn of money being current within this Commonwealth, as is abovesaid (knowing the said money to be fals and counterfeit to the intent to utter or make payment with the same, within this Commonwealth, by Merchandise or otherwise; Or if any person or persons shall Impair, Diminish, Falsifie, Clip, Wash, Round, File, Scale or lighten for wicked lucre or gains sake any the proper moneys of this Commonwealth, or of the Dominions thereof, or of the moneys or Coyns of any other place allowed or suffered to be current within this Commonwealth, or the Dominions thereof; Then all and every the Offences abovementioned shall be and are hereby deemed, ordained and adjudged to bee high Treason; And the Offenders therein, and their counsellors, procurers, aiders and abeters, being convicted according to the Laws of this Nation of any of the said Offences, shall be and are hereby deemed and adjudged to be Traytors against this Commonwealth, and shall suffer and have such pains of death, and incur such forfeitures, as in case of high Treason is used and ordained.

"Provided always, That neither this Ordinance, nor any thing therein contained as touching the moneys and Coyns aforesaid, nor any attainer of any person or persons for the same, shall in any wise be adjudged to make any corruption of blood to any the heir or heirs of any such Offendor or Offendors, nor to make the wife of any such Offendors to lose or forfeit her Dowry of or in any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, or her Title, Action, or Interest in or to the same."
“Thursday the 19. of January, 1653.

“Ordered by His Highness the Lord Protector, and His Counsel,

“That this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and Published.

“Hen. Scobell, Clerk of the Counsel.”

In Scobell’s Acta, etc., folio, London 1658, on page 278, the title only of this Ordinance is given, thus:—

“Anno 1653. Cap. 8. An Enumeration of several Offences, which shall be taken and adjudged to be Treason. 19 January, 1653.”

THE IRISH PETITION.

On the 16th of February, 1653-54, the Council in Ireland addressed the Lord Protector, in the following petition, representing the deplorable state of the current coin in Ireland, and praying for the erection of a mint at Dublin:—

“To his Highness the Lord Protector.

“Feb. 16, 1653,

“May it please your highness,

“The inclosed is a coppie of a letter sent in July last to the committee at Whitehall for Irish affairs, representing the necessity of a mint in this country, but they being through multiplicity of business hindered, and nothing since effected in it, we have taken the boldness humbly to apply our selves to your highness, in regard the inconvenience which we find to have happened to your affaires here since our first application for a power to coine the forreigne money into English (for the reasons formerly sett forth) is soe great, and that sort of money generally soe falsifyed, that the stock of the countrey (in money) is conceived to be detrimented thereby above one third part, there being scarce any coine now left but foraigne, and that for the most part course Peru pieces. The English money (and for want of that) the best sort of Spanish being bought up by merchants to make their returns into England, for want of commodities in barter to exchange here. A proof of the value of which course Peru hath, by our
order, been lately made, by which it did appear that six hundred thirty-five pounds of Peru money, at the rate of four shillings and six pence each piece (being the rate now current) melted down, did yield in sterling money, upon an exact assay thereof, but four hundred and one pounds, see that two hundred thirty and three pounds was lost in that small parcel at the rates now usual; beside this losse in the course Peru, we finde, by the relation of your officers here intrusted with the receipts of the revenue, that very much of the forreigne money, which runne in payment, is altogether brass and counterfeit upon the whole, therefore we humbly conceive, that unless some speedy course be taken to call in all base forreigne moneys, and reduce it into English coine, there will be in a short time noe money left to pay your forces, or for necessary exchange amongst the people, but counterfeit and bad money, and consequently your affairs here will unavoidably fall into disorder: all which we conceive our duty to represent to your consideration, to doe therein as in your highness prudence shall be thought fitt, and are, &c."

(Enclosure.)

"To the committee for Irish affairs in England.

"July 15, 1653. Some few months since, we took the boldness to represent to the counsell the pressing necessities of a mint to be appointed in this country, by reason of the great want of the small English money; for finding it adviseable, as the only means appearing unto us, to prevent the abuse of English coyne, in clipping and counterfeiting of it, to call in all the bad and clipped money, and to forbid the currency of it in payment unlesse by weight. The greatest part of the English money proving bad and clipped, small payments could not easily be made either to the solldiers, or unto others, where by much distraction was occasioned. This our desire was transmitted to the Parliament, who were pleased to make an order for one hundred thousand pounds to be coyned in Ireland, refering it back to the counsell of state for settling it, in the progress and debate of which there appearing some difficulty about sending persons over out of England for it, and that way there proposed amounting to an excessive charge, the inclosed expedient was tendered to us by some inhabitants of this towne, who are esteemed honest knowing men, which coming to the council but a few days before the late change, we againe humbly offer to
your consideration, being the more induced at this season to doe it by reason of very much corruption and abasement discovered every day to grow more and more, &c. To prevent which we know not a more probable expedient than the speedy erecting of a mint here, &c."

See James Simon’s *Essay on Irish Coins*, quarto, Dublin 1749, Appendix Nos. LI. and XLIX., where these documents are transcribed from the *Council office book*, A. 90. p. 616, and p. 516.

The necessity for the erection of a mint in Dublin was also strongly urged by General Fleetwood in a letter to Secretary Thurloe, dated upon the same day as the above Petition. The following is an extract:—

"Sir,

. . . . . I have one thing more to adde, that the coyne heere is exceedingly debased and corrupted, and this countrie will be ruined, if not tymely prevented. I must therefore entreat youe speciall assistance in procuring us a minte here, according to the letter to my lord protector from the commissioners heere. Excuse this trouble from your very affectionate friend and servant,

"CHARLES FLEETWOOD."

"Dublin, 16 Febr. 1653."


We shall print another Petition to His Highness on the same subject under the year 1656; but, although it was thus frequently pressed, we do not find that this request was ever granted.
MEDALS OF CROMWELL AND FAIRFAX.

We have now to describe two very curious and interesting medals, one made in England, and the other in Holland, but both bearing on the obverse the head of Oliver Cromwell, and on the reverse that of General Sir Thomas Fairfax.

The first medal of Cromwell and Fairfax (see our plate ii. no. 1) has on the Obverse, a profile bust of Oliver Cromwell, bare-headed, to the left, and draped. Legend—OLIVAR.D. GR. ANG. SCO. HIB. &. PROT. (Oliver, by the grace of God, Protector of England, Scotland, Ireland, etc.) Reverse, a profile bust of General Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Fairfax, bare-headed, with long hair, to the left. He wears a large falling collar, a cuirass, and a mantle fastened on his shoulder, below which appear T.S.F. (for "Thomas Simon fecit") in very minute letters. Legend—GENERAL FAIRFAX. A circular medal, size 1 2 inches in diameter.

Our illustration is taken from a copper specimen in the British Museum. The only other that we have heard of as at present existing, is said to be a silver impression, in the Hunterian Collection at the Glasgow University. We have not yet—July 1873—been able to verify this, since the coins and medals are packed away in the bank cellars, during the removal of the University to new buildings. However, through the courtesy of Dr. John Young, Keeper of the Hunterian Museum, we hope to be able to give further particulars of it in the Appendix at the end of this work. A silver specimen, probably the Hunterian, "was shewn by Mr. Vertue at the Antiquary Society, 1745, from the collection of Commissioner Fairfax." See G. Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, 2nd edition, 1780, page 12.


The head of Oliver on this medal is identical with the head of his equestrian figure upon the English Great Seal, and is in good relief. The bust on the reverse is from the same die as that on an unpublished silver medal of Sir Thomas Fairfax in the British Museum. For the sake of comparison a representation of it is given on plate ii. no. 2. This latter medal is, in all probability the only one of Sir Thomas Fairfax ever executed by Thomas Simon. The type and inscriptions are copied from the
oval medals, dated 1645, which are common, and clearly by a different hand than Simon's (see Vertue, plate xi. i and k). It is circular, size 1·2 inches in diameter, and very faintly struck on a thin piece of silver. Obverse, bust as on No. 1, but the artist's initials are not under the shoulder. Legend—THO. FAIRFAX. MILES. MILIT. PARLI. DVX. GENER. A rose at the commencement of this legend. Reverse, the word MERVISTI in the centre, with POST. HAC. MELIORA around it. In the Appendix, page 76, of the 2nd edition of Vertue it is said that there was an impression of the obverse of this medal on a thin piece of silver in the Hunterian Collection. A crack in the die was undoubtedly the cause of the artist's proceeding no further with this piece than to strike a few trial proofs. It was probably intended to be a presentation medal for the army, like the oval medals previously mentioned, and must have been engraved in the period between the Battle of Naseby, 1645, and Fairfax's resignation of the post of Lord General in 1650.

The life of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, the celebrated Parliamentary general, is too well known to need the repetition of any particulars of it here. Suffice it for us to remark that he possessed cultivated tastes, was a warm friend to learning, and was himself not undistinguished as an author. He had a great love for English Antiquities, and made, among other collections, one of coins and medals, which were purchased by the father of Ralph Thoresby, the eminent antiquary of Leeds, who lived 1658—1725.

After his resignation of the chief command, already mentioned (antea page 9), Lord Fairfax retired to his house at Nun-Appleton in Yorkshire, where he lived quietly during the Protectorate, not again taking part in public matters until 1659, when he joined General Monk to assist in the restoration of Charles II.

With reference to the Cromwell and Fairfax Medal, plate ii. no. 1, George Vertue says, "These two Heads on one Medal, seem to have been thus artfully struck, to indicate the Decline of General Fairfax, and the Uprising of Oliver to the Protectorate."—Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, page 12. This conjecture is certainly without any foundation, for since the head of Cromwell on the medal in question is taken from a punch of that on the Great Seal for England, and this Great Seal could not have been executed before 1653, and was really not made until 1655 (see our article
Cromwell and Fairfax Medals.

on Seals at the end of this chapter, the date of the medal must be after 1654; thus it can scarcely indicate the decline of Fairfax, who had resigned his command in 1650, and had been living in retirement for some years.

The two dies of the obverse and reverse were in our opinion only struck upon the same blank from a whim of the artist, and both being cracked, they would only serve for the two or three proofs which now exist, and could not be used for a finished medal of which a considerable number had to be struck. Simon apparently took the cracked die of the obverse of Fairfax’s medal, plate ii. no. 2, and joined it to the obverse of an unfinished medal of Cromwell, the die of which was also cracked, probably in the process of hardening. The result is the extremely rare proof piece now presented to the reader’s notice, and which also furnishes another example of an uncompleted medal by Thomas Simon being laid aside after the striking of a few proof impressions, in consequence of a crack appearing in the die: the Lord General Medal being the first one described in this work (ante p. 9.)

The second medal of Cromwell and Fairfax is hitherto unpublished in this country, and was obligingly pointed out to our notice by M. Rénier Chalon, President of the Royal Numismatic Society at Brussels.

The Obverse bears a head of Cromwell, crowned with a kind of imperial crown. The head is double, and when reversed there appears that of a demon. In front of the faces is the word CROMWEL. The legend, in Dutch, is surrounded by two inner circles, and reads—DEN.EEN.MENS.IS.DEN.A.

SIN DUVEL (Den een mens is den anderen sin duivel), meaning “this one (Cromwell) is the evil genius of the other (Fairfax).” Reverse, a similar
reversible head of Fairfax in a large Puritan's hat, joined to a fool's head with the cap and bells. In front of the faces, the word FARFOX. A similar Dutch legend, also surrounded by two circles, reading—DEEN. SOT. IS. D. A. S. G Ek. (Deen sot is den anderen siin gek), signifying "this simpleton (Fairfax) is the other's (Cromwell's) fool or dupe." A circular medal, size 1.5 inches in diameter.

This medal is extremely rare, since we have only heard of two examples, the finest of which is in the possession of M. le Général Meyers, of Anvers. It is of copper, cast and chased, and was found, in 1825, among the foundations of a house in Maastricht. Another specimen, not so well preserved, is in the cabinet of the "Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique" at Brussels.

The accompanying engraving is taken from a woodcut on page 407, tome ii. 1e série, of the Revue de la Numismatique Belge, 1846, where there is an article explanatory of it by M. C. Piot.

This very curious and scurrilous medal was probably the work of one of the inferior Dutch medallists, who produced so many satirical medals about this period, and the occasion seems to have been the retirement of Fairfax and the appointment of Cromwell to be Lord General, on the 26th June, 1650. However, from the imperial crown upon Cromwell's head one might imagine that the medal had been made after his assumption of the Protectorate, unless the artist intended to signify by it that Oliver was already the chief man in the state.

It will be observed that the design of the reversible heads very much resembles the common medals that have the Pope's head and the Devil's similarly conjoined. The satirical inscriptions, pointing out Fairfax as the imbecile tool of Cromwell's superior and more diabolical genius, appear to have reference to some influence which Cromwell was supposed to have over him, and which ended by Cromwell's succeeding to his post of Lord General. The Earl of Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, refers to this in the following words:— "Hereupon Cromwell was chosen general; which made no alteration in the army; which he had modelled to his own mind before, and commanded as absolutely." Vol. vi., p. 450, Oxford edition, 1839.
THE COMMONWEALTH COINS.

During the whole of the Protectorates of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and even to the year 1660, the Mint continued to coin and issue money with the Commonwealth's type, as fixed by the Act of Parliament, anno 1649, cap. 43; which enumerates the several denominations thus:—

"One piece of Gold of the value of Twenty shillings Sterling, to be called, The Twenty shillings piece, stamped on the one side with the Cross, and a Palm and Lawre, with these words, The Commonwealth of England; and on the other side with the Cross and Harp, with these words, God with us: One other piece of Gold money of Ten shillings, to be called, The Ten shillings piece: and one other piece of Gold money of Five shillings, to be called, The Five shillings piece, with the same Words, Inscriptions, Pictures and Arms on each side, as the former: And for Silver moneys, pieces of five shillings, and pieces of two shillings and six pence, and pieces of Twelve pence, and pieces of Six pence, having the same Words, Inscriptions, Pictures and Arms on each side as the former: Also pieces of Two pence, and One penny, having the same Pictures and Arms as the former, without any Words or Inscriptions; and the Half penny having on the one side a Cross, and on the other side a Harp." See Henry Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances, part ii., page 64.

The following coins, therefore, appropriately receive a space in our Medalllic History of Oliver Cromwell, as bearing the dates of the years of his Protectorate, viz:— 1653 to 1658.

Gold Twenty-shillings or Broad Pieces. Obverse, a plain shield bearing St. George's Cross, surrounded by a palm and a laurel branch. Legend—THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND; at the end of which is the mint-mark, either a sun or an anchor. Reverse, two shields conjoined, one bearing St. George's cross, and the other the Irish harp. The numerals XX., for 20s., the value, above; the whole being within a beaded inner circle. Legend—GOD. WITH. VS., and the date. Those issued during Oliver's Protectorate have the dates 1653, 1654, 1656, and 1657, with the mint-mark of a sun. The full weight of a twenty-shilling piece was 140.4878 grains Troy; and the standard of all the gold coins was twenty-two carats of fine gold to two carats of alloy, or eleven parts fine out of twelve.
Numismata Cromwelliana.

Ten-shilling Pieces or Half-broads: exactly similar in type to the twenty-shilling pieces, but having the numeral x., for 10s., instead of xx., above the shields on the reverse. Dates 1653 and 1654, with mint-mark sun. Full weight 70-2439 grains.

Five-shilling Pieces: also similar to the two higher denominations, but with v., for 5s., over the shields on the reverse. Dates 1653 and 1654 with mint-mark sun, and 1658 with mint-mark anchor. Full weight, 35-1219 grs.

For engravings of the Gold Coins, see Vertue plate ix., Snelling pl. vi., and Folkes and Ruding pl. xiv.

Silver Crowns: exactly similar in type to the twenty-shilling pieces, but with v., for 5s., over the shields on the reverse. The dates are 1653, 1654, and 1656, with the sun mint-mark. Weight 464-614 grains. The standard of all the silver coins was 11 oz. 2 dwt. fine silver to 18 dwt. alloy, or 11-1 parts silver to 9 part alloy.

Half-crowns: same type, but with II. vi., for 2s. 6d., as the value. Dates 1653, 1654, 1655, and 1656, with the sun mint-mark; and 1658 with an anchor as mint-mark. Weight 232-257 grains.

Shillings: same type, but with xii., for 12d., on the reverse. Dates 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, and 1657, with sun mint-mark; and 1658 with anchor mint-mark. Weight 92-9028 grains. The shilling of 1655 in the British Museum has clearly been altered from one of 1654, although Mr. Hawkins has not noticed this alteration in his Silver Coins of England.

Six-pences: also of the same type, but with vi., for 6d. Dates 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, and 1657 with sun mint-mark; and 1658 with anchor mint-mark. Weight 46-4514 grains.

Half-groats or Two-pences. Obverse, a plain shield bearing St. George's cross, surrounded by a palm and a laurel branch. Reverse, two shields conjoined: one bearing St. George's cross, the other the Irish harp. The numerals II., for 2d., above. No legend or date on either side. Weight 15-4838 grains.

Pennies: exactly similar in type to the half-groats, but with r., for 1d., above the two shields on the reverse. Weight 7-7419 grains.

Half-pennies. Obverse, a single shield bearing St. George's cross. Reverse, a single shield bearing the Irish harp. No legends or numerals. Weight 3-3709 grains.
The Commonwealth Coins.

For engravings of the Silver Coins, see Vertue plate viii., Stilling pl. xvi., and Folkes and Ruding pl. xxxi.

None of the above coins are the work of Thomas Simon, the execution and design both fall far short of this celebrated artist's known productions. The types and inscriptions were agreed upon by the House of Commons, but whether the dies were engraved by John East, the Under Graver, or not, we have no evidence to show.

It is very probable that most of the silver coins just described, more especially those dated 1653, 1654, and 1655, were coined out of the Dutch silver seized in the three ships Sampson, Salvador, and George. It will not be out of place, therefore, if we here give a short account of the seizure and disposal of this silver, since it is mentioned in T. Violet's True Narrative, &c., as "all the Silver now cayning in the Tower:" the nor referring to August, 1653.

These three Dutch vessels, with several other ships, "came into company all together from Cadiz" on the 13th October, 1652, and were soon after brought into the River Thames as prizes. They did not, however, surrender to the English without some resistance, as was evinced by the marks of cannon shot in their hulls. On the 8th December, Thomas Violet, a goldsmith of the city of London, laid before the Council of State a paper begging for a strict enquiry relative to the three ships— the Sampson, Salvador, and George—which were then awaiting judgment in the Court of Admiralty. He represented that these were Dutch ships, and that the silver bullion on board of them was chiefly also the property of merchants of Amsterdam. If this was the case, the whole of the treasure could be seized as the property of the enemy, since war had been declared against the United Provinces on the 9th July, 1652, and engagements had taken place between the hostile fleets on the 19th May, the 16th August, and the 28th September. But on the other hand, the Spanish Ambassador claimed to have the silver released, pretending it to be the King of Spain's property. Accordingly it was ordered by the Council of State, on the 13th December, "that Master Thomas Violet doe assist" Dr. Walker, the Commonwealth's advocate; in prosecuting the three ships.
On the 17th December in the same year, Violet made a protest in the Court of Admiralty against the Samson, Salvador, and George, and the ships and silver were consequently stayed by order of the Council of State on that day. The cargoes were seized on the 29th April, 1653, and in May it appears that the Government had then unloaded and deposited in the Tower all the bullion from these ships.

On the 28th June, 1653, Colonel John Barkstead, the Governor of the Tower, was ordered by the Council “to take into his Custody, care, and charge all such Sums of money as then were or should be coynd of the Silver lately Seized and carried into the Tower of London.” The coining of this large amount of treasure occupied almost an entire year; for on the 31st August, 1654, Colonel Jones reported to the Council of State from the Committee of the Mint, that “the account of John Barkstead, Esq., Lieutenant of the Tower, for the monyes by him received, being brought into the Mint out of the ships Samson, Salvador, George, Morning Starr, and the Angell Michael, from the vi of June 1653 to 10 May 1654” amounted to £278276 8s. 5d., thus:

Silver seized in the before-mentioned ships: weight in standard silver 92234 lbs. 3 oz. 4 dwt. 1 grain: value at £3 per pound weight . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . £276702 16s. 0d.

Gold taken from the Morning Star: weight in standard gold 14 lbs. 9 oz. 3 dwt. 18 grains: value at £40 5s. per pound weight . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 594 6s. 4d.

Shew of the whole: gold parted from the silver . 979 6s. 1d.

Total— £278276 8s. 5d.

The foregoing particulars are gathered from the Draft Order Book of the Protector Oliver’s Council of State, No. 80, pages 51, 55, 56; and also from two curious and scarce tracts, entitled:

“A True Narrative of som Remarkable Proceedings concerning the Ships Samson, Salvador, and George, and several other Prize-ships depending in the High Court of Admiraltie: most humbly presented to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, and to the Right Honorable the Council of State by Authoritie of Parliament, and to the Honorable the Council of
The Commonwealth Coins.


The following curious passage, also bearing upon this subject, is extracted from a subsequent work by Thomas Violet, addressed to King Charles II., and entitled—"An Appeal to Caesar: wherein Gold and Silver is proved to be the Kings Majesties Royal Commodity. London, Printed in the Year 1660;"  quarto. On page 39 Violet says:—

"At last I ingaged Cromwel to take up the Silver from aboard the Ships, Sampson, Salavador, and St. George, and that he would dissolve the Parliament; the same night that he dissolved the long Parliament, he could not sleep for it about the 15 April 1652 (-3). Cromwel sent Mr Sadler the Town-Clerk of London, and Coll. Bingham to me, to come presently to him at the Cock-pit, to give him the Coppies of all the Bills of these Ships Lading, and the value of the Silver, which I did; and after he had them Cromwell could not sleep till he had the Silver in Barksteads custody in the Tower... being 29 April 1653. Oliver Cromwell sent a guard of Souldiers to seize on the Silver aboard these Ships, the Sampson, Salavador, and St. George, the 20 day of April 1652(-3). Bradshaw tore his Hair before me, and a Friend of mine, Bradshaw telling him that Cromwell had undone them all by forcing the Parliament, and that now he saw apparently he was an undone man. Bradshaw storming at me Tho. Violet, saying, I was the fatallest man that ever was to the Council and Parliament for staying this Silver, and that had I not set the Councelel and Parliament to stay this Silver, till that every mans claim was particularly proved, the Silver had been all Transported, and Cromwell never durst have dissolved the Parliament, had he not got the Silver in these Ships, being three hundred thousand pounds into his hands." On page 45 he says in a note:— "This Silver which I stayed was the only cause of blowing up the Long Parliament, which I knew at that time an Army of 40000 men could not have done."

The Long Parliament was dissolved by Oliver Cromwell on the 20th April 1653; and it seems to us likely that Violet only seized upon the coincidence of dates to fabricate the above extraordinary assertions after the Restoration.
MINT AFFAIRS.

Under this head we purpose including sundry matters relating to the Coinage and to the Mint in the Tower of London, during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

I.—The Officers of the Mint.

The Officers of his Mint were in all probability nearly the same persons, with the same salaries, as those approved by the House of Commons on the 6th July, 1649. This supposition is confirmed by the circumstance that we have found two persons named in the Council Order Books of the period of the Protectorate as then holding the same offices as they did under the Parliament, viz:—Thomas Simon, Chief Graver, and Richard Pight, Clerk of the Irons and Surveyor of the Melting House. We therefore give the following list of officers with their salaries, from the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vi. pp. 212 and 252, orders of 21st May and 6th July, 1649, as representing, to a great extent, the Mint establishment under the Lord Protector Oliver:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Per Annum—</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Aaron Guerdain, Master of the Mint</td>
<td></td>
<td>400</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John St. John, Warden</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Grime, Warden's Clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Cogan, Comptroller</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Fenton, his Clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Palmer, and Thomas Woodward, Assay Masters</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Bingley, and — Beale, Auditors: to each for his Clerk</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And to each for parchment, ink, paper, and other necessaries</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Knivet, and Tellers</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Pight, as Clerk of the Irons</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Surveyor of the Melting House</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His Clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tho. Symons, Graver of the Irons</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Reynolds, Under Assayer</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John East, Under Graver</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mint Affairs.

Per Annum— £ s. d.

Daniel Brattle, and ———, Sinkers of the Irons . . . 20 0 0
— Hodgins, Smith . . . . . . . 10 0 0
John Dendy, Porter . . . . . . . 10 0 0
Vening, Parson of the Chapel in the Tower, for his tythes — 13 4
Symson, Sexton of the same Chapel . . . — 4 4
For the diet of the Officers . . . . . . . 52 0 0
James Howard and John Reinolds, Clerks, each . . . . . . . 20 0 0

II.—Appointments of Thomas Simon.

The following unpublished extracts from the original Draft Order Books of the Protector Oliver’s Council of State, now preserved in the Public Record Office, afford us some interesting information respecting Thomas Simon’s appointments in the Mint.

We learn from them that on the 15th February, 1654-5, it was ordered by his Highness the Lord Protector, by and with the advice and consent of the Council of State, that Thomas Simon be Sole Chief Engraver for the Mint and Seals; and on the next day it was ordered that he be Medal-maker for the State. The first order was approved on the 6th March; but on the 16th of the same month another order was made at greater length, recommending that Thomas Simon should have the salary of twenty marks —£13. 6s. 8d.—per annum for “the sole making of all Medals for his Highness and the public service, and of the Chains to the said Medals,” and that he should also have the salary of thirty pounds per annum as Chief Graver of the Mint and Seals. This order was approved on the 20th March.

We now present our readers with these extracts verbatim et literatim:

Thursday, 15th February, 1654-5. — “Ordered by his Highness ye Lo. Protector by and wth the advise and Consent of the Counsell.......5. That Mr Thomas Symon be sole Cheife Ingraver for the Minte and Seales, and have ye fee of ——— p. ann. annexed to his place.”—Page 38, Draft Order Book No. 82.

Friday, 16th February, 1654-5. — “Ordered by [his Highness the Lord Protector] by and with the advise of the Counsell, That Thomas Symon be Medall maker for the State.”—Page 40, Draft Order Book No. 82.
Friday, 16th March, 1654 5, (post meridiem ).— Ordered “That it be offered to his Highness as the advise of ye Counsell, That Thomas Symon be constituted and appoynted Meddall maker, and to have the sole makeing of all Meddalls for his Highness and the publique service, and of the Chaines to ye sayd Meddalls, with a Salary of xxv Markes p ann, as Meddall maker, and Libty to have the free use of such presses, Roes, and Cutters wth other Instrumtn necessary for that worke as are or shall belong to ye Coffon Wealth in the Tower or elsewhere, And that his Highness would be pleased to graunt the sayd Office wth the sayd Sallary, and the Office of Cheife Graver of the Mint and Seales wth the Sallary of 30 l p ann. to the sayd Thomas Symon by patent accordingly.”— Page 88, Draft Order Book No. 82.

The Patent alluded to in the last Order was granted by the Protector to Thomas Simon on the 9th July, 1656, and it confers on him the same offices and emoluments as those mentioned in that Order. He is to be “Sole Chief Engraver of the Irons of and for the moneys of us and our successors within our Tower of London,” with the salary of thirty pounds a year, commencing on the 25th March, 1655. He is further granted the sole right of making, cutting, or engraving the arms of the Protector or of the Commonwealth on certain articles; and is constituted the sole maker of medals and the chains thereto belonging, at a yearly salary of £13. 6s. 8d., also to begin on the 25th March, 1655. He had, moreover, the privilege of choosing the Under Engraver and Sinker of the Irons. This Patent was inrolled on the 11th November, 1657; but, as the wording of it is very lengthy, we reserve our copy of it for the Appendix.

III.—COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL FOR THE MINT.

We find that the Protector appointed a Committee of Council for Mint Affairs, since the Council of State on the 16th February, 1653-4, ordered—

“That these be a Co militie for considering of the Regulacon of ye Mint, Ma. G. Lambt, Col. Jones, Sr Charles Wolsley, Mr Strickland, Col. Mackworth, or any three of them.”—Page 4, Draft Order Book No. 77.

On the 7th of March, Col. Sydenham was added to this Committee (Page 85, Draft Order Book No. 77); on the 27th of April, Col. Fiennes was added (Page 66, Draft Order Book No. 79); and on the 28th of April, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was added (Page 76, Draft Order Book No. 79).
Mint Affairs.

"That it be referred to Col. Sydenham, Col. Jones, y® E. ¹ of Mulgrave, Col. Mountagu and Mr Rouse or any 2 of them to speake with the Mr ² and Warden of the Mint, and to informe themselves what service is due from those officers by vertue of their places in relacon to the Counterfeiters of Coyne, and if it shall ap® ³ and ⁴ of the Duty of those office ⁵ to take care that Counterfeit ⁶ of Coyne be discovered and prosequeuted, then to informe themselves further how it comes to pass that the service is performed by another hand to y® increasing of the Coffinwealth's charge, and to make report to y® Counsell."—Page 1, Draft Order Book No. 83.

The first order, relating to Richard Pight, who was Clerk of the Irons and Surveyor of the Melting House in the Mint (see page 34 above), was approved on the 5th of the same month, and a copy of the warrant to pay him £50 is entered in the Money Warrant Book of the Council of State, No. 126, page 143. It is dated the 6th April, 1655, and is addressed to Mr. Gualter Frost, Treasurer of the Council's Contingencies.

The "other hand" referred to in the latter order would be of course Richard Pight, and it would therefore appear that the discovery of false coiners being no part of his official business, he received extra remuneration for such services. The report ordered in the last two lines of the above extract cannot be found, after a careful search, and it does not seem to have ever been made.

A further order of the Council, for paying Mr. Pight another sum of fifty pounds for the same service, is dated—

Thursday, 12th July, 1655, (ante meridiem).—Ordered "That the Comittee of the Counsell to whom y® petition of Richard Pight, Clerk of the Irons and Surveyor of the melting houses in the Mint, conc®ning his charges in discovering and prosequeuting of Counterfeiters of Coyne was referred, doe meet in ordre to a report, and that in the meane tyme there be p'd him out of the Counsell's Contingencies the suffie of fiftie pounds; and that a warr to Mr Frost be in that behalfe issued."—Page 44, Draft Order Book No. 84.

This order was approved by the Protector in person, and a warrant dated on the same day, for paying £50 to Richard Pight, is entered in the Money Warrant Book No. 126, page 167.

¹ Earl ² Master ³ appears ⁴ part ⁵ officers
We give here two further extracts relating to the same subject:—

Wednesday, 9th January, 1655-6.—Ordered "That it be referred to Major Gen'l Baxter, 1 Lt 2 of the Tower, Lt Col. White, and Edward Cresset Esqr or any 2 of them, to take consideration of the petition of Richard Pight, Clerk of the Irons and Surveyor 3 of the Melting house to his Highness Mint, and to informe themselves of the Services by him performed, about discovering, apprehending, and prosecuteing false Coyners, and of the charge, and importance thereof, and in what way the sayd Service may be further pursued, with most advantage to ye Coysion Wealth, and in ord'r thereunto, to consider his proposals annexed to his petition, and what may be fitt to be allowed the pet'r 4, both as to tyme past, and for the future, in consideracion thereof, and to make their report upon ye whole matt'r with the 1st opportunity."—Page 119, Draft Order Book No. 86.

Thursday, 7th August, 1656.—"On reading of a Report from Sr John Barkstead kn 5, and Edward Cresset Esqr, dated the 14th of May 1656, in pursuance of the Counsell's reference of ye 9th of January last, upon the petition of Richard Pight, Clerk of the Irons and Surveyor of the Melting house to his Highness Mynt, togeather with ye proposal's thereunto annexed, touching the Services by him performed about discovering, apprehending, and prosecuteing false Coyners, They thereby certifying, the pet't 6 diligent attending of the sayd Service for the space of five yeares, and his prosequeuting about 50 false Coyners, in severall pet's 6 of this Nation; For his charge wherein he hath received onely one hundred pounds, being short of his Costa, expenses therein sustayned; and that the pet'r is a fitt p'son 7 for the execution of ye Service; Ordered by [his Highness the Lord Protector] and the Counsell, That according to ye tenor of the sayd report, there be paid unto the sayd Richard Pight the Sum of Seaventy pounds for and in lieu of ye Services by him already performed, to the date of the sayd report, as also the Sum eighty two pounds three shillings for severall Contingent Charges by him disburst in ye Service to ye tyme, since the 20th day of March 1655; And "That it be referred to Sr John Barkstead kn 5, and Mr Cresset, with Lt Col. Francis White, or any 2 of them, to view as well the quantity, and quality of all Irons, instrum'ts, utensils, and other materials for Counterfeit

1 Barkstead 2 Lieutenant 3 petitioner 4 performed 5 petitioner's 6 parts 7 person 8 that
It may interest our readers if we give here a few brief notes respecting the connection between the Protector and the persons forming this Committee; although very little is known regarding the lives of some of them. The majority of the Council, however, had been leading officers in the Commonwealth's army.

Major-General Lambert is a prominent and well known name in this period. He was a member of Oliver's first Parliament, which met on the 3d of September, 1654; and was also one of the Major-Generals of Counties appointed on the 9th August 1655, his district including five of the northern counties of England. His active employment under the Protectorate ceased with his dismissal from all his appointments in July, 1657; for, having offended Cromwell by not presenting himself when the members of the Council took the oath of fidelity to the new government (just confirmed by Oliver's second installation as Lord Protector on the 26th June, 1657), and showing himself dis-satisfied with that condition of things, he was deprived of his commissions; but received instead a retiring pension of £2000 per annum.

Colonel Philip Jones was member for Brecknockshire in the Long Parliament. Under the Protector he was "Comptroller of His Highness's Household", and one of his House of Lords, with the title of "Philip Lord Jones."

Sir Charles Wolseley, Baronet, was member for Staffordshire in Oliver's first and second Parliaments; and was one of his peers, under the title of "Charles Lord Wolseley."

Mr. Walter Strickland was member for Minehead in the Long Parliament, and had been some time the Commonwealth's Ambassador in Holland. He was also elected a member in both of Cromwell's Parliaments, and made one of his peers, as "Walter Lord Strickland."

Colonel Humphrey Mackworth was a lawyer of Shrewsbury, and Governor of that place when Charles II. unsuccessfully summoned it on his road to Worcester in 1651. He died about a year after his appointment as one of Oliver's Privy Councillors, and was buried on the 26th December, 1654, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, at Westminster Abbey. His was one of the twenty-one bodies of Commonwealth worthies, exhumed by order of Charles II. on the
12th September 1661, and re-interred in a pit dug in St. Margaret's Churchyard. (See Dean Stanley's Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, 2nd edition, London 1868, page 237 et seq.)

Colonel William Sydenham was member for Melcombe Regis in the Long Parliament, and was also member of the two Protectorate Parliaments. Oliver made him one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and a member of his House of Peers under the title of "William Lord Sydenham."

Colonel the Honourable Nathaniel Fiennes was the second son of the Viscount Say and Sele; he was member for Banbury in the Long Parliament, and was also a representative in both of Oliver's Parliaments. The Protector made him one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal in 1655, and in 1657 one of his peers as "Nathaniel Lord Fiennes."

With regard to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Baronet, afterwards the first Earl of Shaftesbury, we would refer the reader to his Memoirs, Letters, and Speeches, etc., edited by W. D. Christie, Svo, London 1859; remarking here only that he was elected for Oliver's two Parliaments, but was one of the members excluded from the second.

IV.—COUNTERFEITERS OF COIN.

In the Council Order Books there are several entries relating to the counterfeiting of the current coin; and the false coiners seem to have been very numerous at this period. From their dates it appears that these orders must refer to the money bearing the Commonwealth's type, just described (antea pp. 29, 30); and in the British Museum, as well as in several private collections, specimens of such counterfeits are still preserved.

The earliest orders on the subject are contained in the following extract:

Tuesday, 3d April, 1655.—"Col. Jones reports the service performed to the Coffon wealth by Richard Pight, Clerk of the Irons and Surveyo of the melting houses in the Mynt, in his discovering and prostequating of Counterfeit Coyne, and the sons guilty of Counterfeitting the same; Ord. by his Highness the Lord Protector] by and with the Counsellors Advise That a warr be issued to Mr. Gualter Frost for paymt of £14 to the & Richard Pight towards ye Charge and Recompence of that service, out of the Counsell's Contingencies.

1 performed. 2 persons. 3 warrant. 4 £50. 5 said.
Mint Affairs.

Coynings, as also all Counterfeitt peices of Coyne, plates, mettalls, and other materialls prepared for that use, that have been seized by the sayd Richard Pight, and brought into the Tower of London, and to cause the sayd Irons, instrumts, and utensiles, Counterfeitt peices of Coyne, mettalls, and materialls to be defaced and made useless; and the sayd moneys and mettalls to be melted downe, and an assay thereof taken, and the true value thereof estimated, and delivred into ye hands of the sayd Richard Pight, for and towards the sayd sumes of Sevenytye pounds, and eighty two pounds three shillings soo ordered to be paid unto him; And to c'tyfy what ye same amounts unto, ye further provision may be made for ye remaynd thereof.”

—Pages 315, 316, Entry Book No. 105.

On Saturday, 13th September, 1656, His Highness gave his approbation to the foregoing order of the 7th August (Entry Book No. 105, p. 394); and the whole matter appears to have been brought to a conclusion by the Council’s order of—

Thursday, 4th December, 1656.—“On reading a report from Sr John Barkstead kn., & Lievt. Col. Francis White, in pursuance of the Councell’s order of the 7th of August 1656, whereby it was referred to them, to view the Instrumts, materialls, and Counterfeitt Coyne, seized by Richard Pight, Clerke of the Irons &c., and to cause the said Instrumts &c. to be defaced, and the value thereof, and of the said Coyne to be estimated, to the intent the same may be applied towards satisfying him the severall sumes of Seventy pounds and eighty three pounds, ordered to be payd him for service, and disbursements, in discovery of Counterfeitt Coyners; They certifying, that the premises amount unto Thirty seven pounds two shillings, which is delivered to the said Richard Pight, towards his satisfaction (besides a great press for the Coyning of money, formerly stolne out of the Tower, being most of it brasse, with if defaced, will amount to ye value of fourty shillings) Ordered by his Highness the Lo. Protector and the Councell, That the said presse be continued for the service of the Mint, and delivered into the charge of the proper Officer thereof, And that in satisfaction of the residue of the said sumes, there be payd to the said Richard Pight, out of the money arising from the profits of the Mint, the sum of one hundred & fifteeene pounds,

1 certify.
eighteene shillings, And the Warden of his Highness Mint at the Tower is hereby empow'rd, and required, to pay ye same accordingly."—Page 557, 

According to a memorandum in the margin, this order was approved in person on the same day, His Highness the Lord Protector being present.

The following extract from a contemporary newspaper affords us an interesting example of Richard Pight's proceedings against the false coiners. It is exactly copied from The Publick Intelligencer, Number 4, from Monday October 22 to Monday October 29, 1655.

"An Advertisement.

"There is a great offender of this Commonwealth, whose name is Abraham Stapley, thirty years of age, a Sussex man, brown haired, of middle size, whitely coloured, very slender, usually going in sad coloured clothes; he first lived in Westminster, at the Mill-bank; from thence he went to Red-rose street in Covent-Garden, from thence into Dirty Lane in Saint Giles; from thence to Saint Saveries dock; from thence to Delford. This Abraham Stapley is a false Coiner of money, for, in his house at Delford were found several false Coining Irons for half Crowns, and false half Crowns, Coined with the date 1655. and this is to give notice to all persons whatsoever, that shall receive any of this said money of Stapleys, dated 1655. there being none of that date in his Highness Mint coined to this day the 26. of October; If they do not give notice to me Richard Pight, I shall wheresoever I finde them, prosecute them according to the Law: whosoever shall apprehend this party, and bring certain Intelligence to Master Pight in the Tower, Surveyour of the Melting-house in his Highnesse Mint, shall receive five pounds for their faithful service to the Commonwealth.

"Richard Pight."

It is perhaps unnecessary to remind the reader that Stapley was liable to the punishment of death for counterfeiting the coin of the realm (see page 21 above); for this crime had been held to be high treason ever since the year 1351 (25 Edward III. chapter 2.)

The statement of Pight in this advertisement, that no money had been coined with the date 1655 up to the 26th October in that year, is interesting;
although it is very likely that a few shillings and six-pences were made in November or December, 1655. We have never seen any gold coins of that date, nor any genuine silver crowns or half-crowns; yet one of the latter is said to have been in the Wigan collection. In the British Museum are plated forgeries of half-crowns dated 1654 and 1655; that of 1655 being probably one of the identical false half-crowns made by Stapley. Mr. John Evans, F. R. S. &c., has also kindly favoured the author with the loan of a false half-crown of base metal, dated 1656. This latter piece, as well as a rude imitation of the half-groat in the British Museum, is no doubt one of the contemporary productions of the counterfeiters of Commonwealth coins, against whom Richard Pight was so active. It should be distinctly understood, however, that all the foregoing remarks refer only to coins with the Commonwealth's type, as described on page 30 above, and not to any coins with the Protector's bust.

We further observe, by the Council Entry Book No. 105, that four persons having been condemned at the Northampton Assizes for this crime of coining, the Protector granted a reprieve to the fourth criminal, on the 5th September, 1656; and in the Privy Seal Book No. 13, we also find the enrolment of a Letter of Privy Seal, issued by the Protector Oliver, 10th March, 1656-7, for paying to Robert Worrall, Keeper of Grettsam Lodge in the Forest of Rockingham, Northamptonshire, the sum of fifty pounds, "as a reward for his pains, expenses, and service, in apprehending of certaine persons, attainted of high-treason for counterfeiting the coyne of this Commonwealth." These were no doubt the same persons as those mentioned in the Council Book.

In October, 1659, Richard Pight again appears as a prosecutor, the defendant this time being Cecil Lord Baltimore, whose money for his territory of Maryland is well known to all American numismatists. The shilling, six-pence, and groat, of silver, are represented in Folkes's and Ruding's plate xxx. nos. 6, 7, 8. They each bear the bust and name of Lord Baltimore on the obverse, with his arms, the value, and a motto on the reverse. From the Council Entry Book, Interregnum, No. 107, p. 646, we learn that Richard Pight gave information to the Council of State "that Cicill Lord Baltamore and diverse others with him, and for him, have made and transported great Sums of money, and doe still goe on to make more." The Council thereupon
ordered, on Tuesday, 4th October, 1659, "That a warrant be issued forth to the said Richard Pight for the apprehending of the Lord Baltamore and such others as are suspected to be engaged with him, in the said offence, and for the seizing of all such moneys, stamps, tools & Instrum[a] for Coyning the same, as can be met with, and to bring them in safe custody to the Counsell."

On the following day, however, the Council made another order, which is in less severe terms, and was perhaps substituted for their former one, viz:

Wednesday, 5th October, 1659.—"The Counsell being informed that a great quantity of Silver is coyned into piece of diverse rates & values, and sent into Maryland, by the Lo. Baltamore or his order. Ordered, That the said Lo. Baltamore be summoned to attend the Committee of the Counsell for Planta[CONS], who are to inquire into the whole business, and to report the state thereof to the Counsell."—Page 653, Entry Book No. 107.

No further notices about this matter can be found among the records, and we conclude that the report of the Committee for Plantations was never made, the Council of State being dissolved by Lambert on the 13th October 1659, only eight days afterwards.

It will scarcely appear surprising that Richard Pight had raised up many enemies by all these proceedings, and accordingly we find, amongst the State Papers of the Interregnum, a curious petition from him, addressed to the Council of State appointed by authority of Parliament, printed on one side of a folio sheet, without date. It must, however, have been printed somewhere between the months of May and October 1659, during which time only this Council sat. In this Petition, Pight complains that the Under Graver, Nicholas Birch, had combined against him with Thomas Violet and several of the false coiners whom he had previously prosecuted. Pight also states that Violet had charged him with keeping correspondence with the false coiners, when on the contrary he had instituted proceedings against many of them, "and preferring a Bill of Indictment against Thomas Webb and Mary White for Coining false Dollars, 1655, although the Witness did make it fully appear they were guilty of the same, yet they were acquitted both by the Judgment of the Bench of Justices and Jury, there being (as they said) no Law in force to convict them of the said fact." Pight goes
on to say that in the last four years (1655—1659) he had prosecuted more than eighty persons for false coining, and had not received one penny for his disbursements in doing so, or salary since 1651; £500 being now due to him, and £100 for his salary for his office in the Mint.* He then requests "to be protected and indemnified from such suits as are now pending (in particular by Henry Cole), and from the violence and malice of Thomas Violet,† and all other Offenders and Confederates, which are your Petitioner's enemies for his faithful service done to this Commonwealth, daily seeking his ruin." He concludes by asking for full power to prosecute such false coiners. See p. 597, vol. x. of Interregnum Petitions, Public Record Office.

It does not appear, after a careful search, that any response was made to this Petition, and there seems no doubt that the unsettled state of the government effectually prevented anything being done.

In 1660, however, Richard Pight again presented a petition, this time addressed to King Charles II. He prays for confirmation in his office in the Mint, and annexes an account of eighty-six false coiners prosecuted by him from August 1650 to 1659; and he also alleges that £100 of his Mint salary, and £500 for prosecuting these coiners, are still due to him. (Mrs. Everett Green's Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1660—1661, page 10.) It is probable that Pight was, like many others, continued in his former employment; although we do not know who filled the offices of Clerk of the Irons and Surveyor of the Melting House for twelve years after the Restoration.

* The reader will nevertheless have observed that over £252, in money and goods, had been ordered to be paid to him by the Protector, and that a large portion of it had actually been so paid.

† The same person as the T. Violet who discovered the silver ships, etc., see pp. 31—33 above.

V.—SIR RALPH MADDISON'S PAMPHLET.

A curious pamphlet on Mint Affairs, written by Sir Ralph Maddison, Knight, is among the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, no. 18, vol. 625. According to a contemporary manuscript note on the title-page, it was published in December, 1654, although the printed date is 1655. It is a small quarto of twenty-three leaves, composed of the title and epistle-dedicatory on two leaves, followed by pages 1—42. The title runs thus:
“Great Britains Remembrancer, Looking In and Out. Tending to the Increase of the Monies of the Commonwealth. Presented to his Highness the Lord Protector, And to the High Court of Parliament now assembled. By the Author Ralphe Maddison, Kt. London 1655.”

This tract consists of an essay on the five following subjects: 1. Unequal Exchange, or the Merchants' Exchange. 2. The Balance of Trade. 3. A Bank and a Banker. 4. A standing Council for Mint-affairs. 5. Free Ports. The author discusses at length these and similar commercial and monetary questions, and offers many propositions; but, although it seemed advisable to point out the existence of this pamphlet for the benefit of those readers who may wish to further investigate the subject, it contains no information concerning the mint and the coins of the period which seems to require special notice in this place.

It should be observed, however, that a large portion of the subject matter in Great Britain's Remembrancer is reproduced from an earlier pamphlet by Maddison, also on trade and currency questions, of which two editions are in the Library of the British Museum. The title of the first edition is—“Englands Looking In and Out. Presented to the High Court of Parliament now Assembled. By the Author R. M. Knight.” London, 1640, seventeen leaves, small quarto. The second edition is exactly similar, and apparently from the same types, the only difference being the alteration of the date on the title-page from 1640 to 1641.

Respecting the author himself, we have not been able to find much information. On the 16th August, 1649, a Committee of the Council of State was appointed to speak with him about the business of the Coin, the means whereby the Mint might be set to work, etc. (See Violet's Mysteries and Secrets of Trade and Mint-affairs, London, 1653, page 161.) Maddison may have been, therefore, a goldsmith of some standing, whose experience in monetary matters was esteemed by the Council.
THE PEACE OF WESTMINSTER MEDALS.

Before proceeding further in our Medallic History, it will be necessary to describe the Dutch Medals that were made on the occasion of the Peace of Westminster. This treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Commonwealth of England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, was signed at Westminster on the 5th April, 1654, and proclaimed in London on the 26th April. A Proclamation for the cessation of all acts of hostility between the two countries was made on the 2nd May.

M. Bizot, in his Histoire Metallique de la Republique de Hollande, edit. 1688, tom. ii. p. 226, says that the three medals—Nos. I. to III. described below—were struck at Amsterdam on the publication of this Peace. Also Nos. IV. and V., since they bear Dutch inscriptions, obviously belong to the same country. Gerard van Loon further states that Nos. I. to IV. were produced at Amsterdam.

Medal No. I.

Obverse, Neptune on a car, drawn by two sea-horses: the shields of arms of England and Holland resting on his knees, between which is a wreath. He holds a trident in his right hand, and above his head is the caduceus, which supports Mercury’s winged hat, between two palm branches. On each side of the car is a Triton swimming in the sea, and blowing a conch. The artist’s name, "Jerian Pool," is engraved at the sides of Neptune’s head. Around the whole is the legend: AMANTIVM IRA AMICITIE REDINTEGRATIO EST (The quarrelling of friends is the renewing of friendship), an altered line from Terence, Andria, act iii., scene 3, line 23. At the end of this legend are the words "fecit Amsterdami," in small letters, evidently intended to be read thus—"Jerian Pool fecit Amsterdami."

Reverse, a Dutch inscription in fifteen lines, as follows:—"Ter Memorie der Vrede, Unie en Confederaetie, den 15 April solemnlyck gesloten tot West Monster, tusschen syn Hoogheyt den Heer Protecteur vande Republique van Engeland, Schottland, en Yrlant ter een, en de Hooghmogende Heeren Staten Generael ter andre syde; daer op wederzylts Ratsfication in behoorlycke forme den 2 der maant May is uitgewisselt, en gepubliceert den 27 der seyer Maent. Anno 1654." (In memory of the peace, union and confederation solemnly concluded
at Westminster, the 15th April, between His Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the one part, and the High and Mighty Lords the States General on the other part; of which the ratifications were duly exchanged by both parties the 2nd May, and published the 27th of the same month, in the year 1654.) These dates are according to the new style, then in use in Holland, but not in this country.

This medal is circular, size 2·3 inches in diameter; there is a silver specimen of it in the British Museum.


**MEDAL NO. II.**

Obverse, two allegorical female figures seated, representing the republics of England and Holland. The former has the Irish harp resting on her knees, and the latter has the Belgic lion couching at her feet. They are together holding up a hat, emblem of the liberty of the two republics. Legend—MENTIBUS UNITIS PRISCUS PROCU AMOR, FICIBA NE SUBITO PARTA CRUORES RUANT (Now that union reigns in our minds, may the former bitterness be banished from them, lest the liberties procured through blood be suddenly destroyed.) In the exergue—CONCL: XV D. APR. A.D. M.DC.LIV. (Concluded the 15th, [or 25th, new style] day of April, 1654.)

Reverse, two large three-masted ships of war, resting side by side on the sea, one carrying the colours of England, the other those of Holland. Legend—LUXURIT GEMINO NEXU TRANQUILLA SALO REM, EXCIPIT UNANIMIS TOTIUS ORBS AMOR (Commerce, tranquillized by the double alliance, flourishes on the sea, and the whole world receives the allies with pleasure.) The initials of the artist s. n., for Sebost Dadler, may be discovered in minute letters on both sides of this medal.
Peace of Westminster Medals.

A circular medal, well engraved and struck, size 2:3 inches in diameter. We have seen silver specimens in the British Museum, and in two private collections. A copper one formed lot 2432 in Baron Michiels van Verduynen’s sale, Maestricht, April, 1872.

It is engraved in—M. Bizot’s *Histoire Metallique de la Republique de Hol-

MEDAL NO. III.

Obverse, two female figures, representing Peace and Justice, with their usual attributes, standing, and supporting a cornucopia between them. Above, is the word “Jehorah,” in Hebrew letters, in a cloud. Legend—

* Ha MINI ERUNT ARTES* (These will be my occupations), from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, book vi. line 853. In the exergue, the date: *MDCLIII* (1654).

Reverse, the following Latin inscription, in eighteen lines—Q.F.P.Q.S. [Quod felix faustumque sit]. POST. ATOX. BELVM. QVOD. INTER. ANGLIC. BELGICÆQVE. REX. PUBLICA. RECTORES. HIB. FRVSTRA. TENTATIS. PACIS. CONDITIONIBVS. ANO. CIUCIULIT. EXARBIT. IN. QVO. MAXIMIS. VTRINQVE. CLASSIBVS.

SEX. SEPTENTRIONALI. DVO. MEDITERR. RANEO MARI. PVGNATA. SVNT. CRVENTA. PRAELIA. DRI. OPT. SWI. MAX. EMI. BENEFICIO. AVSPICIS. OLIVARII. M.agna BRITA-

NIA. PROTOCOSIS. ET. FOEDER. a ti BELGII. ORDINVM. PAX. CVM. ANTIQVO. FORDERE. RESTITVTA. CIVIVS. OPTIMÆ. RERYM. IN. MEMORIAM. SEMPTERNUM.

& *senatus Populus Q.ue A.mstelodamensis HOC. MONUMENTVM. F.ieri C.urarunt.*

(May this be happy and favourable. After a cruel war, which, conditions of peace having been twice proposed in vain, had been commenced in the year 1652, between the government of the English Commonwealth and that of the Republic of the Low Countries, a war in which very great fleets on each side were engaged in six bloody battles on the North Sea, and two on the Mediterranean; Peace and the ancient alliance have been re-established by the grace of the greatest and best God, under the auspices of Oliver,

* The parts printed in Italics are not on the medal.
Protector of Great Britain, and of the States of the United Provinces. In memory of which peace, the best of things, this memorial has been made, by order of the senate and people of Amsterdam.)

A circular medal, size 2.5 inches in diameter.


MEDAL NO. IV.

Obverse, two Amazons, symbolic of the two Republics, standing, wearing cuirasses, helmets, and plumes, and each holding in one hand a lance with a hat on the end. Upon flags at the ends of the lances, are the arms of England and Holland. A figure of Peace joins together the two lances with a branch of olive. The English Amazon carries in her right hand a shield of the English arms (St. George's cross impaled with the harp), and at her feet are the Irish harp and the Scottish thistle. The Dutch Amazon holds in her left hand a sheaf of seven arrows, tied up with a cord, which also restrains the Belgic lion, crouching at her feet. Legend—HIER BINT DE HEIL'GE VREE DEN BRE'T EN BATAVIER' DE WERELT EER'T VERBONT EN VREEZ' ER KRYGS BANIER (Here holy Peace unites the English and the Dutch; may the world honour their alliance, and fear their banners.)

Reverse, a large three-masted ship of war sailing to the right. Above it, flying in the air, a figure of Fame proclaims the peace with her trumpet. Tritons blowing conches also swim around the ship. In the exergue is the date—A°. 1654. Legend—WAAROM ZEILT T VREDESCHIP OP T SILVER IN DE ZEE? OM DAT DE BROERERKRIJG VERANDERT IS IN VREE (Why sails the Ship of Peace on the silver (medal) in the midst of the sea? It is because the strife of brothers is changed into peace.)

A circular medal, size 3.16 inches in diameter. All the specimens of it
Peace of Westminster Medals.

which have come to our knowledge are made of silver, first cast, and then finished by hand chasing. That in the British Museum has been gilt.


MEDAL NO. V.

The fifth medal commemorative of the Peace of Westminster is, we believe, hitherto unpublished, and is also very probably unique. Our illustration, plate ii. no. 3, is taken from the original in the British Museum, which is entirely chased by hand on a flat plate of silver. According to the reverse inscription, it appears to have been made at the private cost of Pieter Lips and Ferdinand de Backere, Burgomasters of the town of Sluys, in commemoration of this peace between England and the Netherlands.

The Obverse bears a representation of the Protector Oliver, standing on a dais, and presenting the treaty to the Dutch Ambassador. The figures are badly drawn, in the costume of the period, and there seems to be no attempt at portraiture, since the figure of Cromwell is certainly very unlike him. In the background is slightly sketched the arch of a building. Legend—

> VREDE . GESLOTEN . TVSCHEN . DEN . HEER . HEERE . PROTECTOR . CROMWEL . EN . D'HO : MO : HEEREN . STATEN . GENERAEL . IN . DEN . IARE 1654

(Peace concluded between the Lord Protector Cromwell and the High and Mighty Lords the States General, in the year 1654.)

Reverse, a large shield bearing the arms of Sluys, viz.: gules, two bars wavy argent. The shield is surmounted by the coronet of a Count, and is suspended by a strap from the branch of a tree; a common method of representing a shield of arms. Legend—

> PIETER . LIPS . ENDE . FERDINAND . DE . BACKERE . BYRGEMEESTERS . DER . STADT . SLYS . ANNO . 1654

(Pieter Lips and Ferdinand de Backere, Burgomasters of the town of Sluys, in the year 1654.) There is a lozenge at the end of the legend on each side of the medal, which is circular, and measures 3/4 inches in diameter.
THE PATTERN FARTHINGS OF 1654.

It is well known by most of our readers that a great variety of small brass and copper tokens, made and issued by tradesmen, tavern-keepers, etc., came into use upon the discontinuance of the royal farthing tokens of Charles the First, about the year 1649. The confusion and loss arising from the former were, however, soon perceived, and several proposals were made for the coinage of a state farthing, or an universally current copper coin to be issued by the government, to supersede all the private tokens. Patterns of such state farthings were made in 1649 and 1651, and petitions and proposals on this subject continued to be received by the authorities up to the year 1654, but in a newspaper of that date it is remarked that—

"It is uncertain also what will be done about Farthing Tokens."—Page 3704, No. 233, of Severall Proceedings of State Affaires, 9-16 March, 1653-4.

The Protector's Council of State, however, disposed of the matter by the following order:

Thursday, 16th March, 1653-4.—"Col. Jones reports from ye Committee for ye Mint their opinion touching the severall petitions & proposals made concerning farthings,

"Ordered that the said petitions be layd aside."—Page 12, Draft Order Book No. 78.

We have not been able to discover, either in the Public Record Office or in the British Museum, any of the petitions or proposals mentioned in this order of the Council, except one small tract [No. 18, vol. 598, sm. 4tos, Kings Pamphlets], which is, very probably, a printed copy of one of these proposals. It contains fourteen pages, small quarto, including the title-page, which reads as follows:

"A Declaration Concerning State-Farthings; or, Certain Remonstrative Reasons for the allowance thereof; Wherein is comprised, 1 The Honour of the States vindicated, 2 The Peoples hearts contented, 3 The Commonwealths good propagated, 4 The Relief of the Poor increased. By Thomas Dunsterville, Citizen of London. Imprinted for the Author, 1654."

The date of publication, "Aprimr ye 6," 1654, is inserted in contemporary handwriting by Thomason, the collector of these pamphlets.
The work commences on page 3, with the heading — "A Declaration concerning the allowance of Brass-Farthings, &c." The writer throughout urges the necessity of state farthings, or a national coinage of authorised farthings, and begins by discussing the different kinds of metal out of which it is proposed to make them. The three materials proposed by other persons were—"1. Pure copper, 2. copper and brasse semented together, 3. tin intrinsick," (page 9); and each farthing was to consist of as much metal as would be intrinsically worth a farthing. Dunsterville objects to all these substances, giving his reasons at length, and offers a new alloy of his own invention, "made up by art," of which specimens seem to have been submitted to the Committee of Council for the Mint, for on page 5 he says: "And such a Mettal (viz: not easy to counterfeit) now lies before their Honours relating to the Mint."

On pages 12 and 13 of this pamphlet, Dunsterville gives an account of the properties of the new metal or alloy invented by him, in these terms:

"1. It beareth in it two colors, the one a pale fac’d red, imbodied with Azure throughout, so that it is different from all sorts of mettal in color, 2. It is hard and beautiful like silver, in its own kind. 3. It is in color as durable as silver. 4. It is much easier to counterfeit silver than the same mettal; which last, wel weighed, wil take off the fear of counterfeiting Farthings, because (I conceive) no man wil counterfeit farthings, that can counterfeit silver with more ease, provided the State make a penal Order against it, as in like cases it is for silver and gold."

Concerning himself, the author informs us that he was "bred a Silkman, and lived twenty years or thereabouts in Cheap-side, and Paternoster-Roe, a Master for my self" (page 8).

The proposals of Thomas Dunsterville having been "laid aside" by the Council’s order of the 16th March, 1653-4, no more notice was taken of his projects during the Protectorate; but Mr. J. H. Burn has published a petition from Dunsterville to the Parliament which governed after Richard Cromwell’s resignation, May to October, 1659. In it, Dunsterville prays the Parliament to make use of his newly invented metal for state farthings, and to pass an act for their allowance, granting to the petitioner the preparation of the metal. A paper of reasons annexed to the petition is written in nearly

There are, however, some of the farthings of 1654 still in existence; and we will now describe the two pewter farthings of that date which were actually put into circulation, as we learn from the following passage in a contemporary newspaper:

Wednesday, 26th April, 1654.—“This night are come out new Farthings, weighing a quarter of an ounce fine Pewter, which is but the price of new Pewter; that so the people may never hereafter fear to loose much by them; with the Harp of one side, and a crosse on the other, with T. K. above it.”—Page 3802, No. 239, of Severall Proceedings of State Affairs.

That the issue of these farthings was unauthorised and contrary to the wishes of the government, appears from an official notice which was speedily published, prohibiting their circulation in these terms:

“An Advertisement.

“Whereas several persons have presented unto his Highness and his Council, divers patterns for the making of a common Farthing for the use of the Common wealth; and have attended several times about the same, and at this day the business is depending before his honourable Council, and their pleasure as yet not signified therein. And yet notwithstanding in the mean time several persons have presumed without any Authority or Declaration of the State to set the Common-wealth of Englands Arms on a piece of pewter of the weight of about a quarter of an ounce, and have procured intimation in Print to be made, that these pewter farthings are allowed to pass currant through the Common-wealth of England, &c. and in pursuance thereof, have and do daily vend these unauthorized pewter farthings in London and other parts of this Commonwealth, to the great deceit and dammage of this Nation.

“These are to give notice to all men, that if there be not a sudden stop of the making and vendering of those pewter farthings, the Commonwealth will be greatly deceived, both by mixing the Pewter with Lead, and also every Tinker and other lewd persons will get molds and make the said pewter farthings in every corner. Therefore all people ought to take notice that
The Pattern Farthings of 1654.

no farthings are to pass, but such only as shall be authorized, by his Highness and his Council to pass through the Commonwealth."—Page 3474, No. 204, of Mercurius Politicus, 4—11th May, 1654.

It will be observed that the latter portion of this extract seems to show that it was actually the intention of the Protector to issue a properly authorized state farthing, to be legally current over all the nation; and we shall have more to say on the subject of his pattern farthings under the year 1658.

The above advertisement (now for the first time noticed in any numismatic work) confirms the view that the pewter farthings bearing the initials T.K. were coined by some private individual, as supposed by Thos. Snelling, who remarks—"We should almost suspect from the T.K. and the different cross on this piece, that it might rather belong to a private tradesman."—View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England, 1766, p. 33 note. The Editor of the second (1780) edition of G. Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, also concurs in Snelling's opinion: see appendix, page 79.

There are two varieties of these pewter farthings, apparently from the same dies, but one has the addition of a sun with long rays over the shield on the reverse.

No. 1. Obverse, a shield bearing a cross. Above it, a wreath of what appear to be roses, enclosing the initials T.K. Legend—\[1/2\] Ounce of Fine Pewter. Reverse, a similar shield bearing the Irish harp; a wreath of laurel above. Legend—FOR NECESSARY CHANGE. On each side is a beaded inner circle. Size: 9 of an inch in diameter. See illustration, plate ii. no. 4, taken from a specimen in the British Museum.

No. 2. Nearly similar to no. 1, being from the same dies, but with the addition of a sun over the centre of the reverse, its rays reaching to the inner circle. See plate ii. no. 5, which is from a coin in the Author's cabinet. It was the best specimen available, since, although it shows much decay, it is less corroded than that in the British Museum. On a very fine specimen sold at Mr. J. B. Berge's sale, 27th May 1873, lot 874, the eyes, nose, and mouth could be distinguished on the face of the sun.

The pewter farthing no. 1 is engraved in G. Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, plate xxvi. no. 6, and in T. Snelling's View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England, plate vi. no. 5. No. 2 is engraved in Folkes's and Ruding's plates of Silver Coins, plate xxxi. no. 12.
The weight of each of these farthings, according to the inscription on the obverse, should be a quarter of an ounce, which, if avoidupois, would be 109 grains and a fraction: therefore each farthing ought to weigh about 109 grains troy, but pewter being a metal which corrodes very quickly when exposed to the air, most of the pewter farthings that now exist are very much lighter from this cause. A corroded specimen of No. 2, in the British Museum Cabinet, weighs 102 grains, so that when new it may very possibly have weighed, as well as the other examples, the necessary amount of 109 grains, or a quarter of an ounce.

We have been unable to discover what name is represented by the initials T.K. on the obverse of these pewter farthings. The fullest explanation hitherto given is that they are the initials of some private trader, as before mentioned, but none of the London traders' tokens of the period afford any clue. There was a T. K., viz: Thomas Kencie, who lived in Southampton Buildings, Holborn, and issued a half-penny token, but what his trade was we do not know. The only other London trader issuing tokens, who had for his initials T.K., was Thomas Knight. He was a baker, and it is therefore improbable that he should have projected the coinage of national farthings. But, without further evidence, it is impossible to identify this T.K.

The pewter farthings of 1654 having been peremptorily suppressed by the above quoted notice of the Protector's Council, it is only to be expected that few specimens should have come down to our times. This is actually the case, and both varieties of these farthings are rare, especially when in fair preservation. No. 1 is the rarest of the two.

Before leaving this subject it may be useful to give a brief list of some pattern farthings, which, judging from their similarity of type and execution, were probably made about the same time and by the same person as the pewter farthings of 1654. They also bear the English and Irish shields of arms (the form of the cross varying slightly), with similar wreaths above, and have the same inscription on the reverse—for necessary change. The legend on the obverse, ENGLAND'S FARTHING, shows that they were patterns for a national or state farthing, doubtless made by one of the persons who sent in the proposals referred to in the Council's order of March 16, 1653-4.

**Pattern Farthings of uncertain date.**—No. 1. Obverse, a shield bearing St. George's cross; a laurel wreath above. Legend—ENGLANDS. FARTHING.
Reverse, a shield bearing the Irish harp; also with a laurel wreath above. Legend—FOR NECESSARY CHANGE. There are beaded inner circles on both sides. Size 9 inch in diameter. A rubbed copper specimen in the British Museum weighs 80 grains. Engraved by G. Vertue, Works of Thomas Simon, plate xxvi. no. 5.

No. 2. Obverse and reverse exactly similar in type to no. 1, but smaller in size. Diameter 8 inch. A copper one in the British Museum weighs 57 grains. It is of good work, and well preserved.

No. 3. Obverse and reverse similar to no. 1, but reading CHANG (instead of CHANGE) on the reverse. There is also a lozenge after each word in the legends. Diameter 8 inch. This farthing is of good work, and is struck in copper. A well preserved example in the British Museum weighs 69½ grains. Another copper specimen was in Mr. J. B. Bergue’s sale, 27th May 1873, lot 871, £1 8s. Engraved by Vertue, plate xxvi. no. 4, and in Folkes’ and Ruding’s plate xxxi. no. 15, but in these engravings the lozenges are not properly represented.

No. 4. Obverse, shield and laurel wreath as on No. 1. Legend—ENGLANDS FARTHING: Reverse, also with shield and wreath as on the reverse of No. 1. Legend—FOR NECESSARY CHANG. On each side is a double inner and outer circle, one of each pair being beaded, the other a plain line. The diameter of this pattern is 7 inch; and it is struck in brass, with a copper stud in the centre. A fairly preserved specimen in the British Museum weighs 51½ grains. In the Martin and Murchison sales was a pattern in brass, similar to No. 4, but reading FARTHIN. on the obverse.

No. 5. Obverse, a shield bearing St. George’s cross; a laurel wreath above. Legend—ENGLANDS FARTHING. Reverse, a shield bearing the Irish harp; also with a laurel wreath above it. Legend—FOR NECESSARY CHANG. There are no dots between the words of the inscriptions. Inside of the wreath on each side is the letter K. There is also a beaded inner circle on each side. Diameter 85 inch. Brass, with a copper stud in the centre. A fairly preserved specimen in the British Museum weighs 106½ grains. One was in the Pembroke cabinet, see the plates, part iv. tab. 20. A very fine specimen, also brass with a large copper stud in the centre, formed lot 870 in Mr. J. B. Bergue’s sale, 27th May 1873, and sold for £2 12s. In the sale catalogue
of Mr. E. Hawkins’ collection, lot 26, is described one of these farthings (apparently), but it is said to have r. for Rawlins within each wreath. This must, however, be a mistake for k.

No. 6. Obverse, a shield bearing St. George’s cross; a laurel wreath above. Legend—ENGLANDS FAR D IN. Reverse, a shield bearing the Irish harp, also with a laurel wreath above it. Legend—FOR NECESSARY CHA. A beaded inner circle on each side. Diameter 8 inch. This pattern is of good work, and is made of some white metal: perhaps that invented by Dunsterville, mentioned above. A well preserved specimen in the British Museum weighs 70-8 grains. [Engraved in T. Snelling’s Copper Coinage, plate vi. no. 4.] One of these patterns no. 6 occurred in brass and copper, at Mr. Bergne’s sale, lot 869, £1 16s., very fine.

No. 7. Exactly similar to No. 6 in types and inscriptions, but smaller in size, its diameter being 7 inch. One in brass, badly preserved, is in the British Museum, weight 72½ grains.

All the seven farthings described above appear to have been executed by one man, the same who also engraved the pewter farthings with “T.K.” Farthing No. 5 even has the latter initial, k, upon it, probably denoting the same person as t. k., and that it was done by him. He must have been some private manufacturer, like Dunsterville, and not any one connected with the Mint, since there was no moneyer or workman in the Mint with those initials at this period (see list of moneyers on pp. 40, 41 of T. Violet’s Answer of the Corporation of Moniers, &c., London 1653).
Chapter the Third,

INCLUDING THE YEARS 1656—1657.
CHAPTER III.

PETER BLONDEAU AND THE IRISH MINT.

Before printing the documents relating to Peter Blondeau and the work he did for the proposed Irish Mint in the years 1654 and 1655, it seems advisable to give the reader some account of what we have ascertained regarding Blondeau's previous proceedings, especially as his name and inventions will be frequently mentioned in the subsequent pages of this work. It would also be difficult to separate one subject from the other: his connection with the projected Irish Mint arising out of the steps taken by the government to test his improved method of coining.

According to George Vertue (Works of T. Simon, edit. 1753, p. 17), the Council of State and the House of Commons, having had it represented to them that the coins of this country might be more perfectly and beautifully made, equal to any of the coins of Europe, proposed to send to France for Peter Blondeau, a native of that country, who had invented and brought to perfection certain improved machinery for striking money of equal sizes and shapes, having a beautiful polish, and with graining or inscriptions on the edges; thus preventing the clipping of the current coins, and the counterfeiting of them to any extent.

Blondeau appears to have been a man of respectable position and some private fortune. He is generally styled "gentleman" in the official documents, and we shall find that, in making pattern pieces and in bringing forward his inventions, he spent considerable sums which he never recovered.

Blondeau's own account of his invitation to England runs thus: "The Honourable Councell of State had prudently resolved to have the money well Coynd, if they could but meet with an excellent Workman to have the conduct of that Work: A year since (i.e. about June 1649) I had notice of it, whereupon I sent hither (to London) some Paterns of Coyn, which were esteemed and approved of by the said Honourable Councell of State, which occasioned my coming into England."—Peter Blondeau's Proposals to the Parliament, June 1650, folio sheet in the British Museum.
In another publication, he says: "The Council of State....having seen the patterns of coyn made after a new Invention by the said Blondeau, and having treated by Letters about the quantitie of pieces that could bee coyned in a week, and what they might cost; the said Council caused the said Blondeau the Inventor of that way of coyning, to com to London, to treat with him by word of mouth, and to agree about the price of coyning the monie of this Common-wealth after his way. Hee being then arrived at London the 3. of Septemb. 1649. the said Council bestowed on him 40\(^{t}\) sterling, and the late Mr. Frost, then Secretarie to the said Council, told him before Witnesses, that if the State could not agree with him about the price, and that therefore hee should bee necessitated to retire himself, the State would indemnifie him for his journie, both coming and returning, and for the time hee should have lost, and would bestow on him such a present, that hee would return satisfied."—Pages 8, 9 of A Most Humble Memorandum from Peter Blondeau, small octavo pamphlet in the British Museum.

It does not appear that he was ever repaid the expense of his journey to this country, the forty pounds given to him by the Council (by their order of the 11th September, 1649) being only an indemnification for the loss of his clothes and other personal effects, which were seized by a pirate when he was crossing the sea from France.

Blondeau states, in his above-mentioned Proposals to the Parliament, that he was "very courteously entertained" by the Council, but that Dr. Guerdain, Master of the Mint, endeavoured to drive him back to France, telling him that if he was come to be an Officer of the Mint, they were already too many, and that the Workmen were more than they had need for the Coyning of their Money, which they would doe so well, that the State would be satisfied."

About this time, in the latter part of the year 1649, the well-known Commonwealth coins of that date, with the usual type, were coined. It is not known who engraved the dies, but they were certainly not done by Simon. The rude execution and uneven sizes of these pieces evidently caused general dissatisfaction, so that the Council of State were induced to make the following order:—

At the Council of State at Whitehall, Saturday, 2nd February, 1649-50.—"Ordered That it be referred to the Committee of the Mint to consider how the moneys of the Commonwealth may be better made, and that they
call unto them Monseñor Blondeau, and conferre with him, and consider what use may be made of him and his skill about coyning; or if there can be no use made of him, that he might not attend any longer."—Certified copy annexed to Peter Blondeau's Petition of 21st April 1654, Domestic State Papers in the Public Record Office.

Blondeau's petition and proposals were also referred to the consideration of the Committee of Council for the Mint*, who accordingly discussed his inventions at length, but the Master and Corporation of the Mint were so successful in their opposition, that nothing was done all that year, 1650. Much annoyed at having remained nine months in England, "at a great charge, doing nothing," Blondeau published a folio sheet of proposals addressed "To the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England." It consists of seventy-two long lines of small print, and forms a portion of the collection made by the contemporary bookseller Thomason, who has written upon it the date of publication, "June 1650."

Blondeau, in this document, commences by referring to the evils occasioned by the counterfeiting, clipping, and transporting of the current coin. He then mentions his coming to England, at the invitation of the Council, who wished to prevent these evils. He states that the officers of the Mint have hindered him as much as they could, although the Council had ordered that his Proposition be taken into consideration, which Proposition is: "by a new Invention of mine, to make a handomer Coyne, than it can be found in all the world besides, viz. That shall not only be Stamped on both Flat-sides, but shall even be marked with Letters upon the thickness of the Brim, whereby the Counterfeiting, Casting, and Clipping of the Coyne shall be prevented." Blondeau then describes some of the proceedings of the people in the Mint to discourage him: the Master of the Mint "hath told me himself in plaine tearms, That he would doe his utmost to hinder my Proposition; and for that end he hath brought in an Irish Lock Smith, one David Rammage, a man ill-affected to the present Government, who hath been Servant formerly [to] the late deceased Master Briot, for whom he forged his Tools, and marked his Brasse Counters."

Blondeau next adverts to certain offers made by the Moneyers, and says that their prices were put very low, in order to discourage him and make him go home, when they would return to their old ways. He says that the

*Appointed 16th August, 1649; see list of names on p. 161 of T. Violet's "Mysteries," &c., 1663.
moneymen have tried to imitate his patterns, and to discover his secrets, but without the slightest success. He then offers to make the money by his new invention "for the very self-same price" as the officers of the Mint have demanded, although his method is "more difficult and chargeable." The price being five shillings for each pound weight of gold, and twelve pence for each pound of silver, the State to furnish the gold and silver in plate, with all the expenses and maintenance of the machines, tools, gravers, and all other necessary small charges. He concludes by offering to make proof of what he states without charge to the nation.

Another paper was issued by Blondeau, probably later on in the same year, 1650, although it has no date upon it. It is printed on a small folio sheet of paper, and the only copy known to us is preserved in the Public Record Office, Interregnum Letters and Papers No. 820, fo. 463a. It is headed: "An answer to severall objections made against Peter Blondeau his way of Coining the Money; and the difference betwixt his Coyn, and that which is made with the Hammer." Blondeau first answers the objection of some persons that his coins can be counterfeited. He says that the machines for making them are too large and heavy, and too difficult to construct. His process is also too expensive, and requires too many workmen, for any ordinary person to be able to counterfeit his productions, as they do the hammered money. He says that his money cannot be successfully moulded and cast, nor can it be clipped without taking away the letters or graining on the edge, thereby causing immediate detection. He concludes by describing how pieces with inscribed edges cannot be successfully or expeditiously made in the Tower Mint by the old methods.

In 1651 more active measures were taken regarding Peter Blondeau's petitions and proposals. On the 1st May, 1651, the Committee for the Mint made the following resolution:

"Resolved upon the Question that the Patterns of Coyne offered by the Frenchman, with Letters upon the Edges, is a better fashion of money, then the present fashion of the money of England: And is for the honor and great advantage of the Commonwealth: Provided the s\textsuperscript{d} Coyne be made at a moderate charge.

"James Harrington."*

*Copy annexed to P. Blondeau's Petition of 21st April 1654, Domestic State Papers.
The value of Blondeau's invention having thus been formally recognised by the Committee, the moneyers at the Mint became very jealous: "The Master, the Officers, and the workmen of the Mint told the Committee, it was not likely the said Blondeau had done himself the pieces sent by him to the Council of State. Besides, that it was an old Invention, which they knew themselves, and that such pieces were only made for curiositie, with very long time and great expence, and that it was impossible that that waie might bee used about the ordinarie coyn, which is thin. They desired that the said Blondeau might bee commandred to make a trial of his skill by making some other pieces, and that they would do as much as the said Blondeau. Therefore the said Committee ordered both the said Blondeau and the said workmen to make their patterns and Propositions respectively; and that he that would make it with most advantage to the State should have the Employment."—Pages 10, 11, of P. Blondeau's *Most Humble Memorandum*.

With regard to the statement of the moneyers, that Blondeau's was an old invention, it appears that the coining-press or mill was known to Benvenuto Cellini (see *Trattato dell' Orficeria*, cap. ix.) in the sixteenth century, and it was introduced into France by Aubry Olivier about 1553. It was not, however, until March, 1645, that coinage by the hammer was entirely suppressed in that country. (See pp. 507 et seqq., lecture by M. R. Chalon, t. v. s. 8, *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*). In England the coining-press, or mill and screw, was introduced by a Frenchman, named Mestrelle, in the reign of Elizabeth. Milled six-pences of this queen are extant dated 1561 and following years; but after 1575 we meet with no more milled coins until Blondeau's time.

The following are the two orders of the Committee of the Mint, directing that trial pieces should be made by Ramage, on behalf of the Moneyers of the Mint, and by Peter Blondeau, in support of his proposals and representations:

"*Whitehall, May 8, 1651.*—At the Committee of the Mint, for the Tryall betweene David Rammady and Peter Blondeau. It is Ordered that they make patterns to present the Committee, with this motto, *viz. Truth and Peace*. 1651. The Impression The States Arms, as upon a xx.s. peece. Two of the same in silver, for a halfe-Crowne peece.

"Two of the same peeces are to bee made with graining about the edges without the Motto."
“The Monyers are to give in their Propositions upon Thursday the third of July. The French-man is to make the like, and present to this Committee on the same day, or sooner.

“James Harrington.”

[See pages 173-4 of T. Violet’s Mysteriæ and Secrets of Trade and Mint Affairs, London 1653. After the above follows another order, directing Simon to deliver up to Ramage two rollers and a drawing-mill.]

Friday, 9th May, 1651.—“At the Committee of the Councill of State for the ordering of the Mint, sitting at Whitehall.—Ordered That Peter Blondeau shall make the proofs of his Invention for coyning of the moneys, and shall bring the pieces made by him to this Committee upon Thursday the third of July next or sooner, together with his Proposition: And that for that end he shall be authorised to make use of such Engins and Instruments necessary thereunto, as are at present in the custody of Mr Simons the Graver of the Mint. And shall worke either at the șd Simons his house, or at any such house or place, as the șd Blondeau shall thinke most convenient for his worke. And for so doing this Order shall be a sufficient Warrant unto him.

“James Harrington.
“Gilb. Pickering.”*

On the 14th June, this Warrant was issued to Ramage:—

“White-Hall the 14 June 1651.

“Mr. David Ramadge,

“These are to authorize you, to make some patterns as broad as a shilling, a half-crown, a twenty shillings piece of gold, in a mill; and if you can doe it with letters about the edge, or other ways, according to Queen Elizabeth’s patterns of mill-money, or any other models or pieces you are to make, That so the Committee of the Mint may see your several pieces, and thereupon consider what is fittest to present to the Councell of State, for the more handsome making of the monies for the honor of this Common-Wealth.

“James Harrington.
“Tho. Chaloner.”†

* Copy annexed to P. Blondeau’s Petition of 21st April 1654, Domestic State Papers.
† Page 20 of T. Violet’s “Answer of the Corporation of Moniers,” London 1653.
Ramage and Blondeau accordingly set to work upon their trial pieces; and, on the 4th July, the Mint Committee, no doubt supposing that Blondeau's patterns were finished, made the following order:

"Whitehall, July the 4th 1651.—At the Committee of the Council of State for the Mint.—Ordered That Peter Blondeau and Thomas Simons, chief Graver of the Mint, attend this Committee by eight of the clock to morrow morning, and bring with them all the pieces stampt newly by the s° Blondeau, together with all the Dice [Dies] used by him in that worke. Hereof they are not to faile.

"James Harrington.
"Fran: Allein." *

The mention of Simon in this order seems to show that he supplied Blondeau with the engraved dies.

Ramage's and Blondeau's pattern pieces were duly delivered to the Chairman of the Committee, Sir James Harrington, on the 3d July, 1651; and they remained for some time in the custody of the Committee, for their consideration. About May, 1653, Sir J. Harrington delivered Ramage's patterns to Thomas Violet, and he gave them back to the moneyers of the Mint (see p. 175 of T. Violet's Mysteries and Secrets, &c.)

The trial pieces made by David Ramage, on behalf of the Corporation of the Moneyers of the Mint, were only about a dozen in number (according to Blondeau's Most Humble Memorandum, p. 13), and, although most of them are still preserved, they are very rare and bear a high price. T. Snelling enumerates eight pieces only as being known to him in 1769,† and we cannot now add more than two or three to that number.

Ramage's Half-crown has on the Obverse: a shield bearing St. George's cross, encircled by a wreath formed of two laurel branches. Legend—THE COMMON WEALTH OF ENGLAND. Reverse, an angel holding up the conjoined shields of England and Ireland, one shield bearing St. George's cross, and the other the Irish harp. Legend—GAVRDED WITH ANGELES 1651. There is an inner circle, formed like a cord, within the legend on each side. Diameter of the coin: 1.25 inches. The edge is one-tenth of an inch wide, and bears the inscription—TRUTH AND PEACE 1651, with four mullets, one after

* Copy annexed to P. Blondeau's Petition of 21st April 1654.
† See p. 61 of his "View of Pattern Pieces."
each word and after the date. The specimen in the British Museum, rather rubbed, weighs 289.5 grains troy.

**Ramage’s Shilling**: exactly like the half-crown, having been struck from the same dies. The shilling is, however, very much thinner, and has the edge milled with straight lines. A fine specimen in the British Museum weighs 94 grains.

**Ramage’s Six-pence No. 1.** Obverse, a shield bearing St. George’s cross. Legend—TRUTH AND PEACE, with a mullet after each word. Reverse, a shield bearing the Irish harp. Legend and three mullets as on the obverse. A beaded inner circle on each side of the coin. Diameter: .85 of an inch. It is of the same thickness as the half-crown, and has the edge inscribed—TRUTH AND PEACE 1651, with a mullet after each word, in just the same manner. A very fine specimen in the British Museum weighs 126.6 grains.

**Ramage’s Six-pence No. 2**: exactly similar to six-pence no. 1, except that the edge is ornamented with (22) pierced mullets all round, instead of the motto and date. It is also slightly thicker. The specimen in the British Museum, not so well preserved as no. 1, weighs 162 grains.

**Ramage’s Gold Pattern.** In the British Museum is a very fine pattern piece, struck in gold, from the same dies as Ramage’s six-pence no. 1. It has the same inscription on the edge, and is of the same diameter and thickness. It weighs 215.5 grains, or about 5½ grains more than three ten-shilling pieces of the period. No gold pieces by Ramage had come to light in Snelling’s time, 1769.

There also exists a pattern farthing in copper, evidently made by Ramage at some later period. It is similar in type to his six-pence no. 1, and of the same size, but it is from different dies, and has the edge plain. Engraved in Snelling’s *Copper Coinage*, plate vi. no. 6.

With regard to these patterns by Ramage, Violet (Answer of the Corporation of Moniers, p. 21) considered that they were better than Blondeau’s, but very few persons who have compared them are now likely to be of that opinion. Blondeau says that his rival’s patterns were made “after the old way,” and that some big pieces of silver were “stuffed within with copper.” (Most Humble Memorandum, p. 11.) On the other hand, Violet alleges that Blondeau’s patterns were plated. But, upon examination of the specimens in the British Museum, it was found that both Ramage’s and Blondeau’s silver pieces were of standard silver throughout. Their specific gravities
were obligingly ascertained by Dr. W. Flight, of the Museum. Blondeau, in his *Most Humble Remonstrance*, 1653, thus defends himself from the charge that his patterns were plated:— "Essay [assay] hath been made at Goldsmith's-hall and in the Tower of the Patterns of Coin made by the said Blondeau; and they have been found of the same silver and goodness, or a little better than the ordinarie Coin ought to bee, and of the same Silver within, as they are without."

A mere glance at any of Ramage's pattern pieces will show that both their design and execution are far inferior to those of the undoubted works of Thomas Simon. Who actually engraved the dies of Ramage's patterns has been a question, but we have no doubt that Ramage himself did them. Snelling, however, in his *View of Pattern Pieces* p. 51, suggests John East as their engraver.

Blondeau, in his *Most Humble Memorandum*, points out several defects in Ramage's patterns, and says that, although they had the use of the coining implements that were already in the Tower mint, the Corporation of the Moneyers, in making the dozen trial pieces called Ramage's, expended £100 in new tools and other costs of coinage. In Violet's *Anseuer*, etc. p. 37, the Moneyers acknowledge that they only made a dozen pattern pieces, but say that they can, if commanded, strike many thousands with the same tools. With reference to Blondeau's allegation that their patterns had cost the State £100, they submit an account for the making of patterns in July, August, and September, 1651, upon the trial with "Peter Blondeau the Frenchman." The portion relating to Ramage's patterns is as follows:—

"\textit{Inprinis} in fitting of tooles and instruments for the work . £50. 0s. 0d.
"\textit{In} Gold and Silver for making of the tryall . . 11. 4s. 3d.
"Expended by the Moniers at sev'ral times, when they waited upon the Committee of the Mint in the tryall . . . 26. 14s. 2d.

\underline{Total—} £87. 18s. 5d.

The name of David Ramage is no. 44 of the Moneyers in the "List of Fellow Moneyers and Labourers of the Mint in January, 1652," printed by Violet on pages 40, 41 of the *Anseuer of the Corporation of Moniers*, etc.

Having fully described the pattern pieces made by Ramage, we must now turn to those of his rival, Blondeau. All the specimens of the latter at present known are in silver, although we have Blondeau's own statement that he made some in gold.
Blondeau's Half-crown No. 1. Obverse, a shield bearing St. George's cross, surrounded by a palm and laurel wreath. Mint-mark, sun. Legend—THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND. Reverse, the two shields of England and Ireland conjoined; with the numerals II. VI (for 2s. 6d.) above. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend—GOD. WITH. VS. 1651. The edge bears the following inscription in relief—TRUTH AND PEACE. 1651 PETRVS. BLONDEAU. INVENTOR. FECIT. A palm branch after 1651, and after FECIT. Diameter of the coin: 1·3 inches. A very fine specimen in the British Museum weighs 232·3 grains. The inscription on the edge must not be taken to mean that Blondeau engraved the dies, but that he made or struck the coin, and did the edging.

Blondeau's Half-crown No. 2. The obverse and reverse are from the same dies as no. 1, but the edge is inscribed—IN THE THIRD YEARE OF FREEDOME BY GODS BLESSING RESTORED 1651. A very fine specimen in the British Museum weighs 233·3 grains.

Blondeau's Shilling. Similar in type to the half-crowns, but with the numerals XII (for 12d.) above the shields on the reverse. The edge is milled with straight lines. Diameter of the coin: 1·05 inches. A fine specimen in the British Museum weighs 92·7 grains.

Blondeau's Sixpence. Also similar to the half-crowns, but with "VI" on the reverse. Diameter: 9 of an inch. Edge milled with straight lines. One in the British Museum, very fine, weighs 46·3 grains.

It will be noticed that the weights of these pieces are not so irregular as those of Ramage's patterns, being in fact nearly the same as the standard weights of the current coins of the period. All Blondeau's patterns are beautifully finished, and, both as regards the engraving of the dies and the perfection of the coining process, are far in advance of anything previously done in England. The beauty of their execution shows that the dies were engraved by Thomas Simon; several of the characteristics of his work, such as the fine frosting of the St. George's crosses, may be plainly perceived. Mr. Cuff and Mr. B. Nightingale were both of opinion that these patterns were the work of T. Simon, as "the work is in every respect so like Simon's, the same hand so easily traceable throughout, that the most experienced and practical numismatists entertain no question as to the dies having been engraved by Simon." (Numismatic Chronicle, o.s. vol. iv. p. 218.) Even if we
were unable to recognize Simon's work on these coins, the mention of him
together with Blondeau in the Mint Committee's order of the 4th July 1651,
printed above, would be almost sufficient to establish the fact. From this
order it appears that Simon was engaged in producing these patterns, to-
gether with Blondeau. Simon supplied the engraved dies ready for stamping,
while Blondeau's portion of the work was to bring the blanks to an equal
size and thickness, to strike them from dies already prepared for him, and
to edge them with legends or graining; all of which processes he performed
by his newly invented (or newly introduced) machines.

Each one of Blondeau's patterns has the equal size, roundness, and
evenness of relief which he claimed for them, and many examples retain to
this day their fine polish and gloss. Blondeau states that he made about
three hundred pieces of his pattern coins, chiefly in half-crowns, shillings,
and six-pences, but "some gold pieces." He delivered all of them, together
with his Proposition, to Sir James Harrington, Chairman of the Committee
of Council for the Mint. Harrington took them to the Council of State
when he made his report to it, and the coins were nearly all taken by mem-
bers of the Council and of the Parliament, so that very few remained in his
hands, and Blondeau had great difficulty in getting the remainder of the
pieces returned to him.—See MS. annexed to P. Blondeau's Petition of the
21st April 1654, Interregnum State Papers.

It appears from a statement of Violet's (p. 21 of the Answer, etc.), that
Blondeau made his patterns in a private house in the Strand, doubtless in
order to prevent the mint officers from discovering his secrets. The moneyers
thereupon endeavoured to bring a charge of treason against him for coining,
but apparently without success. As Blondeau had, in his Proposals to the
Parliament, June, 1650, offered to make proof of his inventions without
charge to the State, it seems that all his three hundred pattern pieces were
made at his own expense, especially as we have not been able to find any
claim on the government for their cost, nor any record of the Parliament
having paid for them.

There is thus a great contrast in this trial. Ramage makes only a dozen
roughly executed patterns, at a cost to the nation of £87, while Blondeau
delivers in three hundred pieces, superior in every way, without any charge.

The reader will recollect that, together with their patterns, each party
was to deliver to the Mint Committee a written Proposition for coining
current money in a similar manner. The moneys did not present any proposition at that time (p. 11 of Blondeau's *Most Humble Memorandum*), but they had previously, on the 28th February, 1650-1, drawn up a paper entitled: "The humble Proposition of the Provost and Moniers of the States Mint in the Tower of London," addressed to Sir James Harrington. It is printed on pages 22 and 23 of T. Violet's *Answer of the Corporation of Moniers*, etc. The moniers herein offer to make coins equal to Blondeau's, "as exactly as any French-man in the world, and at a cheaper price than the French-man hath offered;" and they state that they receive at present 9d. per pound, Troy weight, for silver struck with the hammer, but they offer to make "fair mill-monie" for 12d. per pound. Also that they now have 2s. 5d. per pound weight for coining gold, and that the State has 15s. for the coinage, but that they will undertake to make "fair mill-gold, as fair as the gold coynes in France, for 5s. the pound weight."

Blondeau states (p. 11 of his *Most Humble Memorandum*) that he presented his Proposition at the same time as his patterns, viz.: in July 1651, and that, after some alterations, "it was received and accepted by the whole Committee, who ordered it to be reported to the Council of State, according to the order of the said Council."

It is difficult to determine, with any certainty, which of the documents now remaining was the Proposition presented by Blondeau to the Committee of the Mint in July 1651. We however believe that an unpublished manuscript in the Public Record Office (*Interregnum Letters and Papers No. 815*) is the original or a copy of it. It is not dated, but has the indorsement: "Peter Blondeau's last Proposition." From the mention in it of the Parliament, it must have been written before the dissolution in April 1653; and there appears to us no reason why this document should not be the Proposition delivered to the Committee in July 1651. It is apparently written by a clerk, in a minute hand, on two pages, quarto size, but has Blondeau's autograph signature at the end. It commences thus:—

"Peter Blondeau's Proposition concerning the Coyne, humbly presented to the Honorable Committee for the Mint.

"I doe offer to coyne the money of this Commonwealth, according unto the patterns I have lately made here by order of the Committee for the Mint, which can neither be moulded, nor clipped, viz. both Gold and Silver marked on both flatt sides and upon the thickness or edge to the six pence inclusive,
Peter Blaudeau.

for the price of 16 pence the pound Troy of Silver, and for 7 shelings the pound Troy of Gold: the State affording unto me the Gold and Silver cast into plate of the necessary biggnesse and length, cleane and ready to worke, as also the stamps or dyes ready graved and polished and fitt for the presses."

Blaudeau goes on to say that he would only charge the State for the first cost of the tools and machines, keeping them in repair, and replacing broken and worn out ones at his own expense. He would also find the wood and coals, and bear the loss of the second melting, and of melting down the clippings, etc. He estimates that all the charges of melting the plate and making it ready for work, would be ten-pence per pound Troy for gold, and three half-pence per pound for silver, at which price he offers to undertake it. He then states that—

"To furnish the Mint with stamps or dyes ready for the presse, which ought to be done by the ablest in the art of graving, to avoyd counterfeiting; for the forging, softning, filing, sinking, graving, hardning, and polishing; together with all necessarys there unto, as iron, steele, coales, and all manner of utensills, will cost two pence for the pound Troy of gold, and one penny for the pound Troy of silver. And in case the Graver be not willing to undertake it at that rate, I doe offer to undertake it my selfe, and to imploy and pay what Graver the State please to admit of."

This paragraph appears to prove that Blaudeau could not engrave dies himself. In continuation of this Proposition, he calculates that the clear profit to the nation from the coinage of bullion will be seven shillings on every pound Troy of gold, and five-pence halfpenny on every pound of silver. Only four or five officers would be required, and all the tools and machines for coining £10,000 worth of silver weekly could be provided for £1,000. For £400 more Blaudeau would erect the necessary buildings for coining weekly the before-named amount of silver. In order that the State may be certain that he could do what he proposes, he offers to make trial at the Mint, at his own expense and risk. He does not require to have the custody or disposal of the bullion, and he would employ only such workmen as are approved by the Committee of the Mint. He then notices the methods of inscribing the edges of coins—

"There be two different ways to make the pieces marked about the thickness or edge. One is auncient, knowne to severall men, and according
whereunto David Ramage, workman of the Mint, hath made some bigg pieces; but that way is very tedious, requireth much time, spoyleth abundance of stamps and engines, and cannot be done upon the currant money, which is thyne. And that is the reason why in France, for making of those bigg pieces, they pay a crowne for the ounce of gold, and half a crowne for the ounce of silver, I say for the ounce. As touching the new way, which is ready and expeditious, and can be used upon the thyne and currant money, I am the Inventor of it, and only I knowe it, as I can make appeare by experiences, if it be the pleasure of the State to employ me."*

Blondeau further beseeches that an Act of Parliament may be passed, prohibiting any one from using his new invention for twenty-one years, except himself or his assignes, and fixing the prices and terms for his proposed coinage. His reward he leaves to the pleasure of the Parliament. He concludes by stating that the hammered coins made since the establishment of the Commonwealth have cost much more than they would have cost if coined by his process.

Nothing appears to have been done regarding this Proposition, and accordingly Blondeau, about October in the same year (1651), published another statement of the benefits that would be received from the use of his inventions, entitled: "The humble Representation of Peter Blondeau, as a Warning, touching severall disorders happening by Monie ill-favouredly Coined, and the only means to prevent them." It is reprinted in T. Violet's Answer of the Corporation of Moniers, etc., pages 4 to 10, inclusive. Blondeau commences by describing the evils to which the hammered coins are liable, such as clipping, and the practice of culling, or picking out the heaviest of these unequal-sized coins; pointing out also the ease with which pieces so badly struck could be imitated. He urges that every coin ought to be issued of the exact full weight and size, as is done in his own process; and then he goes on to refute the objections to his invention, in nearly similar terms to his Answer to severall objections, etc., noticed above (p. 64) under the year 1650. He describes the thieves' practice of washing, which, he says, cannot be safely practised on his coins, because they would at once

* The earliest coin with a legend on the edge is a pied-fort of Charles IX. of France, 1573. A very fine specimen may be seen in the British Museum. The first piece struck in this country with an inscribed edge is the gold coronation medal of Charles I. by Briot.
lose their beautiful polish and gloss. The hammered money can be coined with very small implements, but Blondeau's only with many and large "engines." He accuses the officers of the Mint of culling the heaviest coins for their private profit, and of other dishonest practices. Although he had been two years in England, and the Mint officers had been continually endeavouring to discover his secret, they had completely failed. He concludes by offering to make coins like his patterns, marked on both sides and on the rim, for eight shillings* per pound weight in gold (which is the same as the State then paid for hammered gold coins), and for sixteen pence per pound weight in silver (the hammered silver money costing fourteen pence). In these prices the government was to pay for melting the metal and for engraving the dies; but Blondeau would pay the other general expenses, including the wages of the workmen and the cost of the machinery.

On the 18th November, 1651, the officers of the Mint drew up an answer to this Representation of Blondeau's. It is headed: "The Provost and Moniers Answer to the Objections of Peter Blondeau," and is signed by Symon Corbet, Provost, and thirty-six of the moneyers.† They say that the trial of the pix effectually prevents such frauds in the fineness and weight of the money as Blondeau accuses them of; and they "affirm the money of gold and silver delivered out of the Tower of London the most exact for the weight and fineness in the world." The moneyers also represent that the abuse of culling and melting the coin is not caused by the inequality of the coining process, as Blondeau affirms, but by the unevenness of the raising of the price of silver. They state that in the five years, 1640 to 1645, they have coined for the Parliament about six millions of silver, and cleared their account to a penny. They further contend that their gold and silver patterns with letters on the edge are "more fair and exacter" than Peter Blondeau's pieces. They state that Blondeau, in his first proposition, demanded fourteen shillings per pound weight for coining gold, and twenty pence per pound for silver; but we cannot find so high a

* Seven shillings only was demanded in the manuscript Proposition last noticed. Still less was asked in Blondeau's former proposals of June, 1650 (see pp. 63, 64, above), viz: five shillings for gold, and twelve pence for silver per pound; but the State was then to pay the expenses of machinery, etc.

† Printed on pp. 25—29 of T. Violet's "Answer of the Corporation of Moniers."
price named in any of Blondeau's documents now extant. The moneyers offer, in conclusion, to make money like their patterns, exactly rounded, and with a double graining, for ten pence per pound weight for silver, and three shillings per pound for gold, all "by way of the hammer;" and they have delivered in a Proposition to bear all charges, except for the coining irons, at fourteen pence per pound for silver, and four shillings for gold, also by the hammer.

Nothing seems to have been done all through the next year, 1652, but in January, 1652–3, Peter Blondeau issued a small printed pamphlet of eight leaves, small octavo, entitled: "A most humble Memorandum from Peter Blondeau, etc." It is very scarce, but a copy is in the British Museum, and it was reprinted in T. Violet's Answer of the Corporation of Moniers in the Mint, folio, London, 1653, on pages 11 to 20, inclusive. The first page sets forth that the Memorandum is concerning the offers made by Blondeau "to this Commonwealth, for the coyning of the monie, by a new Invention, not yet practised in any State of the world; the which will prevent counterfeiting, casting, washing, and clipping of the same; which Coyn shall bee marked on both the flat sides, and about the thickness or the edge; of a like bigness and largness, as the ordinarie coyn is, and will cost no more then the ordinarie unequal Coyn, which is used now."

Blondeau commences by explaining: "First, the reason why the Coyn of this Common-wealth is clipped and light, so that few pieces are to bee found weighing their true weight; As also the reason why so much fals Coyn is now dispersed. And secondly, the onely way to remedie the said inconveniences, and to settle a good and constant order in the Mint." The reasons of the first-mentioned abuses are, the facility and cheapness with which hammered coins can be counterfeited, and because such coins cannot be made exactly round, nor equal in weight and size. Much coin is also made too light even at the Mint, as Blondeau has found by weighing coins received from the Mint. This encourages persons to cull the heaviest pieces, and to melt or export them. He asserts that the workmen of the Mint do not deliver the coin by tale, but by the pound weight, so that they often make a larger number of pieces to the pound than there should be, and also themselves cull or pick out the heaviest pieces to melt down again. There is no remedy for these evils but by making the money in Blondeau's way, with devices not only on both sides, but also on the edges.
Pieces made by his method cannot be clipped, because of the marks on the edges; and, having perfectly equal weights and sizes, with a fine polish, prevent culling and washing. Ordinary hammered money may be moulded and cast, but Blondeau's, because of the inscribed edges, cannot be successfully cast. He suggests that a certain officer should be appointed in the Mint, whose business should be to weigh the coins piece by piece when they are finished, rejecting the light ones for re-coinage. He also suggests that, in order to maintain the standard, any goldsmith should be allowed to assay the current coin, and complain to the Commissioners of the Mint if he finds it faulty. Blondeau then describes the circumstances of his coming to London, as quoted above (page 62). He also details his proceedings with the Committee of Council for the Mint, the opposition of the officers of the Mint, and the circumstances of the trial of skill, with particulars concerning the pattern pieces, already noticed. He sets forth several objections to Ramage's patterns, and their great expense; and asserts further that the moneyers could never find out how to make the money by his way, although they had spent much time in unsuccessful endeavours. The workmen of the Mint having given to understand that they are two hundred poor families, maintained by the work of the Mint, and would become destitute if Blondeau was employed for the coinage; he totally denies this, and says they are hardly thirty masters, who are all rich. If employed, Blondeau will engage only such workmen as are approved by the State, and will not desire to have the custody of the bullion or of the dies. In conclusion, he draws attention to the exact equality of his coins, their being very difficult to counterfeit, and much cheaper than the hammered money; and states that he has no other employment in England but "to attend the pleasure of the State."

Immediately after the publication of the *Most Humble Memorandum*, a pamphlet was issued by Thomas Violet on behalf of the Moneyers, entitled:

"The Answer of the Corporation of Moniers in the Mint, at the Tower of London, to two false and scandalous Libells printed at London, and lately come forth without date. The First intituled, *The humble Representation of Peter Blondeau, as a warning touching several disorders hapning by Money ill-favouredly coyned, and the only means to prevent them*. The Second intituled, *A most humble Memorandum from Peter Blondeau*. Which not only intends"
maliciously to sandall* Us, the Corporation of Moniers, of the Common-Wealth of England: But also most falsely to imprint in the hearts and mindes of all People in Christendome, and more especially the good People under the obedience of the Parliament of England; That (by Us the Corporation of Moniers) the Moneys of this Common-Wealth, both for Gold and Silver, are not justly made, according to Our Indenture. Set forth to undeceive all the good People that have seen or read the said Peter Blondeau's false and scandalous Libells.—Printed for the Corporation of Moniers. 1653." London. Folio, forty-one pages.

On pages 1 and 2 is printed a letter from Violet to the Clerk of the Corporation of Moneyers, mentioning that Blondeau's Humble Memorandum had come into his hands "this day," 25th January, 1652-3, and advising the Corporation to prosecute him for libel. On page 3 is the answer of the Moneyers, dated the 27th January, desiring Violet to reply on their behalf to the accusations of Blondeau. Violet then prints at full length Blondeau's Humble Representation and Humble Memorandum, which we have already described. The remaining pages of the pamphlet are chiefly occupied with Violet's replies to the assertions in these two documents. He maintains that Ramage's patterns are superior to Blondeau's, and accuses the latter of treason, for making his pattern pieces in a private house. He says that the Committee of the Mint sent and seized the instruments and tools in Blondeau's house, and deposited them in the Tower Mint. Violet then denies the great expense of Ramage's pattern pieces, and prints the account. He says that many of the Corporation of Moneyers are poor, and not rich, as asserted by Blondeau, and on the last two pages gives a list of the Fellow-moneyers and Labourers employed in the Mint on the 27th January, 1652-3, amounting to fifty-nine moneyers and fifty-one labourers.

Until the month of April, 1653, the matter remained in the same state, viz: the Committee of the Mint retaining in their hands Ramage's and Blondeau's patterns, and the proposals and representations of both sides. The Chairman of this Committee, Sir James Harrington, was then requested to present to the Parliament these propositions, by an order of the Council of State of—

* Scandall.
Friday, 15th April, 1653.—Ordered "That Sr James Harington bee desired humbly to present to ye Parl* ye Propositions made by Peter Blondeau on ye one part, and ye Moneyers of ye Mint on ye other part, Concerning ye Coyning of money in a way differing from w† hath beene hitherto practised and used in this Commonwealth and wch is propounded to bee for ye securing of Coynie from being Counterfeited or Clipped."—Interregnum State Papers, Council Draft Order Book, No. 69.

And on the same day the Parliament ordered—

"That the Council of State do make the Report, touching preventing Clipping of Money, on Thursday Morning next."—Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii, p. 278.

As the Thursday mentioned was the 21st April, 1653, and the Parliament was dissolved by Cromwell on the preceding day, Wednesday the 20th, it is obvious that the report in question was never made.

The books of the Council of State do not contain any further notices of Blondeau until the 7th May, when the Council ordered that Sir J. Harrington's report should be made to them, instead of to the Parliament, since no Parliament was then sitting.

Saturday, 7th May, 1653.—Ordered "That the report concerning the Mint and Mr Blondeau be brought in upon Wednesday next, and that Sr James Harrington be sent unto for the papers relating to that businessse."—Page 31, Entry Book, No. 97.

Probably from pressure of more important business, the report was not read on the Wednesday, viz: the 11th May; but on Tuesday the 24th, the Propositions of Peter Blondeau were referred to a Committee appointed on the same day for the business of the Mint (page 142, Entry Book, No. 97). This Committee was composed of Colonel Jones, Colonel Bennett, and Major-General Lambert. In their hands the matter remained, and we cannot find any further orders concerning Blondeau during the remainder of the year 1653. It is therefore very probable that nothing was done by the authorities, especially as Blondeau, in September of this year, published another printed petition. We are indebted to Mr. R. W. Cochran Patrick, F.S.A.Sc., for bringing to our notice the only copy known, which is preserved among the family papers of Lord Hopetoun. Through the

* Parliament. 
† what.
courtesy of Mr. James Hope and Mr. Thomas Dickson, of Edinburgh, we
are enabled to give the following particulars of this little tract.

The first page commences thus: "A most humble Remonstrance of
Peter Blondeau, concerning the offers by him made to this Commonwealth," etc.
It then continues in almost the same words as the Most Humble Memoran-
dum from Peter Blondeau, described above. Blondeau says, on page 1, that
his milled money "will cost no more to those that bring their Bullion to
bee coyned, than the ordinarie Coyn, viz., 15 shillings for the pound weight
of Gold, and 2 shillings for the pound weight of silver."

This tract, called the Most Humble Remonstrance, is, in fact, an enlarged
reprint of Blondeau's previously issued Most Humble Memorandum. It is
printed with type of the same size, on paper of a similar size, and comprises
twenty-three printed pages on twelve leaves, small octavo. The text is the
same as the Memorandum, with additions on pages 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17,
19, 20, and on page 23, which is not numbered. The date, "September 4,
1653," is given at the end of page 22.

We have now completed the history of Blondeau and his inventions
down to the period of the Protectorate.

At the commencement of Oliver's government as Protector, Peter
Blondeau had been more than four years in England, without having
received any reward or pecuniary encouragement for his useful inventions.
He had made voluminous petitions and proposals, and sent in the best
executed pattern-pieces ever seen in this country up to that time; but
nothing had been done, and the Mint continued to strike the very inferior
hammered coinage commenced in 1649. It was Oliver Cromwell who first
made use of Blondeau's valuable inventions, in having a complete series of
coins struck by his process. The Protector also rewarded him with a
pension of £100 a year, and granted him other sums of money for various
purposes on several occasions; as we shall now proceed to set forth from
the original documents, hitherto unpublished.

It appears that Blondeau sent in a petition (which is not now extant)
to the Protector soon after his accession to power; for we find the following
entry in the books of the Council of State—

Thursday, 16th February, 1653-4 (post meridiem).—"The humble
petition of Peter Blondeau being referred to ye Councell by his Highnes
was now read. Ordered That these be a Committee for considering of the Regulaçon of ye Mint, Mr. G. Lambt, Col. Jones, Sr Charles Wolseley, Mr Strickland, Col. Mackworth, or any three of them, & that ye petition of Peter Blondeau and Mr Squibbs p'posall and other petitions concerning ye Mint be referred to that Committee, & Col. Jones to take care thereof."—Pages 4, 5, Draft Order Book, No. 77.

It will be observed from this order that several other petitions, some perhaps concerning the making of farthings, were made on the subject of the coinage. We have not been able to find any of them, nor do we know who "Mr. Squibbs" was.

Among the Interregnum Letters and Papers in the Record Office, bundle No. 820, is the subjoined report, written in a clerk's hand, and signed by Major-General Lambert and Sir Charles Wolseley, two of the Committee for the Mint mentioned in the order last quoted. There is no date on this manuscript, but, from a careful consideration of several circumstances, we consider it to be the report made to the Council in pursuance of their order of the 16th February, 1653-4, and most probably read at the meeting on the 7th March.

REPORT.—"According to yo' Lordships Order of reference, We have considered of the petition and proposals tendred by Mr Blondeau concerning the Mint, wherein he proposeth several ways of advantage to the State in reference to Coyning, viz., That the money coyned in his way shall not be subject to Clippinge, That all peices of the same Species shall be of the same weight, The varying in which hath beene heretofore looked upon as a great Inconvenience in the ordinarie way of Coyninge, and will for ye further Satisfaction herein be obliged to receive in the Bullion by weight, and pay it out by tayle full weight according to the Standard. That it shall be very Chargeable and difficult to be counterfett, and not at all to be done by ordinarie privat persons as now, nor by any but good Artists, and at a great Charge, and by such Enginges as are hard to be kept private, And Lastly, That this Coyn shall be very handsome to ye eye. To make good which, he hath shewed to this Com'' several peices of his Coyning, which upon due Consideration had, We conceive will in great measure answer what is before mentioned, We have also received his demand concerning the rate for coyning wch is as followeth viz:"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Troy</th>
<th>Crownes</th>
<th>Halfe Crownes</th>
<th>Shillings</th>
<th>Sixpences</th>
<th>Peices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 lb</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>744</td>
<td></td>
<td>2108</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>3968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 lb</td>
<td>1265</td>
<td>2604</td>
<td></td>
<td>868</td>
<td></td>
<td>4737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 lb</td>
<td>2325</td>
<td>2325</td>
<td></td>
<td>775</td>
<td></td>
<td>5425</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Golde to be coyned at 7d: the pound Troy observing the Aumtient proportions, in twenty Shilling peices, Angells, and Crownes, he takeing upon himselfe all loss wch shall happen by Siall.

"We have for our better satisfaction heared the Officers of his Highnes Mint, who have offered several exceptions to Mr Blondeaus way, but we find none considerable, save only, That ye said Mr Blondeau will not be able to performe this worke at the rate proposed, And upon Consideration of the whole matter We doe humbly offer That tryall may be made of his abilitie to performe this Undertaking upon good security given by the said Mr Blondeau, And that in Order thereunto ————.* Bullion may be put into his hand to be coyned, And in Case satisfaction shall be therein given, Forasmuch as it is resolved, That a Mint shall be erected in Irel'd (Mony being there see Generally corrupted to ye great prejudice of the Inhabitants), That he may be entrusted in that worke. And if he shall punctually performe according to such Agreement as shall be made in that Undertaking, That then he be admitted to ye Charge of the Mint in England,

* Blank in original.
upon ye Tearmes proposed, and according to such rules as are, or hereafter shall be agreed upon, And We doe further offer That a House may be provided for him in London for the tryall aforesaid, And also an order Given to his Highnes graver of the Mint to prepare Dice [Dies] with such Devises and Inscriptions as shall be thought fitt, Viz*: in Silver, for Crownes peices, halfe Crownes, Shillings, and sixpences peices, And of Gold for Twenty shillings, Tenn shillings, and Five shillings peices, And for the devise and superscription thereof, It is humbly offered, That on one side may be his Highnes Effigies, and on ye other his Highnes Armes, with such differences betwixt the Gould and Silver, as shall be Judged convenient for avoyding the fraud in gilding and putting of silver peices soe gilded for Gould, And that . . . . [£350 in margin] may be allowed him for preparing of his Engines.

"J. Lambert.
"Ch: Wolseley."

In this report it is recommended that Blondeau be entrusted with the work of setting up a Mint in Ireland, since the erection of a Mint in that country had been already resolved upon, "money being there so generally corrupted, to the great prejudice of the inhabitedants." The reader will also observe, on reference to page 22 of this work, that a petition from the Irish Council for a mint had been received by the Protector in the latter part of February, 1653-4. Accordingly, on the 7th March, the English Council of State, having before them the report of Lambert and Wolseley (just quoted), made the following reference regarding the proposed Irish mint—

Thursday, 7th March, 1653-4.—Ordered "That the business now offered to ye Counsell touching the erecting of a Mint in Ireland be committ'd to ye Committee touching the Mint, and that they take up the Consideration thereof this afternoone, And that Col. Sydenham be added to that Comittee."

—Page 85, Draft Order Book, No. 77.

Another order concerning the same matter may be given in this place—

Thursday, 27th April, 1654.—Ordered "That a paper signed by Mr. James Standish concerning a Mint in Ireland, being this day presented, be referred to ye Comittee of ye Counsell for ye Mint, and Col. Shynnes is added to ye said Comittee."—Page 66, Draft Order Book, No. 79.
The paper "signed by Mr. James Standish" does not now appear to be in existence.

The next step taken by the Council in the matter of the Irish Mint was to order the payment of £50 to Blondeau, towards the expenses of his journey to Ireland, and for the cost of materials for the Mint there, in these terms—

Tuesday, 25th July, 1654.—His Highness present.—"Ordered by his Highness the Lord Protector and ye Counsell, That 50l be paid out of ye Counsell's Contingencies to Mr Blondeau towards the Charge of his journey into Ireland and providing materials for a Mint there, and that a Warrant to Mr Frost be in that behalf issued."—Page 443, Entry Book, No. 103.

The following is a copy of the Warrant referred to, taken from the Money Warrant Book, No. 126, page 80—

"In pursuance of an ord'r of his Highness the Lord Protector and ye Counsell, bearing date the 25th of this instant July, These are to will and require you, out of such moneys as are or shall come to yo'r hands for ye use of ye Counsell, to pay unto Monsieur Peter Blondeau the sum of Fiftie pounds towards the Charge of his journey into Ireland and ye Providing materials for a mint there. Of wch you are not to faile, and for wch this shalbe yo'r Warrant. Given at Whitehall this 31st of July, 1654.

"Hen. Lawrence Pd.
C. Mountague.
P. Jones.
Anth. Ashley Cooper.
H. Mackworth.
Gibl. Pickering.

"To Mr Gualter Frost."

Leaving the subject of the Irish Mint for a moment, we must now return to Blondeau's old requests either to be employed in the English Mint, or to be indemnified for his expenses in coming to England and making his pattern pieces. The following is another petition, containing similar entreaties, but addressed to the Protector's Council of State, viz:—
"To the right honorable the Councill of his Highnesse.

"The humble Petition of Peter Blondeau,

"Sheweth,

"That his Highnesse having been pleased to referre to yo' hon'rs consider-ration the Petition lately presented to him by yo' Pet',

"Yo' s'd Pet' doth most humbly beseech yo' hon'rs to be pleased to take the s'd Petition into yo' speedy consideration, as also the Orders here annexed, and according unto the teno' of the s'd Petition either to order that yo' Pet' shall be imploidy in the Mint according to his Proposition, or dismissed and indemnified of his charges and losses and for the expenses he hath been at in making of his Paterns.

"And yo' Pet' shall ever pray &c.

Peter Blondeau

"Aprill 21. 1654."

It will be noticed that Blondeau here refers to a petition lately presented by him to the Protector. It is the one mentioned in the Council's order of the 16th February, 1653-4 (see page 80 above).

Annexed to this petition of April, 1654, are copies of several orders of the Council of State and of the Committee for the Mint, dating from the 11th September, 1649, to the 15th April, 1653. They have all been quoted above, in their proper chronological order. The petition is indorsed: "Read and referred, 28th April, 1654." It is now preserved in the Public Record Office among the Interregnum State Papers, Petitions, References, etc., vol. ii. B.

The following is the order made by the Council upon the reading of this petition—

Friday, 28th April, 1654.—"The humble petition of Peter Blondeau was this day read. Ordered that the same be referred to the Com'tee of the Mint, who, or any three of them, are desired to meet speedily, and to take the same into consideracion, and report their opinion to the Councell, and Col. s'ennes, Mr. Strickland, and Sr. Anth. Ash. Cooper are added to the said Com'tee."—Page 76, Draft Order Book, No. 79.
Humismata Cromwelliana.

No further notice of Blondeau can be found among the Council Books until—

Friday, 2nd March, 1654-5.—Ordered "That ye humble petition of Peter Blondeau be referred to Gen'l Deabrowe, Sr Gilbert Pickering, Lt. Lambert, Col. Jones, or any 2 of them, who are desired to consider the several parts thereof, and to report their opinion therein to ye Counsell."—Pages 64, 65, Draft Order Book, No. 82.

The petition here mentioned is the same one as that of the 21st April, 1654, printed above, and accordingly we find that the report in pursuance of the order of the 2nd March, 1654-5 is written on the back of that petition, viz:

"It is the humble opinion of the Com'te to whom the Petition of Mr. Blondeau was referred that the sayd Blondeau have advanced to him the sum of 100l towards the expense hee hath been at in preparing of engins for the mint.

"Gil. Pickering.
"Phi. Jones."

This report having been laid before the Council, they made the following order, which was approved by the Protector in person—

Tuesday, 26th June, 1655.—His Highness present.—"Sr Gilbert Pickering makes report from ye Com'ite to whom the petition of M'seur Blondeau was referred. Ord. That it be offered to his Highness as the advise of ye Counsell That his Highness will please to issue his warrant to the Com'te of his Highness Treasury for empowering and requiring them, out of such monies as shall come into the Receipt of his Highness Exchequer to satisfy and pay to Mr Peter Blondeau the sum of one hundred pounds towards the expenses he hath been at in preparing of Engins for the Mint in Irel'd."—Page 17, Draft Order Book, No. 84.

The subjoined is a copy of the Warrant of Privy Seal, taken from Oliver's Privy Seal Book, No. 13, page 1. Date of document, 11th July, 1655; date of enrolment, 18th July, 1655.

"OLIVER LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereto belonging, To the Com'te 1 of and for Oure Treasury Greeting, Our will and pleasure is, And wee doe

1 Commissioners.
Peter Blondeau.

hereby require and command you that you, or any two or more of you, out of such our Treasures as is or shall bee remaying in the Receipt of Our Excheque, forthwith paye or cause to bee paid unto Peter Blondeau the Sone of One hundred pounds, for and towards the expenses hee hath bene att in p'paring Engines for Our Mint in Ireland, And for soe doing thes Our L'res shall bee yo' sufficient Warrant and Discharge in this behalfe. Given under Our Privie Seale att Whitehall the eleventh day of July in the yeare of our Lord One Thousand six hundred fiftie five.

"R. Whited."*

The money was paid to Blondeau on the 18th July, as appears from an entry in the Pells Issue Book No. 90, page 149—

"July xvijth 1665.

"To Peter Blondeau O1 toward his expence's in preparing Engines for his Highnes Mint in Ireland. By privie seale dat. the xijth of July 1655 . . . . O1.

"Horseman."

This is the last notice of the Irish Mint project that is to be found among the State Papers, but, in accordance with the promise given on page 24 of this work, we reprint the following address to the Protector from the Irish Council of State, dated from Dublin Castle, 16th April, 1656:—

"To the Lord Protector.

"May it please your highness,

"By many former addresses unto your highness and councell we have made known the miserable condition this nation is in, through that vast quantity of Peru and other base and counterfeit coyne, this poor nation hath of late bene burthenned with. Indeed we are not able (see fully as we would) to express our resentments of this growing evill, the generall discontent it beares upon most men's hearts, nor the prejudice that is likely to arise, unless some speedy remedy bee applied, for like a gangren this adulterate coyne spreads far and near. It banishes hence the currant coyne of Spaine, and eats up the good English money, which the merchants

1 preparing.
2 Letters.

* Richard Whitehead was one of the Clerks of His Highness's Privy Seal.
(for want of exchange or other commodities to return) make it a secret trade to export into England, or (notwithstanding our utmost care for prevention) into some forreigne partes, to any place where it yields most advantage, hereby the stock of this nation is detrimented much above two thirds as is conceived; little other money is visible, save this counterfeit American, which ordinarily goes for four shillings and sixpence, and upon the essay is found not to value two shillings and four pence, and most of that which runs currant is very little better than brasse or alchemy. Trade hereby is exceedingly obstructed, plantation much discouraged, necessary provisions withheld, and monthly contributions (for supply of your highness's forces here) payd in such base coyne, as become great loss to the receivers, and being refused in divers places (the temper of the people generally abhorring it) the publique affairs without speedy care (tis feared) will unavoidably fall into disorder; nor can we apprehend other then that this manifest inconvenience may in the end begett disturbance in the people, unless your highness (out of your pious and fatherly care of the welfare of this country) tenderly consider of what we have faithfully represented. Nor know wee any other or better expedient for the cure hereof, or how to apply a suitable remedy, save by a mint, which now, as formerly, we most humbly and earnestly desire (if the same may be held adviseable) may (at least for some time) be erected here. This (as we conceive) will allay the importation of more such trash, it will encourage us to decry what through necessity is made currant here, will enable us to call in the Peru and Mexico (which are little better then brasse, and at present the far greater proportion of coyne here) and being melted, the produce may be reduced to the standard. And for that the soouldier, and poorer sort especially, want the lesser and smaller sorts of money for change and to buy provisions with; this may accommodate them with small and necessary proportions, &c."

"H. C.1  R. P.2  M. C.3  M. T.4"


1 Henry Cromwell. 2 Richard Pappus. 3 Miles Corbett. 4 Matthew Tomlinson.
All members of the Irish Council of State.—H. W. H.
addressed another petition on the same subject to the Lord Deputy of Ireland. It is dated the 4th March, 1656-7, and is printed on pages 121, 122, of Simon's *Essay*.

Nothing, however, seems to have been really done beyond the preparations made by Blondeau, for which he was paid, by means of the warrants we have quoted, the sum of £150 in all. There is no doubt that the project of a mint at Dublin was soon abandoned, for some unknown cause, and no money is known to have been coined in or for the use of Ireland during the whole of the Protectorate, nor indeed until the latter part of Charles II's reign.

Before leaving the subject of Blondeau and his inventions, it appears proper to mention the tardy reward which he received for all his trouble and expenditure of time and money. On the 19th August, 1656, at the same time that they made their first order for the coinage of Oliver's money of 1656, the Council recommended that a pension should be granted to Blondeau, in these terms:—

**Tuesday, 19th August, 1656.—Ordered, “That it be offered to his Highness as the advise of the Counsell, That his Highness wilbe pleased to issue his Warr^4^ authorizing and requireing the Com^4^ of his Highness Thr'ey [Treasury], out of such moneys as now are or shall come into the Receipt of his Highness Excheq't to satisfy and pay unto Peter Blondeau the yearly pençon of One hundred pounds by halfe yearely paym^4^, untill further Order.”—Page 339, *Entry Book, No. 105.*

Hereupon the Protector, by letters of Privy Seal dated the 18th September, 1656, conferred on Peter Blondeau a pension of £100 *per annum*, to continue until further order, “in consideration of the good and faithful service to us done and performed, and to be done and performed,” by him. The work “to be done” was the coinage of £2,000 in the Tower of London, ordered by the Protector and his Council on the 19th August, 1656. This subject will be more fully noticed in our article upon Oliver's coinage of 1656.

On the 19th September it was ordered that £50, for the first half year of Blondeau's pension, should be paid at Michaelmas, 1656, and also that the Privy Seal should be issued *gratis*, without fees. In the *Pells' Issue*
Book, No. 92, we find entries of a half-year's pension paid to him on the 3rd December, 1656, and 22nd April, 1657, embracing the period of one year ending at Easter, 1657.

We here subjoin an exact copy of the letters of Privy Seal, from Oliver's Privy Seal Book, No. 13, page 66. Date of document, 18th September, 1656; date of enrolment, 23rd October, 1656.

"OLIVER LORD PROCTOR of the Commo-wealth of England Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging. To the Comrs. of and for Our Treasury that now are, And to the Comrs. of Our Treas.'y, Tre'ar,' Chancell.'s, undr.-tre'ar's and Barons of the Excheq' att Westm's of us & Our Successors, and to all others the Officers and Ministers of Our said Excheq', now and for the tym'e being, and to evry of them and all others to whom their psents shall or may appertaine Greeting, Know ye that wee of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge and more moxon, in consideration of the good and faithfull service to us done and performed and to bee done and performed by Our welbeloved Peter Blondeau, gentl'y, Have given and graunted, and by their psents doe give and graunt unto him the said Peter Blondeau the yearely suffie or Pençon of one hundred pounds of lawfull money of England, to bee yearely paid unto him at the Reciept of Our said Excheq', on the five and twentieth day of March, and the nine and twentieth day of September, by equal portions, And therefore Our will and pleasure is, that out of such Our Treasure as is, or shalbee remayning in the Reciept of Our Excheq', you pay or cause to bee paid unto the said Peter Blondeau, or his assigns, the said yearly suffe or pençon of one hundred pounds on the dayes before mentioned, To commence from & after the five and twentieth day of March in this psent yeare, one thousand six hundred fiftie six, and soe from thenceforth to continue untill wee shall thinke fitt to ordn otherwise; ffor soe doeing thes Our L'ers or the Inrollm't thereof shalbee aswell to you the said Comrs. of Our Treas'ry, as to all others the Officrs and ministers of Our said Excheq' a sufficient warnt and discharge in this behalfe. Given under Our Privy Seale att Our Palace of Westm the eighteenth day of September in the yeare of Our Lord One thousand six hundred fiftie six.

"Daniel Grome Dept of Ri: Whithed."

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1 Commissioners. 2 Treasury. 3 Treasurer. 4 Under-treasurer. 5 Westminster.
6 presents. 7 gentleman. 8 order. 9 Letters. 10 warrant.
The Coinage of 1656.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that most of the documents quoted in this article were unknown to previous numismatic writers, so much so that the Rev. Rogers Ruding inaccurately stated that the continued opposition of the Moneyers "at length succeeded in driving him (Blondeau) out of the kingdom." (Footnote to p. 414, vol. i. of the Annals of the Coinage, London, 1840.) Peter Blondeau's Proposals to the Parliament, June, 1650, and his Most Humble Memorandum, January, 1652-3, were transcribed and reprinted by Mr. W. R. Hamilton in vol. i., old series, of the Numismatic Chronicle, 8vo, London, 1839.

THE COINAGE OF 1656.

In describing the Protector Oliver's coinage dated 1656, it will be most convenient to divide our account into five sections, containing: (1) the Historical Records relating to the Coinage, (2) History of the Bullion used, (3) Description of the Coins, (4) Description of the Coining Process, (5) Description of the Place where the coins were made.

I.—HISTORICAL RECORDS.

About the middle of the year 1656, the Protector resolved to issue a series of coins for general circulation, bearing his own portrait and titles, and executed in the best possible manner. That they were intended for general currency, will not admit of doubt, after a perusal of the orders of the Council of State in 1656, 1657, and 1658, which show that very considerable preparations for coinage were made. Whether the money with Oliver's head became actually current or not, is another question, which cannot be properly discussed until we have considered the coinage of 1658.

In order to have his new coinage executed in the most perfect style, Oliver employed the unrivalled Thomas Simon to engrave the dies, and the "ingenious engineer" Peter Blondeau to strike the coins from those dies. An account of Blondeau's new and successful inventions is given in the preceding pages, 61 et seq.

It will also add to the interest with which an English collector regards these beautiful pieces of money, to learn that they were made out of bullion
captured by Captain Stayner from the Spaniards on the 9th September, 1656; as we shall set forth more fully in the next section. This fact has been hitherto unknown to numismatists, but was discovered from one of the unpublished records of the period. These records we must now proceed to notice.

On Tuesday, the 19th August, 1656, it was "Ordered by his Highness the Lord Protector and the Counsell, That a quantity of the Portugall money to the value of two thousand pounds Sterling, and all the Gold brought on with that money, be Coyned in his Highness Mynt in ye Tower of London, by Peter Blondeau."—Pages 339, 340, Entry Book, No. 105, of the Council of State. (Public Record Office.)

The Council's intentions of using bullion from Portugal, and of coining it in the Tower, were altered by subsequent orders. It was next purposed to make use of bullion supplied by Edward Backwell, a goldsmith and banker of London, as we learn from another order of the Council—

Thursday, 11th September, 1656, a.m.—"Whereas it was ordered on the 19th day of Augt last, yt a quantity of Portugall money to the value of Two thousand pounds Sterlings should be Coyned in his Highness Mint, at ye Tower, by Peter Blondeau; Ordered, That, instead thereof, two thousand pounds of ye bullion that is to [be] brought in by Mr. Backwell be Coyned by the sayd Mr. Blondeau."—Page 384, Entry Book, No. 105.

A little farther on is an order of the same date, directing the needful preparations for the projected coinage, in these terms:—

"Ordered, That for accommodateing Mr. Peter Blondeau in Coyning two thousand pounds, of the Bullion that shalbe brought into the Mynt by Mr. Edward Backwell, the Wardens of the Mynt, at the Tower, doe putt the sayd Peter Blondeau in possession of that house in the Tower, wherein M. Briott did formerly works; And that the sayd M. Blondeau be authorized to make use of such Forges, Tooles, and Utensils, as are already in the s'd House, and of such other Tooles, and Instruments in the Tower as are necessary or usefull for his Coyning of ye sayd money; and Mr. Symon Graver of his Highness Mynt and Seales, is authorized and required to prepare the Dice, with such Stamps and Inscriptions, as shalbe thought fitting."—Page 385, Entry Book, No. 105.

1 that. 2 part. 3 possession. 4 formerly. 5 said. 6 Instruments. 7 dies. 8 Engraver to the Mint in the reign of Charles I., see p. 4 above.
The preceding order clearly shows that Peter Blondeau was to strike a new issue of money, to the value of £2000, from dies engraved by Thomas Simon; and a further order, to a nearly similar effect, especially states that the coining process was to be according to Blondeau’s "new invention." It also appears that he, like many other inventors of new and valuable machinery, needed protection against "molestations."

Thursday, 16th October, 1656.—His Highness present.—"Ordered, That for enabling Mr Peter Blondeau to Coyne the money ordered by his Highness and the Counsell to be by him Coyned, after his new Invençon, the Leivt of the Tower, or Major Miller his Deputy, doe within a weeke tym after request in that behalfe made, put the sayd Peter Blondeau in possession of the house wherein formerly Mr Bryot did worke in the Tower, And y't they doe protect him and those he shall imploy therein agst any molestacons."—Page 443, Entry Book, No. 105.

Whether Blondeau was ever actually put in possession of Briot's house, does not appear from the Council books, but the next order probably means that he was to have rooms in Worcester House instead.

Tuesday, 11th November, 1656.—"Ordered That for enabling Mr Peter Blondeau to Coyne the money ordered by his Highness and the Counsell to be by him Coyned after his new Invençon, the Keep't of Worcester House doe within a weeke tym after the date thereof put the sayd Peter Blondeau in possession of the Kitchin and Larder, and such other places in the s'd House, not imploy'd already for the necessary Service of ye State as shallbe convenient and usefull for his Coyneing of ye said money."—(Approved in person, His Highness being present.)—Page 490, Entry Book, No. 105.

On the 27th of the same month the Council examined and approved Simon's drawings of the devices and inscriptions proposed for the new coinage:

Thursday, 27th November, 1656.—His Highness present.—Ordered "That the Stamp" and Inscriptions prep'ed by Mr Tho: Simon for the Coyne of Gold and Silver peices according to his new Invençon, as also the Motto of Oliva: D. G. R. Pub. Ang. Soc. et Hib. Protec. on one side, and

1 Lieutenant. 2 Deputy. 3 possession. 4 formerly. 5 that. 6 against. 7 Keeper. 8 possession. 9 said.
10 "Stamp" here means the design or device to be stamped on the coins. 11 prepared.
Pax quercut bello on ye other side, and the 2 inscriptions for ye edge thereof, viz., Haec nisi periturus mihi adimatur nemo, and Protector litem, littera nummis Corona et Salus, being now presented, and considered of, be approved."—Page 533, Entry Book, No. 105.

The clerk has made a memorandum on the margin of the book, stating that he delivered to Mr. Simon, on the 6th December, this order written out on the piece of parchment on which the designs were drawn. In the same book, the name "Tho: Simon" is written over "Blondeau" erased. A little farther on is the expression "his new Invention," which really refers to Blondeau, whose name was erroneously written at first. It should have been altered to "Blondeau's new invention" when the name of Simon was inserted above.

This order of the Council was printed in the Appendix to Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, 1780 edition, pages 70*, 71*, from a contemporary manuscript copy (perhaps the original parchment delivered to Simon), in the margin of which was a drawing of the crown piece, with obverse, Oliver's bust in the band and robe of his day; reverse, the arms as on the coins. On the same document was also a drawing of the twenty-shilling piece, obverse, bust with bare neck; reverse, the shield of arms.

On the 3rd December, the Council again changed the place where Blondeau was to conduct his coining operations, probably because sufficient accommodation could not be found in the houses previously agreed upon. The last place appointed, and the one at which Blondeau actually coined the money, was Drury House. By the following orders Blondeau and Simon were enjoined to proceed at once with the new coinage:

Wednesday, 3rd December, 1656.—"Ordered, That for enabling Mr Peter Blondeau to coyne ye money ordered by his Highness and ye Council to be by him Coyned, after his new Invention, the Trustees sitting at Drury House doe, within a weekes tyme after the date hereof put the said Peter Blondeau in possession of the Kitchin, Larder, Cellars, Coachhouses, and such Chambers, and other Rooms in the said house, not employed already for the necessary service of the State, as shall be convenient & usefull for his coynynge of the said money.

"That Mr Thomas Simon, Cheife Graver of his Highness Mint and Seales, doe forthwith make and prepare such stamps & dyes, as may be usefull to Peter Blondeau, in his new way of Coyning, with the Effigies
of his Highness according to the Draughts lately prepared by him, and approved by the Counsell.

"That Mr Peter Blondeau be, and hereby is, authorised to put in execution his new way of Coyning forthwith, according to ye former Orders of his Highness and the Counsell, and that noe person or persons doe molest him therein, by search or otherwise."—Page 553, Entry Book, No. 105.

It was further ordered, on Thursday, 11th December, 1656, His Highness present, "That the Stamp and Superscription on one side of ye money to be Coyned according to Mr Blondeau's new Invençon be according to ye Forme now brought in, instead of ye former agreed on."—Page 565, Entry Book, No. 105.

This order is also printed in the Appendix to Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, edit. 1780, p. 71*, from a contemporary manuscript copy, which bore a drawing of the head only, as it is now seen on the coins. The alteration of the design formerly approved (on the 27th November, see above) was therefore a change in the style of the bust, the costume of Oliver's time being altered to the ancient Roman mantle and laurel wreath.

Blondeau having applied for money to defray the cost of the projected new coinage, the following order was made:—

Tuesday, 17th February, 1656 (-7).—Ordered "That ye business of Mr Peter Blondeau, about his Coyning in his new invented way, be taken into Consideration on Thursday next."—Page 722, Entry Book, No. 105.

Accordingly, on the following Thursday, the Council voted £200 to Blondeau for his expenses, and also ordered that £2000 worth of the Spanish prize bullion should be delivered to him for coinage by his new process.

Thursday, 19th February, 1656 (-7).—Ordered "That 200l be paid unto Mr Peter Blondeau, for the Carrying on the Charge of Coyning of 2000l, according to his New Invençon, that is to say, One hundred pounds presently, and £100 when he shall enter upon the worke, and it is offered to his Highness as the advise of ye Counsell, That his Highness will please to issue his Warrant to ye Commissioners of his Highness Th'rey for authorizing and requiring them out of such moneys as shall come into ye Receipt of his Highness Exchequer, to satisfy and pay ye s'd first £1 accordingly.

1 Superscription. 2 that. 3 formerly.
4 £100. 5 Warrant. 6 Commissioners. 7 Treasury. 8 said.
"That Two thousand pounds value of the Spanish money, wch lately came from Portsmouth, and for wch Sr Thomas Vynoe and Mr Backwell have Contracted wth the State, be deliv'red to Mr Peter Blondeau, in Order to the Coyning thereof, according to his new Invençon; he giveing Sufficent Security before Sr John Barkstead km' Leiv4 of the Tower, to redeliv'r the same, after Coyning, into ye Receipt of his Highness Excheq'r; or otherwise to dispose thereof, for the States use, in such Sort as his Highness shall direct; wth Security the sayd Sr John Barkstead is empow'red to take accordingly."—Pages 729, 730, Entry Book, No. 105.

The following is the Privy Seal Warrant giving effect to the preceding order of the Council. It is dated the 20th March, 1656-7, and was enrolled the 14th May, 1657. From the Privy Seal Book, No. 13, page 128:—

"OLIVER LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereto belonging, To the Comr's2 of our Tre'ary3 Greeting, By the advice of our Councell expressed in their Ord'r of the nineteenth day of February in this present year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty six, our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby require and coñand you, That out of such our Treasure as is, or shall bee remayning in the Receipt of our Excheq'r you pay or cause to bee paid unto Peter Blondeau gent, for carrying on the Charge of Coyning Two thousand pounds according to his new Invençon, the suift of two hundred pounds of lawfull money of England in manner following, that is to say, one hundred pounds ymmediately upon ye Receipt hereof, one hundred pounds more when hee shall enter upon ye said worke, And for soe doinge these our L'res4 or the Inrollm't5 thereof shall bee to you and all others the Officers and Ministers of our said Excheq'r a sufficiant warr't6 and discharge in this behalfe, Given undr our Privy Seale att our Palace of Westm't6 the twentieth day of March in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty six.

"Daniel Grome, Deñ't of Ri: Whithed."

It will be seen from this warrant that £100 was to be paid to Peter Blondeau immediately, and we learn from the Pells Issue Book that this sum was accordingly issued to him on the day that the above document was enrolled, viz:—

1 Commissioners. 2 Treasury. 3 Letters. 4 Inrollment. 5 Warrant. 6 Westminster.
The Coinage of 1656.

"May xiii\(^{th}\) 1657.

"To Peter Blondeau gent. in part of CC\(^{1}\) allowed to him for carrying on the charge of coyning mm\(^{12}\) according to his newe invention by privie seal dated the xx\(^{th}\) day of March 1656 . . . . . . . . . . . . C\(^{3}\)."

"Downinge."**

The remaining one hundred pounds was to be paid to Blondeau when he should "enter upon the work" of coinage, or commence making the new money, and we find that this second £100 was given him on the 2nd July, 1657, according to the following entry in the *Pells Issue Book, No. 92*, page 211:

"July the ijd 1657.

"To Peter Blondeau gent. in full of CC\(^{3}\) allowed to him for the coyning of mm\(^{1}\) according to his newe invention by privy seal dated the xx\(^{th}\) day of March 1656 . . . . . . . . . . . . C\(^{3}\)."

"Downinge."

From these documents it is clearly to be inferred that the first pieces of new milled money with the Protector's head were not struck until June or July, 1657, although they bear the date 1656. The Privy Seal warrant says that the second £100 was not to be paid until Blondeau had actually commenced the new coinage, and as this sum was paid him on the 2nd July, 1657, it is obviously to be concluded that none of the money of the new type was struck before June or July, 1657. The dies were no doubt engraved during the latter part of the year 1656, in accordance with the Council's orders of the 3rd and 11th December, 1656, and it was probably intended to strike the new coins in February or March, 1656 (old style), but Blondeau seems not to have been ready before the following July, 1657.

The subjoined item relative to the 1656 coinage occurs in Thomas Simon's Account "for work done, and disbursements made, for the use of His Highness and the Commonwealth," delivered to the Council in August, 1657:

"For Coynes, Stamps, Dyes &c. . . . . . . . . . . 250l."

There is also £50 charged for "Iron, Steele, Smiths worke &c.," and

\[ \text{\£200.} \quad * \quad \text{\£2000.} \quad * \quad \text{Pells Issue Book, No. 92, p. 171.} \]
other sums for making original drawings and attending upon the Council, which include the preparation of seals as well as coins. See the Council Entry Book, No. 106, p. 405.

The documents which we have just printed enable us to dispose of several errors into which certain numismatic writers have fallen when describing Oliver's coins. Vertue appears to have thought that Thomas Simon himself did the whole of this coinage, striking the money as well as engraving the dies. He says that "some of his (Oliver's) monies in gold and silver were dated 1656, when it appeared that Simon became perfect master of Blondeau's secrets in milling."—Works of T. Simon, 1753, p. 24. Now we very much doubt whether Simon ever discovered any of Blondeau's secrets, and the contemporary records clearly show that he did not do more than supply Blondeau with the engraved dies ready for coining. The Rev. Rogers Ruding makes the same mistake, stating that these pieces were "the work of Thomas Simon, . . . . . by whom they were coined with the greatest care and exactness by the mill and screw."—Annals of the Coinage, 3rd edit. 1840, vol. i. p. 419.

The editors of the Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique, folio, Paris, 1834, state that Cromwell's coins are generally considered to be the work of the celebrated French artist, Jean Warin; but the above quoted orders of the Council are alone sufficient to prove that Simon engraved the dies, even if we could not recognize on the coins the numerous distinctive characteristics of his work.

II.—HISTORY OF THE BULLION USED.

We will now give a brief account of the bullion captured from the Spaniards in September, 1656, a portion of which was used for the new milled coinage of 1656-7 bearing Oliver's bust, as directed by the Council's order of the 19th February, 1656-7.

At the commencement of September, 1656, the principal part of the English fleet, under the joint command of Admirals Blake and Montagu, repaired to the coast of Portugal to take in water, leaving Captain Richard Stayner with six frigates only to blockade the port of Cadiz. In the meantime, a richly laden Spanish fleet arrived from the Havannah, and, deceived by the false information of the captain of a Portuguese prize...
The Capture of 1656.

which they had taken on the way, steered straight for Cadiz, unaware of the proximity of the English blockading vessels. The next day, the 9th September, the two fleets fought, the result being a complete victory for Stayner, who at once despatched an account of the engagement to his superior officers, Blake and Montagu. By them the news was transmitted to England, and was first made public in the following newspaper paragraph:

"Whitehall, October 1.

"About 3 hours after the Parliament was risen, we had news of a most seasonable Success obtained by some of our Frigats; It was brought hither by one of our Sea-Captains, in a Letter from our Generals Blake and Montagu. I cannot now give particulars at large; but in brief, it pleased God, that on the 9 of September some few of our Frigats espied Ships at Sea, and making them, they proved to be Spanish, 7 in number, and with them a Portugall prize, which they had taken; All that night our Frigats lay by them, being about nine Leagues from the Bay of Cadiz, and in the morning they Fought; the Issue was, that we burned one, sunk another, ran 2 aground, and took two; one got away with the Portugall-Prize into Cadiz. These came from the West-Indies. In that ship which was burnt was a Spanish Marquis that had been in some part of the Indies, and a Daughter of his, whom he was going to marry to some great person in Spain. His son the young Marquis and another of his Daughters being in one of the Ships taken, are now our prisoners. Treasure we have taken to a very great value. At present, we cannot be more punctual, having neither time nor opportunity to transcribe the Letters."—Mercurius Politicus, No. 329, Sept. 25 to Oct. 2, 1656.

An official account was afterwards drawn up and printed by order of the Parliament. A copy of it, in the Author's possession, is entitled: "A True Narrative of the late Success which it hath pleased God to give to some part of the Fleet of this Common-wealth, upon the Spanish Coast, against the King of Spains West-India Fleet, in its return to Cadiz, being the substance of several Letters writ and sent by the Generals of the Fleet upon this occasion." Ordered to be printed, the 4th October, 1656. A pamphlet in black letter, eight pages, folio.

This narrative informs us that the Spanish fleet consisted of seven vessels, four being the King's ships, and three merchants, "most of
them richly laden with Gold, Silver, Pearle and other Commodities." The Admiral's ship, being small, was allowed by the English to escape, but was run on shore and sunk. The Vice-Admiral's vessel, a large galleon, after fighting for six hours, was taken, but the Spaniards themselves set fire to her and she went down, not, however, before a large quantity of plate had been taken out of her by her captors. The Rear-Admiral's ship, also a galleon, was taken, and brought off safely; but the remaining man-of-war, and a small merchant ship escaped into Gibraltar. The two large merchantmen were also taken, but one of them, in the bringing off, was accidentally burnt and sunk. All this was achieved by an English squadron of six small frigates only, and without the loss of a single vessel. Nearly four hundred and fifty prisoners were secured, including several of high rank, and the Spaniards estimated that they had lost bullion to the amount of nine millions of pieces of eight. A large portion of this treasure, about five millions of pieces of eight, was subsequently brought to England, together with the ships and their lading of other valuable merchandise.

The letters from the fleet were read in Parliament on Thursday, the 2nd October, 1656; and on the following Wednesday, the 8th October, a day of thanksgiving was kept by the Parliament in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. The 5th November was appointed for a day of public thanksgiving, to be observed throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland.

In the beginning of November, 1656, the fleet arrived at Portsmouth with the Spanish prizes. Major-General Thomas Kelsey, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, was at once sent down to Portsmouth by the Council, and the captured bullion was brought by road to London in thirty-eight waggons, under the care of Kelsey, Captain Lloyd, and others. The silver was taken direct to the Tower of London, and, with due precautions, was there delivered into the custody of Captain Sharpe, Mr. Samuel Bartlet, and Mr. Thomas Birch, on the 20th November, 1656. Among the Interregnum State Papers in the Public Record Office is the original account of the bullion received into the Tower on that day. The different kinds of the silver are described as—ingots of "sugar-loaf" silver, "piña" silver, cakes and bars of silver, wrought plate, and, in Peruvian coin, pieces of 8 and pieces of ¼. The silver was contained in fifty-six chests, and the total weight was 14,221 lbs. 8 oz. 1 dwt.

It is evident that this was not the whole of the bullion captured, as
William Godwin, in his *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv. p. 303, states that the value was estimated at five millions of pieces of eight, or upwards of a million sterling. Secretary Thurloe also says (*State Papers*, vol. v.) that the amount was nearly a million pounds originally, but that all was plundered down to about £350,000 or £300,000 sterling.

The Protector and his Council made a contract with Sir Thomas Viner and Edward Backwell, goldsmiths of London, by which the whole of the Spanish prize bullion was disposed of to these merchants at fixed rates. On the 31st October, Viner and Backwell made this agreement, and they state, in a Petition of the 6th January, 1656-7, that before the latter date they had paid £130,000 into the Exchequer on account of this bullion.

The greater part of the silver was melted and assayed at the expense of the contractors, Viner and Backwell, who afterwards had it coined into English money at the Tower mint, also at their own charge; but a small portion was exported. For the accommodation of a large sum paid into the Exchequer immediately on the arrival of the bullion, the Government allowed the contractors a profit of one farthing an ounce on the silver, besides allowances for waste in the melting, etc. For details of the contract, see the Council books under the dates—31st October, 1st, 4th, and 11th November, 3rd December, 1656, 5th May and 23rd September, 1657, etc.

Two thousand pounds worth of this bullion appears to have been excepted from Viner and Backwell's contract, and, by the Council's order of the 19th February, 1656-7, it was delivered to Peter Blondeau for coinage into the milled money with Cromwell's head.

III.—Description of the Coins.

Having now detailed all the events relating to Oliver's money of 1656 which preceded its actual coinage in or about July, 1657, we shall next give a description of the coins themselves, derived from a very careful examination of the specimens at present existing in the most important English cabinets.

There are fifty-shilling pieces, twenty-shilling pieces or broads, and ten-shilling pieces or half-broad, of gold, with half-crowns of silver, each bearing the date 1656. The dies of all these coins were engraved by
Thomas Simon, and the pieces themselves were struck by Peter Blondeau with his improved machinery.

The gold *Fifty-shilling piece* bears on the Obverse a fine bust of the Protector, laureate, to the left. The neck is without drapery. Legend—

OLIVAR · D · G · RP · ANG · SCO · ET · HIB &c · PRO · [Oliver, by the grace of God, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc.] Reverse, the arms of the Protector on a plain shield, crowned with an imperial crown. The date · 1656 · is placed above the crown, with two of the figures on each side of the orb and cross. Legend—PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO [Peace is sought by war]. On the edge of the coin is this motto, preceded by a small cross patée—PROTECTOR · LITERIS · LITERÆ · NVMMIS · CORONA · ET · SALVS. See Plate III., No. 1.

The design of this piece is simple, yet very elegant, and the high finish and delicacy of workmanship are worthy of the masterly hand of Simon, who engraved the dies. The bust and parts of the shield and crown are beautifully frosted. Simon's original steel punch (in relief) for the bust on this coin is still preserved in the Royal Mint, London.

The portrait of Oliver on this coinage is an excellent and spirited likeness, as may be proved by comparison with the miniatures by Samuel Cooper, taken about the same time. Pepys, the diarist, evidently thought the portrait on Oliver's coins a good one. He says, under date 9th March, 1662-3—"Upon my word, those (coins) of the Protector are more like in my mind, than the King's (Charles II's)." The titles of the Protector are the same as those on his Great Seal, and it is to be observed that he did not continue the somewhat absurd practice of inserting "France" among the possessions of this country. A reference to our colonies is obviously intended in the expression "etc." after "Ireland." In legal documents they were mentioned at greater length, viz.: "England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging."

The arms on the reverse are those used by Oliver Cromwell during the whole of his Protectorate (see woodcut on page 13, above). The heraldic description of them would be: Quarterly of four, 1st and 4th, argent, a cross gules, the cross of St. George, for England; 2nd, azure, a cross saltire
argent, the saltire of St. Andrew, for Scotland; 3rd, azur, a harp or, stringed argent, for Ireland; over all, on an inescutcheon, sable, a lion rampant argent, the paternal arms of Cromwell. The shield is surmounted by the imperial crown of England, nearly exactly resembling the one used by King Charles I. It is formed of six arches, springing from a jewelled circlet, and meeting over the centre of the crown, surmounted by a mound and cross. The circlet is heightened by four crosses patée and four fleurs-de-lis, placed alternately.

The Protector's favourite motto of Pax quaritur bello appears on many of his seals, as well as on the reverse of all his gold and silver coins. It may perhaps refer to the war with Spain, which he prosecuted vigorously during the latter years of his government, although some persons would be more inclined to apply it to his struggle with the royalists. Perhaps a general allusion is intended to all the wars in which he had been engaged.

The inscription on the edge of the fifty-shilling piece, Protector iüteris literas nummis corona et salus, is evidently intended as a compliment to Oliver's title of Protector, and also to express the use of an inscription on that part of the coin where it is placed, i.e. the edge. The exact signification of this motto is rather obscure, but it perhaps means that the letters on the edge are a protection to the letters on the sides of the piece, and that the inscribed edge forms a wreath or garland round the coin, and is a safeguard to it. The letters on the rim obviously prevent clipping, and as clipping would cut off a considerable portion of the coin, and thus destroy much of the legends on the sides near the edge (such as the titles, etc.), therefore the letters on the edge would protect the letters on the sides.

The full weight of the fifty-shilling piece is 351$\frac{1}{2}$ grains Troy, and the metal is of the same standard as that now in use, viz: 22 carats fine gold to 2 carats alloy, or eleven parts fine out of twelve; being of the same fineness as the gold coins of the Commonwealth's type, and those of Charles I. (except his angel).

This is one of the rarest of Oliver's coins or patterns, and it is commonly called the fifty-shilling piece from the fact that its weight corresponds to the value of fifty shillings of the period, being 351$\frac{1}{2}$ grains, or exactly two-and-a-half times the weight of a twenty-shilling piece, 140$\frac{1}{2}$
grains. We believe that no other piece of this value was ever coined in England, and its unusual denomination and great rarity prove that it must have been a pattern or trial piece. It is our own opinion that the so-called fifty-shilling piece was really a pattern broad, or twenty-shilling piece, struck on a heavier piece of metal to prevent its being taken for an ordinary coin. This practice of making patterns heavier than the usual weight of the coin they represented, was often resorted to, and is well known to numismatists. We shall meet with other examples of it among Oliver’s silver coins.

Blondeau probably at first intended to make the broads with an inscribed edge, like we see on these fifty-shilling pieces, which are struck from the same dies as were subsequently used for Oliver’s broad pieces. Finding, however, that pieces of the value of twenty shillings would be too thin to take the inscription on the edge, he no doubt abandoned his first intention, giving to the broads a milled edge instead, as will be described when we come to those coins.

A few patterns or first proofs of the broad piece, with the inscribed edge, have therefore remained to the present day, and are generally known to collectors as Cromwell’s fifty-shilling pieces; but Thomas Snelling, as long ago as 1763,* also suspected them to be proofs of the twenty-shilling piece, since they differ from the latter only in weight and thickness, and in the inscription on the rim.

The fifty-shilling pieces are of great rarity, very few specimens having been struck. There is one in the British Museum, weighing 348·7 grains. Another, much rubbed, is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, from Browne Willis’s cabinet; it weighs only 299 grains. A third is in the collection of the Imperial Hermitage, St. Petersburg. A very fine specimen in the possession of Mr. Sholto Vere Hare, weighing 348·5 grains, was formerly in the cabinets of Thomas Hollis, H. H. Duncombe, and C. R. Taylor. Mr. William Brice, of Bristol, has one, in brilliant condition, weighing 351·6 grains. It was formerly in the cabinets of the Earl of Pembroke and Mr. Edward Wigan. Mr. Samuel Addington has another, very fine, weight 350 grains, which came from the collections of the Rev. J. W. Martin and Captain R. M. Murchison. One of the finest known specimens, weighing

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350 grains, passed through the cabinets of M. Trattle, A. Edmonds, and William Forster. Others were in the collections of Messrs. Thomas Thomas, J. D. Cuff, Richard Whitbourn, and Thomas Brown.

At public sales the fifty-shilling pieces have sold as follows:—M. Trattle, 1832, lot 3065, £100; T. Thomas, 1844, lot 814, £35; Earl of Pembroke, 1848, lot 161, £76; J. D. Cuff, 1854, lot 1294, £41 10s.; Rev. J. W. Martin, 1859, lot 304, £46; Capt. R. M. Murchison, 1864, lot 382, £70; W. Forster, 1868, lot 137, £51; H. H. Duncombe, 1869, lot 122, £44; T. Brown, 1869, lot 608, £10; C. R. Taylor, 1874, lot 347, £43.

This piece is engraved in—Part iv. tab. 19, of Nummi Anglici et Scotiae cum aliquid Numismatibus recentioribus collegit Thomas Pembrockie et Montis Gomerici Comes, the cabinet of Thomas Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke, quarto, London, 1746; G. Vertue’s Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, plate ix. bb; T. Snelling’s View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England, 1763, plate vi. no. 16; Folke’s and Ruding’s plates, Gold Coins, plate xiv. no. 7.

Twenty-shilling piece or Broad. Obverse and Reverse struck from the same dies as the fifty-shilling piece. The coin, however, is thinner, and its edge is milled with straight lines, instead of bearing an inscription. The full weight of the broad is 140½ grains, and its fineness is the same as that of the piece just described. For illustration, see Plate III., No. 1.

The broad, although somewhat scarce, is one of the commonest of Oliver’s coins, and sometimes occurs in a worn and rubbed condition. Many very fine specimens, however, have been hoarded, and preserved in collectors’ cabinets, so that they still retain the brilliant polish claimed by Blondeau as one of the peculiar advantages of his method of coinage.

Our illustration, plate iii., no. 1, is taken from the broad in the British Museum, which weighs 140½ grains. Other specimens are in the following collections: Bank of England; Museum of the Royal Mint, London; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; National Cabinet of France; Collection of the Imperial Hermitage, St. Petersburg; Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen; Royal Cabinet, Stockholm; and in many private cabinets. At public sales they have sold as follows:—M. Trattle, 1832, lot 3066, £17; A. Ed-
monds, 1834, lot 93, £10; Duke of Devonshire, 1844, lot 403, £8.12s.; T. Thomas, 1844, lot 670, £8, lot 671, £6.16s. 6d.; Col. Durrant, 1847, lot 759, £4.16s., lot 760, £5.5s.; J. D. Cuff, 1854, lot 1295, £3.7s.; Rev. J. W. Martin, 1859, lot 305, £3.7s.; Capt. R. M. Murchison, 1864, lot 374, £5.10s.; H. H. Duncombe, 1869, lot 123, £4.12s.; Sir George Chetwynd, 1872, lot 85, £5; J. B. Bergue, 1873, lot 394, £6.5s.; C. R. Taylor, 1874, lot 348, £5.15s.; E. Wrighton, 1874, lot 136, £6.2s.; W. T. B. Ashley, 1876, lot 218, £6. The usual price for a fine specimen is from five to eight guineas.

It may be interesting to mention here that Mr. Henry William Field, a lineal descendant of the Protector, has shown the author a fine example of the twenty-shilling piece, one of several that have been handed down in the family from Oliver's time.

In the British Museum is a proof of the broad struck in silver from the same dies, and also with straight milling on the edge. It appears to be a contemporary proof. Another proof in silver from the die of the broad formed lot 385 of the Thomas sale, 27th February, 1844. A third specimen, highly preserved, was in the Devonshire and Durrant cabinets; and one was in lot 256 of the late Mr. W. H. Johnston's sale, May, 1876. Another silver proof, with plain edge, weighing 173.36 grains, is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

The broad is engraved in the Earl of Pembroke's plates, 1746, part iv., tab. 18. For other references, see above, under fifty-shilling piece, as the two coins are identical in the types of both sides.

_Ten-shilling piece or Half-broad._ Obverse, bust of the Protector, as on the preceding gold coins. Legend—OLIVAR·D·G·RP·ANG·SCO·HIB & PRO. Reverse, garnished shield of arms, crowned. The date *1656* above. Legend—PAX·QVÆRITVR·BELLO. The edge is sometimes plain, and sometimes milled with diagonal or slanting lines, See Plate III, No. 3.

These half-broads are made of gold, of the same standard as the broads, and they each weigh between 70 and 72 grains Troy. There are two in the British Museum, both from the same dies, one with the edge milled, and the other with the edge plain. They weigh 70.6 and 71.5 grains respectively; the latter being not so well preserved as the one with
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The milled edge. A brilliant specimen of the same coin is in the cabinet of Mr. William Bruce, the edge milled with straight lines. It is as fresh as from the die, weighs 71.5 grains, and was formerly in the Tyssen, Thomas, Durrant, Cuff, and Wigan collections.

From their being each about the correct weight of a current ten-shilling piece of the period, 70½ grains, and also being milled like current coins, we consider that some of these pieces were either intended for general currency, or that they were finished patterns for current coins.

Other specimens of this type, having plain edges, are evidently proofs. Besides the one in the British Museum, weighing 71.5 grains (rubbed), there is another very fine specimen from the same dies, also with plain edge, and weighing 71.4 grains, in the Bank of England collection, at present deposited in the British Museum. Mr. S. Addington possesses another, with plain edge, very fine, weighing 71.5 grains; formerly in the cabinets of the Earl of Pembroke, Capt. R. M. Murchison, etc. A similar half-broad, very fine, with plain edge, passed through the cabinets of Messrs. Dimdale, Durrant, and Duncombe. Mr. William Forster had another, from the Rev. J. W. Martin's collection; and Mr. Thomas Brown also had one. In the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, is one of these half-broad, with plain edge, weighing 70.1 grains.

The original dies of this coin, as well as Simon's steel punch for the bust on the obverse, are still preserved in the Museum of the Royal Mint, London. The dies are much cracked, and that for the reverse has had the date altered to 1658. It is curious that so few examples of the half-broad of 1656 are in existence, while the twenty-shilling pieces are comparatively numerous, and it is very difficult to account for the great rarity of the former, unless we suppose that the die cracked before more than a few proofs could be taken. It is impossible, however, to ascertain precisely at what period they were broken.

The ten-shilling pieces are, as we have already stated, very rare. At some of the sales by auction they have sold as follows:—T. Thomas, 1844, lot 815, £24.10s.; Col. Durrant, 1847, lot 761 (plain edge), £22.10s.; lot 762 (milled edge), £10.5s.; J. D. Cuff, 1854, lot 1296, £21; Rev. J. W. Martin, 1859, lot 306, £14.5s.; Capt. R. M. Murchison, 1864, lot 381, £20; W. Forster, 1868, lot 136, £20.10s.; H. H. Duncombe, 1869, lot 126 £26.10s.; Thomas Brown, 1869, lot 611, £21.
We have not met with any engraving of this coin.

Another type of the 1656 half-broad, illustrated on our plate iii., no. 2, will be described further on under the head of Tanner's imitations.

**Silver Half-crown.** Obverse, bust of the Protector, laureate, to the left, with drapery round the shoulders, in the Roman style. Legend—OLIVAR · D G R P · ANG · SCO · ET · HI &c. PRO. Reverse, garnished shield of arms, crowned; the arms and crown like those on the pattern broad or fifty-shilling piece (described above, page 102). The date · 1656 · above the crown. Legend—PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO. The edge is inscribed with the motto—HAS · NISI · PERITVRVS · MIHI · ADIMAT · NEMO, a cross patée between two dots, between NEMO and HAS. See Plate III., No. 4.

The bust on this half-crown, as on all Oliver's silver coins, is distinguished from that on the gold coins by having drapery on the shoulders. The portrait is an excellent likeness, and was designed and executed by Thomas Simon; the Roman style being adopted in pursuance of the order made by the Council on the 11th December, 1656 (see p. 95, above). The practice of having the bust on the silver coins draped, while that on the gold coins had the neck bare, was introduced by Cromwell in this coinage, and was continued by all the succeeding sovereigns, with the exception of Anne, down to the reign of George III. This plan was supposed to furnish an easy method of detecting silver money when fraudulently gilt to pass for gold. Simon's original steel punches for the bust and shield of arms on the half-crowns (both of 1656 and 1658 probably) are still preserved in the Royal Mint.

The inscription on the edge of this half-crown, Has (literas) nisi periturus mihi adimat nemo, probably signifies: "Let no one take from me (the coin) these letters (on the edge) unless about to die;" since the offences of filing and clipping the edges of the coins were then punishable with death. This motto appears to have been altered from Terence, *Andria*, act iv., scene 2, line 14—"... hanc, nisi mors, mihi adimet nemo." Snelling says that this legend was first used on the edge of a coin of Tuscany, and refers to Ignazio Orsini's *Storia delle Monete de' Granduci di Toscana*, &c., quarto, Firenze, 1756. In this book is described and engraved a teston of Cosmo II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, coined between 1608 and 1620, which
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had exactly the same motto on the edge—HAS NISI PERIT VRVS
MICHII ADIMAT NEMO. See also T. Snelling on Pattern Pieces, in his
Miscellaneous Views, folio, London, 1769, page 50, note. It is likely that
Simon or Blondeau, thinking it appropriate, copied this motto from the
edge of the Tuscan coin.

The half-crown of 1656 is made of silver of the old standard, the same
as that used for the coins of the Commonwealth and Charles I, viz.: 11 oz.
2 dwts. fine silver to 18 dwts. alloy, or 11.1 parts fine out of 12. The full
weight is also that of the half-crowns of the Commonwealth and Charles I,
viz.: 232 1/2 grains Troy.

Our illustration, plate iii., no. 4, is taken from the half-crown in the
cabinet of the British Museum. There is another in the Museum of the
Royal Mint, London, and one in the Collection of the Imperial Hermitage
St. Petersburg. Several private collectors also possess good specimens.

Whether intended for circulation, or only struck for a pattern, the
1656 half-crown is very rare. Although not so scarce as the fifty-shilling
piece, it is much rarer than the broad. It is, however, seldom found in
very fine or good preservation; and it is much rarer than the half-crown of
1658. The following are some of the prices from well-known sales by
auction:—M. Trantle, 1832, lot 2599, £2. 11s.; T. Thomas, 1844, lot 727,
£3. 9s.; Col. Durrant, 1847, lot 753, £4; J. D. Cuff, 1854, lot 1283,
£5. 2s. 6d.; Thomas Brown, 1869, lot 602, £4. 4s.; J. B. Bergue, 1872,
lot 890, £8. 10s.

We have not seen any engraving of the 1656 half-crown.

T. Snelling (p. 44 of his View of the Silver Coins, 1762) mentions shillings of Oliver, dated 1656, but he was probably mistaken, as no other
collector has yet met with such a coin.

IV.—Description of the Coining Process.

The new milled coinage of the Protector Oliver was, as we learn from
the orders of his Privy Council, entirely executed (except the engraving of
the dies) by Peter Blondeau, the French engineer, who had lately intro-
duced into this country his new and complete machinery for making coins
more perfectly than was possible by the old hand and hammer process.
His “inventions” included the rolling-mill for flattening the metal, and
making it of an even thickness throughout; also tools for cutting out the
"blanks," making them all of an equal size; the use of a screw press or
"mill" for striking the coins; and a method of giving the coins an inscribed
dge. These were not all original inventions of Blondeau's, but he brought
the milled process to perfection, and re-introduced it into England. Scarcely
any author except Thomas Snelling (View of Pattern Pieces, p. 51), mentions
Blondeau as having made Oliver's coins. For a full account of Blondeau
and his work before 1656, the reader is referred to the preceding section of
this work, entitled "Peter Blondeau and the Irish Mint."

The dies of all the coins of 1656, just described, were engraved by the
celebrated English medallist, Thomas Simon, as we have previously shown.
A very fine example of his work in high relief has been described on
page 9, viz.: "The Lord General Medal" (plate I, no. 4); but in these
coins we have equally beautiful specimens of the medallie art in low relief.
The reason for the adoption of such slight relief was doubtless the same
as that given in the present day, i.e., the prevention of excessive loss by the
wear and tear of circulation, coins with highly embossed devices obviously
suffering most from this cause. Another reason may have been the saving
of time and expense in striking the coins.

The dies, when finished ready for coining, were handed over by Simon
to Peter Blondeau, who himself conducted with great secrecy, in Drury
House, the remaining processes of making the money. The method used
by Blondeau was that generally called the "milled," from its chief charac-
teristic—the use of the mill or coining-press. Cromwell was the first to
recognize the value of, and the first to make practical use of Blondeau's
machinery, but Charles II., after a brief trial of the old hammered process
in 1660-61, followed Oliver's example by engaging Peter Blondeau as
Engineer to the Mint, and employing him to make the whole of his 1662
and subsequent coinages: the Roettiers engraving the dies. A short de-
scription of Blondeau's milled process, as used in making all the national
coins from 1662 to 1695, is given by a writer of the latter date, Mr. William
Lowndes. First, the gold or silver was cast out of the melting-pot into
long flat bars, which bars were drawn through a kind of rolling-mill (worked
by a horse) to produce the proper thickness for guineas, crowns, shillings,
etc. Then with "forcible engines" called cutters, of the exact sizes of the
coins to be made, the round pieces were cut out from the flat bars. Each
piece was then weighed, and made to agree exactly with the intended weight, and afterwards taken to other machines, "wrought secretly," which put the letters upon the edges of the larger pieces, and marked the edges of the others with a graining. The next process was the blanching, making the blanks white and refugent by annealing or boiling, and at last every piece was brought to the press or mill (worked by the strength of men), and there received the impression, which made it perfect milled money.* This was, without doubt, the same system as that followed by Blondeau in making the milled coins of Oliver.

Oliver Cromwell's were the first English coins with inscribed edges, and the plan by which their rims were marked with inscriptions was not made known. It is however most probable that the coins were struck in a steel collar, with four joints, having the motto engraved on the inside. On receiving the blow in the coining-press, the coin would expand and fill up the sunken device on the collar, and on opening the collar at the joints the piece would be released. The mottoes were engraved on four separate pieces of steel, two of them large, and two very small, which, when fitted together with joints, formed a collar and marked the edges of the coins all round. On examining the coins the marks of the joints may be faintly seen, although the edging is very neatly done. The following is a copy of the edge of the fifty-shilling piece, the perpendicular lines representing the divisions:—SALVS † PROTECTOR · LITERIS · LITERAE · NVMMIS · CORONA · ET · |

The edging of the half-crown of 1656 was also composed of four pieces, thus:—HAS · NISI · PERITVRVS · MIHI · ADIMAT · NEMO · |

The lines impressed on the edges of the other coins (now commonly called the milling) were probably effected in this manner—Two pieces of steel, each having indentations cut upon one side, were placed upon a flat table, one being fixed down, and the other being moveable. The coin or blank was then placed on the table with its edge between the indented pieces of steel, and the moveable piece being then pushed along with pressure, the coin followed its movement, and received the impression of the indentations all round its edge.

The milled coins of the Protector Oliver certainly do possess all the advantages which Peter Blondeau, who made them, had previously claimed as resulting from his method alone. We find in them the perfect roundness, the exact equality of size in pieces of the same denomination, the protection of their edges by inscriptions or milling, the fine polish and gloss, and the perfect impression of the dies, as set forth by Blondeau in his representations to the Parliament, 1650-53 (see above, pp. 61 et seq.).

Every one who has examined these coins has observed with admiration their beauty and exquisite workmanship, both in the delicate engraving of the devices and in the mechanical perfection of Blondeau's process of striking them. Simon has presented us with a bold and truthful portrait of the Protector, executed in a simple and elegant manner, although well and carefully finished. This likeness was no doubt modelled from life. The face and neck are adorned with a species of minute frost-work, which may clearly be seen on most well preserved specimens of the coins. This kind of "mezzotinto or frosting" was only to be found on the works of Simon (says the late Mr. Richard Sainthill*), until it was revived by the eminent medallist William Wyon, on a pattern crown of George III., dated 1817. The art of frosting in this manner was supposed by collectors to have died with Simon.

Oliver's coins, both of the dates 1656 and 1658, are generally considered to be the most beautiful and the best executed in the whole of the English series. Stephen Martin Leake remarks that they exceed anything of the kind done since the time of the ancient Romans.† Martin Folkes calls them "exceedingly beautiful," and states that they "are universally allowed to have been equal, if not superior, to whatever else had been performed in this way, either here or in any other part of Europe."‡ Thomas Snelling says that "all the pieces coined by the Protector are very beautiful, being the performance of the incomparable Simon, and worked off by the mill and screw."§ The Rev. Rogers Ruding also calls them "eminently beautiful" and "coined with the greatest care and exactness."‖

* Memoir of W. Wyon, by Nicholas Carlisle, 1837, p. 90.
† Historical Account of English Money, 3rd edit., 1793, p. 351.
‡ Table of English Silver Coins, 1763, p. 100.
§ View of the Silver Coin, 1762, p. 44.
‖ Annuals of the Coinage, 3rd edit., 1840, vol. i., p. 419.
The celebrated medallic artist, William Wyon, made the following observations on Oliver's coins in a lecture delivered by him on the 13th May, 1834:—"The portraits were modelled from the life by Simon, and are admirable for the truth of resemblance to individual nature. Altogether, this series of coins presents to us some of the most beautiful specimens that are to be found on our coinage, combining, with the most exquisite workmanship, the mechanical advantages of the mill and screw, introduced about this time."*

The opinions of collectors respecting these coins are well expressed by Mr. B. Nightingale, who says that they "have always been considered as the most truthful, graceful, and highly-finished specimens of modern medallic art. Indeed they have never been surpassed by any productions of the English Mint; perhaps, we might say, they have never been equalled."†

More recently, Mr. R. Stuart Poole, Keeper of the Coins and Medals in the British Museum, notices them in these terms: "The great Protector, however, caused to be designed money of his own bearing his head . . . . Simon, the chief of English medallists, designed the coins, which are unequalled in our whole series for the vigour of the portrait (a worthy sentiment of the head of Cromwell), and the beauty and fitness of every portion of the work."‡

V.—Place where the Coins were Made.

We shall conclude this account of the coinage of 1656 with some particulars of the place where Blondau carried on the work of striking the money. As he desired to keep his processes quite to himself, it was out of the question to give him rooms in the Mint, or in any other part of the Tower of London, because the jealous workmen of the Mint would have been constantly endeavouring to discover his secrets. After naming one or two other places, the Council finally selected Drury House, assigning to Blondau "the Kitchen, Larder, Cellars, Coachhouses, and such Chambers and other Rooms" as could be spared. See order of the 3rd December, 1656, printed above, p. 94).

* Memoir of W. Wyon, by N. Carlyle, 1837, p. 75.
‡ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 8th edit., 1858, vol. xvi., p. 388.
Having been some time at work in Drury House, making the coins of Oliver dated 1656, Blondel complained to the Council, in July, 1657, that he had been interrupted in his work “through the pulling downe or defacing of some Roomes at or about Drury House.” (Council Entry Book, 23rd July, 1657). The Council of State, therefore, soon after made another and more explicit order, confirming their previous instructions, and giving Blondel increased accommodation—

“Tuesday, 17th November, 1657, p.m.—Ordered “That for the accommodateing of Mr. Peter Blondel, in his putting in execution his new Invenion of Coyning, such Lodgings and Roomes be assigned him at Drury House, as the Trustees for Sale of Delinquents estates, sitting there, shall thinke fitt, and may spare; and that the s’d Trustees assigne him fit Lodgings and Roomes accordingly; And if they shall fynd the Lower Roomes at Drury House (now made use of by Mr. Abraham Browne) to be profane for this use, then to assigne the same to Peter Blondel, and to appoynt the said Mr. Browne some other Convenient place, for removeall of his writeings into; And upon order, or Warrant given in that behalfe by the said Trustees, or any 2 of them, the said Mr. Browne is required to quit the said Roomes, and Remove his writeings accordingly.”—Page 285, Entry Book, No. 106.

This building, in which Blondel set up his machinery and made the beautiful coins bearing the Protector’s bust, is called in the State Papers “Drury House” simply. At this period, however, there were two houses of that name in London, and we have been unable to determine with certainty which of the two is referred to in the above orders. On the south side of Beech Lane, Barbican, was a large house originally belonging to the Abbot of Ramsey, but afterwards owned by Sir Dru Drury (temp. Elizabeth), after whom it was called “Drury House.” Prince Rupert also inhabited it for some time subsequent to the restoration of Charles II. See page 113 of John Stow’s Survey of London, 1598, edited by W. J. Thoms, London, 1842; and the engravings in J. T. Smith’s Antiquities of London, folio, 1791, and E. W. Brayley’s Londiniana, 1828, vol. iv., p. 301.

The second Drury House, and the one in which we think Blondel to have worked, was in the parish of St. Clement’s Danes, and occupied the site of the present Drury Lane Theatre. Drury House was built in the
The Importation and Exportation of Bullion.

reign of Elizabeth by Sir William Drury, Knt., but William Lord Craven (who lived 1608-1697) became its owner in the time of Charles I., and partially rebuilt it. All Lord Craven's property in England, including, of course, Drury House, was confiscated by the Commonwealth in March, 1650-51, so that it is most likely that Lord Craven's house was the one used for the sittings of the Committee for the Sale of Delinquents' Estates and for Blondeau's coinage operations. For further particulars of Drury House, Drury Lane, we refer the reader to Brayley's Londiniana, vol. iv., pp. 292-4, and Peter Cunningham's Handbook of London, 2nd edit., 1850, p. 45.

THE IMPORTATION AND EXPORTATION OF BULLION.

In the year 1656 Thomas Violet, the goldsmith who had procured the seizure of the Dutch silver ships (see pp. 31 to 33, above), published a thick folio pamphlet, entitled—


Among the representations made to the Protector in this book, Violet prays "that an Act against Transporters of Gold and Silver out of this Nation may be forthwith passed" (Epistle Dedicatory); and on pages 104 to 112, part i., he prints his "Most Humble Petition to his Highness and the Parliament, for the speedy passing the Act against Transporters of Gold and Silver, and against the cutters and melters down of the heavy coins of this nation, and such as buy gold or silver above the price of the Mint." It is dated "September 29, 1656."

In this petition Violet adverts to the appointment of the Committee of Council for the Mint in August, 1649, and states that it was at the recommendation of this Committee that a clause was inserted in the General Pardon or Amnesty of February, 1652, excepting all offences committed by any person in transporting gold and silver coin or bullion out of England.
without licence, as well as in unlawfully buying, selling, exchanging, or melting the current money (page 105). He also says that in 1651 the draft of an Act of Parliament for the appointment of Commissioners for enquiring into the abuses of transporting gold and silver, was drawn up by order of the Committee for the Mint, and placed in the hands of Mr. Augustin Garland, member for Queenborough in the Long Parliament. This bill having been twice read in the House, it was called for again and appointed to be finished, about the 12th April, 1653, but as Violet says (p. 109), "other mighty business did intervene," Cromwell dissolving the Parliament on the 20th April.

Violet asserts that some merchants, who had been guilty of transporting bullion, hindered this act from passing. He also says that out of about twenty million pounds' worth of gold and silver coins made in the Tower between 1622 and 1645, scarcely anything remained but a little clipped and light money. "All this gold is already transported, the currant silver coyns all culled, and the heaviest transported or melted to make gold and silver lace" (page 110). He adds that—"Som Goldsmiths in Lumbert street (contrary to the law) have bought and sold Milions of Gold, till now at last they have bought and sould all the Gold out of the Nation, and the currant Silver coyn of this Nation is following after a great pace, and will still follow except a strict Law bee made to discover the offendors, and bring them to severe justice to deterr others, there will be no mony left in the Nation, neither gold nor silver."—Proposals, part i., p. 111.

Among the State Papers of Cromwell's period, now preserved in the Public Record Office, London, we find several notices concerning the exportation of bullion. On the 2nd December, 1656, John Child petitioned the Protector to be allowed to export £5000 in pieces of eight; and in January, 1656-7, the Council of State gave permission to Sir Thomas Viner and Edward Backwell, goldsmiths, to export £10,000 in pieces of eight, and fifty bars of silver, part of the prize plate captured from the Spaniards in September, 1656, and which these two merchants had bought of the Government by contract. Viner and Backwell were allowed to export this amount custom free, upon their giving security before the Master of the Mint that they would, within six months, import into this country the like full quantity, and bring the same to the Tower Mint, to be there coined. See Entry Book No. 105 of the Council of State.
On the 12th March, 1656-7, Edward Backwell petitioned for a warrant to transport, custom free, £400 in wrought plate; and the warrant was granted him by the Council on the 19th March. In April, 1657, Backwell addressed another petition to the Protector, in which he quotes the Act of Parliament of the 9th January, 1650-1, which gave a merchant liberty to export two thirds of any parcel of bullion or foreign specie, previously imported, upon paying thereon one per cent. custom, and on condition that he caused the other third part to be coined in the Tower of London. This law is also mentioned in several other similar petitions, until the end of the Protectorate. For a copy of it at length, see Henry Scobell’s *Collection of Acts and Ordinances*, London, 1658, part ii., page 150, *anno* 1650, cap. 41.

Adverting now to the importation of bullion, we find among the State Papers a series of Propositions for the encouragement of the importation of bullion into the Commonwealth, endorsed as received the 20th February, 1654-5. The more important of these proposals are: that a declaration be passed by his Highness and the Council that all bullion should be freely imported by natives or foreigners, without being liable to seizure or detention upon any pretence (as was enacted in the above-mentioned Act of Parliament of the 9th January, 1650-1); that no letters of reprisal should extend to the taking away of any bullion intended to be landed in this nation; that convoys should be allotted as desired by the merchants; and that the entry of all bullion should be made to one person, appointed by the Protector, who should be sworn to secrecy. The document concludes by urging that some steps should be immediately taken in the matter.

Nothing, however, appears to have been done until June, 1657, upon the 8th of which month a bill for the encouragement of the importation of bullion was read for the first time in the House of Commons, and ordered to be read the second time on the following day (*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. vii., p. 550). It was accordingly read for the second time on the 9th June, and committed to the Committee for Trade, who were to consider the bill, and fill up the blanks in it (*Journals*, vol. vii. p. 552).

On Monday, the 22nd June, 1657—“Mr. Noell reports Amendments to the Bill for Importation of Bullion: Which were read the First and Second time; and, upon the Question, re-committed to the same Com-
mittee: To sit the First Tuesday of the next Meeting of the Parliament, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, in the Duchy-Chamber."—Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii., p. 568.

The first session of this Parliament closed with the Protector's second inauguration on the 26th June, and in the short and stormy second session, 20th January to the 4th February, 1657-8, no further proceedings were taken in regard to the encouragement of the importation of bullion.

THE TRIAL OF THE PIX IN 1657.

In the seventeenth and preceding centuries, all money made in England was coined under the provisions of an indenture or agreement between the Government and the Master of the Mint. In order, therefore, to prevent fraud, and to test the correct weight and fineness of the money so coined, a Trial of the Pix was held at intervals, and if the verdict was satisfactory the Master of the Mint received his discharge. The trial was thus conducted—a certain number of pieces of each denomination were laid aside out of every coinage, and placed in a box, anciently termed the pix, to await the trial. When thought necessary, a warrant was issued to the Lord Chancellor and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, authorizing them to cause a trial of the pix to be made. On the day appointed, a jury of twelve London goldsmiths, chosen from the Goldsmiths' Company, having been summoned, several pieces taken at random from the whole number of pix coins were assayed, weighed and tried at Goldsmiths' Hall, in the presence of the Lord Chancellor, and other official personages. After comparing the coins with the standard trial plates, and ascertaining whether they were within the remedies allowed as to weight and fineness, the jury delivered their verdict, which was authenticated by the signatures of the goldsmiths and the Lords Commissioners.

During the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell only one trial of the pix took place, on the 3rd December, 1657. Previous to this, however, the Council of State made the following order, requiring to know where two of the trial plates or standards were—

Thursday, 19th November, 1657 (post meridiem).—"Whereas on the
9th of Nov: 1649, it was ordered by Parliament that the Lords Commissioner of the Great Seal, and others the Commissioners for trial of the pax of money, and the Jury impannel'd for ye purpose, should proceed in trial of the said money, by that part of the Standard which remained in the Exchequer, with that remaining at Goldsmiths Hall; And whereas the Counsell was this day informed, That a trial was made accordingly, being in respect of the want of a sufficient part of the Standard of Crowne gould; and, That by an order of the then Counsell of State, of the 14th of Nov: 1649, the Company of Goldsmiths were appointed to make 2 Standard pieces, The one of Crowne gould, the other of Silver; In pursuance whereof they provided the said pieces, and divided each piece into lower indented pieces, and deliv'ed ye same in to the said Counsell of State ye 22d of Nov: 1649, at wh'ch tyme the said Counsell of State redelivered to ye Warden of ye said Company, one part of the said pieces of gould, and one of Silver; and ye other part of the said respective pieces ought to have been deliv'ed into the Exchequer, wh'ch was done; Ordered That it be referred to the Clerkes of the Counsell to speak herein with the Lord Bradshaw, then Lord President, and Mr Gualter Frost, sonne to the then Sec'y of the said Counsell, and informe themselves, if they can, how the other parts of ye said Standard pieces were disposed of, and to give an accompt thereof to this Board."—Page 292, Council Entry Book, No. 106, in the Public Record Office, London.

On the 25th of the same month the Council's Treasurer produced the two missing trial plates, and they were ordered to be delivered to the Commissioners of the Treasury—

Wednesday, 25th November, 1657.—"Mr Gualter Frost p'nted to ye Counsell this day, two plates indented, the one of Goule, the other of Silver, being pieces made for Tryall of the Standard of Gould and Silver, by order of the late Counsell of State, and to them deliv'ed in Nov., 1649, Ordered That the said pieces be deliv'ed to ye Lords Commissioners of his Highness Tre'ry, to be by them disposed of, to the Charge and keepeing of the proper Office of the Exchequer, in ord're to his Highness and ye Common Wealths Service as there shalbe occasion. And ye Mr Gualter Frost be discharged thereof."—Pages 304, 305, Council Book as above.
In the margin of the book, opposite this last entry, is a memorandum stating that this order and the trial plates were sent to the Commissioners of the Treasury on the 26th November "per Roger Jenyns."

These standards or trial plates were most probably used at the trial of the pix that was held in the next month, i.e., on the 3rd December, 1657. The Warrant ordering the trial was signed by the Protector on the 9th November. A copy of it is on fo. 29, verso, of a book preserved among the records of the Royal Mint, London, entitled—"A Booke of Entries of all the Assaies and Verdicts of ye Pixe, taken before ye Right Honble ye Lords of His Maties Privy Counciell and others, ab initio regni Regis Jacobi 1sti & deinceps." This warrant has been printed before, but very inaccurately, on pages 99 and 100, footnote, of the Society of Antiquaries' edition of Martin Folkes' Table of English Silver Coins, quarto, London, 1763. It is also quoted, from Folkes, in the Rev. R. Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, edit. 1840, vol. i., p. 72, note 10. The subjoined copy of it has been carefully made from the original manuscript book above-named—

"OLIVER P.

"Whereas amongst other weighty Affaires of the Commonwealth, the care of Assaying and Trying of the moneys & Coyne thereof by the Standard of England, according to the Antient Custom of ye Realme, being not ye least, Wes, Judging it necessary That ye Tryall and Assay of the s'd Money & Coyne be forthwith made, Doe therefore hereby signifie our will and pleasure to be constanding you forthwith to cause a Tryall and Assay to be made of the Pix, now being in the Mint within the Tower of London, by a Jury of Goldsmiths of our s't City of London, of integrity and experience, to be Impaffed and Sworne on a day certain, to be by you in that behalfe appointed, in the Place accustomed within our Palacie of Westminster; and that ye Lords Comissioners of our Tre'ar'ye, the Justices of the sev'l Benches, and Barons of the Excheq', or some of them, bee then there present and Counselling and Assisting unto you in ye due execution of this our Service.

"Given at Whitehall this 9th of Novemb' 1657.

"To our R' Trusty and R' well beloved Nathaniell Fiennes & John Liale, Lords Comissioners of our Great Seal of England."
On fo. 29 of the same book it is stated that the trial of the pix took place on the 3rd December, 1657, "near to the Star Chamber at Westminster," before the Right Hon. Nathaniel Fiennes and John Lisle, Commissioners of the Great Seal; Sir Thomas Widdrington and William Sydenham, Commissioners of the Treasury; and John Glynn, Lord Chief Justice of the Upper Bench. The coins then tried by the jury of goldsmiths had been made according to an Indenture under the Great Seal, dated at Westminster the 27th July, 1649, between "the late Keepers of the Liberty of England by authority of Parliament" on the one part, and "Aaron Geurdain, Doctor of Phisick," Master and Worker of the Mint in the Tower of London, on the other part. The Warden of the Mint at the time was John St. John, Esq., and the Comptroller Thomas Barnardiston, Esq.

This trial was of the money coined between the 9th November, 1649, and the 3rd December, 1657, viz: the coins of the Commonwealth's or "harp and cross" type, which are described above, on pages 29 and 30 of this work (not including any of those with Oliver's name and bust). They are dated from 1649 to 1657, inclusive, and all have the sun mint-mark. The new mint-mark of an anchor was adopted in 1658, subsequent to this trial of the pix. The different denominations of the coins tested were—

unites or twenty-shilling pieces, double crowns or ten-shilling pieces, and crowns or five-shilling pieces, of gold; and crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, twopences, pennies, and halfpennies, of silver.

The following is a copy of the report and verdict of the jury of goldsmiths, from the same Book of Assays in the Royal Mint, fos. 29, and 29 verso:

"Gold of ye Standard of 22 Carrets\(^1\) taken out of ye Pix, ye Privie mark being (The Sunne), according to the aforesaid Ind'rin,\(^2\) weighing—3\(^3\) weight iiiij ounces 5\(^d\) weight 18 grains,\(^3\) making in coynd moneys, consisting of Unites, Double Crownes, and Crownes, ye Sunne of—137\(^\frac{1}{2}\), 15\(^\frac{1}{2}\), arising in the pound weight to—41\(^\frac{1}{2}\), 00\(^\frac{1}{2}\), 7\(^d\), and half farthing; Is found

\(^1\) Carats.  
\(^2\) aforesaid Indenture.  
\(^3\) 3 lbs. 4 oz. 5 dwt. 18 grs. Troy; the value as current money being £137 15s.; a pound weight of gold thus being coined into £41. 0s. 7d. and a half farthing. At present (1876) a pound weight of gold of the same standard is coined into £46. 14s. 6d.
at the Assay agreeable to the Standerd of the Cofoinwealth of England of his Highnesse ye Lord Protector's Treasury Dated ye 22th day of November, 1649.

"SILVER moneys taken out of ye same Piz, the Privy mark being (the Sunne), according to the aforesd Ind're, weighing 237 lb. wt. one oz. 19d weight, consisting of Crownes, half crownes, Shillings, halfe shillings, two pence, pence, & halfe pence, ye Sunne of—737 3 7d, arising in the pound weight to—3 2 24 (w); found at the Assay agreeable to ye Standerd of the Cofoinwealth of England of his Highnesse the Ld Protector's Treasury Dated ye 22th day of Novembr 1649.

"The Verdict:

"WEE FIND by the Assayes & Tryalls of ye sevill moneys abovementioned—That they are agreeable to the Standerd of the Cofoinwealth of England of his Highnesse the Ld Protector's Treas'ry, & Covenants in the aforesd Ind're, and in weight, Tale, and Assay within the remedies ordained, in such manner & forme as is above expressed and declared according to our best knowledge and discretions.

Tho: Finer,
Wm Symonds, & al."

"Present—
John Lisle

Sir Tho: Widrington Kn, Speaker of the Parliam, Commrs of his Highness Treas'ry.
Sir Bulstrode Whitlock Kn, & Wm Sydenham

John Glynne, Ld Chief Justice of the Upper Bench."

Sir Bulstrode Whitlock, in his Memorials, mentions his attendance at

1 weight.
2 237 lbs. 1 oz. 19 dwts. Troy; the value as current money being £737. 3s. 7d.; a pound weight of silver thus being coined into £3. 2s. 2d. At present (1876) a pound weight of silver of the same standard (37 parts fine out of 40) is coined into £2. 6s.
3 several. 4 Treas'ry. 5 covenants. 6 Indenture. 7 and others.
8 Commissioners.
The Trial of the Pire in 1657.

this trial of the pire, but the date is erroneously given as the 3rd November, 1657, instead of December—

"November 3.—I as a Commissioner of the Treasury, with many Grandees, were present at the Trial of the Pire in the Tower."—P. 665, 2nd edition, London, 1732, folio.
CHAPTER IV.

INCLUDING THE YEAR 1658.

THE COINAGE OF 1658

We shall divide our account of Oliver's coins of 1658 into four parts, containing: (1) the Historical Records relating to this coinage, (2) Description of the 1658 Coins, (3) description of the Imitations of the genuine coins, (4) remarks on the currency of Oliver's coins.

I.—THE HISTORICAL RECORDS.

We must now continue the account of Oliver's milled coins from the period at which it was left off on page 97, i.e., the month of July, 1657; but it will be found that the documentary evidence relating to the coins of 1658 is very scanty compared with that printed in the account of the 1656 coinage. In our last chapter the amount and history of the earlier coinage are pretty well determined, but comparatively few such particulars can be given regarding the pieces dated 1658.

It appears that soon after Peter Blondeau had commenced making the 1656 coinage, according to the Council's order for him to coin £2000 in milled money, he was interrupted in his work by the "pulling down and defacing" of some rooms in and about Drury House, where he had set up his machinery. He therefore petitioned the Council of State, who, on the 16th July, 1657, referred his petition to a Committee for examination and report—

Thursday, 16th July, 1657.—Ordered "That the humble petition of Peter Blondeau be referred to Genl. Disbrow, Sr. Gilb. Pickering, Lo. Deputy, Mr. Rous, or any two of them, to be by them considered of, and their opinion reported to the Councell."—Page 12, Entry Book, No. 106.

A week later, the Council made a further order in the matter, as follows—

1 The Lord Deputy of Ireland.
Thursday, 23rd July, 1657.—"Whereas informacon is given, That Mr Blondeau hath beene interrupted in the Service intrusted to him by his Highness for Coyning, through the pulling downe, or defaccon, of some Roomes at or about Drury house, wherein he was authorized to worke, Ordered, That it be referred to the Lord Deputy, the Earle of Mulgrave, Major Genll Skippon, Mr Rous, Sr Gilb' Pickering, Mr Secr'y, Genll Disbrow, the Lord Strickland, and or any 2 of them to informe themselves of the State of that matter, and for their better Satisfacon to send for Mr Graves, the Trustees at Drury house, or any other po'sons as they shall see Cause, and thereupon to make report to ye Counsell."—Page 22, Entry Book, No. 106.

On the 4th August two more persons were added to the Committee—

Tuesday, 4th August, 1657, p.m.—Ordered "That Mr Secr'y Thurloe and Col. Sydenham be added to the Com'ee to whom the buisiness touching Mr Blondeau is referred."—Page 56, Entry Book, No. 106.

Several brief orders, fixing days when Blondeau's business should be taken into consideration, were made by the Council on the 13th August, 27th August, 4th November, and 17th November, a.m., but nothing was done in the matter at those meetings. At the afternoon sitting, however, on the last mentioned day, a lengthy order was made to enable Blondeau to conduct a coinage of a much increased amount. The Council voted him money to defray the cost of the tools and machines that would be sufficient to coin £10,000 weekly, and more rooms were assigned to him in Drury House. It is therefore evident that the Protector and his Council at this time intended to issue a national coinage of milled money, executed by Blondeau with his new and secret machinery in Drury House. Such a large coinage as ten thousand pounds weekly could be nothing short of a national one, and must have been inteded for universal circulation in England, if not in Scotland and Ireland also. There is no doubt that the pieces with Oliver's bust, dated 1658, are a portion of the great milled coinage thus ordered to be carried out by Blondeau.

The following is an exact copy of the Council's orders of—

Tuesday, 17th November, 1657, p.m.—"On reading a Report from the Com'ee of the Counsell to whom the humble petition of Peter Blondeau is

---

1 Secretary.
2 persons.
3 Committee.
4 Committee.
referred, he thereby praying, That, for forwarding his works of Coyning and preparing necessary Engins for the same, some money may be ordered him, according to his former propositions and the Counsell Resolves; The Engines and working tools p'nted¹ by Mr Blondeau, as necessary to be provided for Coyning Ten thousand pounds weekly, being contained in a List annexed to the Report, the price whereof is by him estimated at 1440l, and the weight at 30000 l.wt² besides the Forges, Great Hammers, Anvils, and other great Tools, not accounted therein.

"Ordered, That, to the intent money may be in a readiness to be issued out to him for providing of the said Tools, in a meet proportion, It be offered to his Highness, as the advise of ye Counsell, That his Highness will please to issue his Warr³ to ye Comiss⁴ of his Highness Th'ray,⁵ for empowering and requiring them, out of such moneys as shall come into the Receipt of his Highness Exchequer, to satisfy and pay (for the purpose aforesaid) to Sr Thomas Vynor⁶ kn, the sum of One thousand pounds, and that the said Sr Thomas Vynor be authorized and empowered forthwith on Receipt thereof, to pay to ye s'd⁷ Peter Blondeau 200l, as money advance upon accompt of the said Service, and all the rest to pay and deliver to ye s'd petitioner⁸ Blondeau, by 'cells⁹ proportionable to the value of the Tools and utensils with which he shall from tyme to tyme bring in. The said Value being from tyme to tyme certified to Sr Thomas Vynor, under the hand of Henry Slingsby esq,, whose certificate to be a sufficient Warr from tyme to tyme to the said Sr Thomas Vynor for his paying to the said petitioner Blondeau proportionably to the Value that shall be so certified; and that Sr Thomas Vynor observe that Method till ye whole 1000l be issued, as far as it will extend, towards a quantity of Tools and Utensils necessary for ye Coyning of 10000l weekly, according to Mr Blondeaus Invençon. And it is further ordered, That upon Mr Blondeaus receiving of any proportion of the said money, for any tools by him brought in, as aforesaid, He the said Mr Blondeau, togethewr with Charles Ranville of Blackfryers, London, Taylor, shall give to the sayd Sr Thomas Vynor proportionable Security that the tools soe brought in shall be preserved, and from tyme to tyme forth coming, for his Highness Service."—

Pages 284, 285, Entry Book, No. 106.

¹ presented. ² pounds weight. ³ Warrant. ⁴ Commissioners. ⁵ Treasury. ⁶ said. ⁷ petitioner. ⁸ parcells.
The remainder of this entry, relating to Drury House, will be found printed in our account of the 1656 coinage, page 114, above.

The original Report of the Committee and the List of Tools annexed to it, referred to in this order, do not now seem to be in existence, as we cannot find them in the Record Office.

Sir Thomas Vynor, or Viner, was a wealthy and influential goldsmith of London. He was knighted by Oliver at the Grocers' Hall on the 8th February, 1653-4, when the Protector was entertained at a grand dinner given by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Viner was the Lord Mayor of London, 1653-4, and was Master of the Goldsmiths' Company during the same period. He appears to have served the Protector somewhat like a modern banker.

Henry Slingsby was subsequently Master of the Mint to Charles II., about 1670—1678. He is frequently mentioned by Samuel Pepys in his well-known Diary.

The following is a copy of the Warrant above-mentioned, taken from Oliver's Privy Seal Book, No. 13, pages 193, 194. Date of document, 11th December, 1657; date of enrolment, 3rd February, 1657-8.

"OLIVER by the Grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions & Territories thereunto belonging, To the Comr. of ye Tre'ary and all others ye Office and Ministers of ye Excheq'r att Westm' to whom theis of L'res shall appertain and to ev'y of them Greeting, By the advice of ye Privy Council exp'sed in their Ord'r of the seaventeenth of Novembr in this present yeare One thousand six hundred fifty seaven, Or will & pleasure is, And wee doe hereby require and command you, That out of such as is or shalbee in ye Receipt of ye Excheq'r you pay or cause to be paid unto Sr Thomas Viner kn', and Ald'man of ye City of London, the suffe of one thousand pounds of lawfull money of England, to bee by him issued and paid to Peter Blondieu, in the s'd Ord'r of ye Councell named, for p'paring necessary Enginges for coyning in such manner and by such proporcons as in and by the s'd Ord'r is directed. And for soe doinge theis our L'res or the Inrollm't thereof shalbee ye' war'd. Given und'r ye Privy Seale att our

1 Commissioners of our Treasury.  
2 Westminster.  
3 Letters.  
4 appertain.  
5 every.  
6 expressed.  
7 present.  
8 said.  
9 preparing.
Palace of Westm. the Eleaventh day of December in the yeare of our Lord One thousand six hundred fifty and seaven.

"Gervase Lawson, Dept of Miles Fleetwood."

On Tuesday, the 22nd December, 1657, the Council ordered that this warrant should pass, and the money be paid, without charge or fees, being for the service of the State (Page 364, Entry Book, No. 106).

The only other document that we have been able to find relating to this coignage, is an order of the Council for making arrangements to choose trustworthy workmen, and for considering what rules should be observed by the persons employed on the coinage. It is as follows—

Thursday, 25th February, 1657-8.—"Upon reading of the humble petition of Peter Blondau, Ordered That it be referred to the Lord Chamberlen, Lord Fleetwood, Lord Mountague, Lord Disbrow, Lord Strickland, Lord Viscount Lisle, Lord Richard Cromwell, Lord Jones, Mr Secy, or any two of them, to use the former order touching this busines, and to Consider what will be fitt to be further done therein, having respect to ye fitness of the persons to be impoy'd and the Rules to be observed touching the same, and Report their opinion therein to ye Counsell."—Page 473, Entry Book, No. 106.

It seems probable therefore that Blondau completed his preparations, and re-commenced coining in the spring or summer of 1658, then producing the milled coins of that date which are now extant. A considerable number of them have come down to our times, but we possess no information as to what was the quantity actually struck; we only know, from the above-quoted records, that the Protector intended that Blondau should coin money to the value of £10,000 weekly. If we may suppose that Blondau only commenced to strike the coins of 1658 shortly before Oliver's death on the 3rd September, 1658, that circumstance would fully explain the stoppage of the work before any very large number of coins had been made. However this may be, the coinage of £10,000 per week could not have gone on for more than one or two weeks, if indeed so long.

1 the Lord Chamberlain, Gilbert Pickering. 2 Secretary Thurloe. 3 peruse. 4 persons.
II.—Description of the Coins.

The commonest and best known of Oliver's coins are those dated 1658, which we will now describe in detail. They are silver crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and six-pences, all struck by Peter Blondeau from the dies engraved by Thomas Simon.

Crown. Obverse, bust of the Protector, laureate, to the left, with drapery round the shoulders. Legend—OLIVAR · D · G · R · P · ANG · SCO · HIB &c PRO. Reverse, the usual arms (described above, p. 102) in an ornamental or garnished shield, crowned with an imperial crown. The date 1658 above. Legend—PAX · QVAERITVR · BELLO. The edge is inscribed with the motto—HAS · NISI · PERITVRVS · MIHI · ADIMAT · NEMO; a mullet, or five-pointed star, between NEMO and HAS. See Plate III., No. 6.

As will be observed on examining the plate, the design of this crown is similar to that of the half-crown of 1656, plate iii., no. 4, the only differences being in the obverse legend and in the date. The Protector's titles and the mottoes are explained in a previous section of this work, "The Coinage of 1656," see pp. 102, 103.

The inscription on the edge was done by means of a steel collar composed of four pieces, as described on page 111. The joints are shown by the perpendicular lines in the following exact copy of the rim—

HAS · NISI · PERITVRVS | · | MIHI · ADIMAT · NEMO · * | · |

Although the crowns of 1658 are rather numerous, one or two hundred being in existence, they are all struck from the same pair of dies. This is proved by the fact that all the examples of the crown have the trace of a flaw or crack in the obverse die. Most probably the die cracked in the hardening process, and the crack, at first very slight, became wider and wider as more impressions were struck. The late Mr. Edward Hawkins stated that he had "not seen a single specimen of Simon's crown piece of Oliver without some indication of the crack;"* and the author of the present work has also found the flaw in every crown that he has seen. The earliest struck examples show the crack only very slightly, but on the

latest, the crack runs across the neck, through the drapery and the O in OLIVAR, up to the edge of the coin. Nevertheless, two or three of the sale catalogues state that certain crowns were without the flaw, as in the sale of Sir Robert Abdty's cabinet, 1841, lot 398 is said to be "before the fracture in the die." A crown in lot 369 of the Devonshire sale, 1844, was stated to have "no flaw." In the Pembroke sale, 1848, lot 136, the crown had "no flaw;" and a proof, with plain edge, in the Thomas Thomas sale, 1844, was also said to be "without the flaw." These statements, however, are perhaps not quite accurate.

All the specimens of the crown that we have seen exhibit a slight projection on the right hand side of the figure 8 in the date 1658, on the reverse. It may be just perceived in our illustration, plate iii., no. 6. This circumstance has led some persons to believe that the original die was first engraved in 1656, and that Simon afterwards altered the 6 in the die into an 8, the little projection at the side of the latter figure being the remains of the former 6. It is certainly singular that this is the only coin of Oliver dated 1658 that has any projection at the top or side of the 8; and the following story, told by the Rev. Mark Noble, gives some support to the idea of an alteration in the die from 1656 to 1658:

"The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury communicated to me through the Earl of Sandwich, some information relative to Oliver's coins, which I have never before observed—in 1656, he coined some silver money for circulation; but finding that the people preferred that with the Commonwealth type, he coined very little of the latter sort, in the years 1657 and 1658; endeavouring, by this mean, to bring the money with his effigies into circulation; and to save a new die, that of 1656 was altered to serve for 1658, by cutting deeper the space between the shield and the inscription, and also between the letters, so that it raised the letters and figures so much, that the figure 6 might easily be altered to 8, and the whole legend appear still more bold and conspicuous; this scheme answered in part the end he intended; his coins of 1656 are far the most scarce, and much better preserved: though the latter could not be expected to be current after the restoration."—Rev. M. Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral-House of Cromwell, 3rd edit., 1787, vol. i., p. 310, note.

It is not clear whether the die of the crown or of the half-crown is meant in the above extract, but none of the coins of 1658 present the
appearance of the dies having been altered as described. The half-crowns of 1658 are from perfectly different dies, both obverse and reverse, from the half-crowns of 1656. As to the crowns, we do not think that the collector who carefully examines a well preserved specimen will be able to detect any positive signs of alteration in the die. The letters and figures are not higher in relief than on the other coins of Oliver, as suggested in Lord Hawkesbury’s story; and he is also wrong in stating that the coins of 1656 are “much better preserved,” since equally fine specimens are extant of all the coins of 1658. If the dies of the crown were originally engraved in 1656, why do no engraver’s proofs exist with that date upon them? There is no doubt that Simon would in that case have taken a few proofs from the dies, as he did of many other works that he engraved.

The original steel dies of the crown, engraved by Thomas Simon, are still preserved in the Royal Mint, London. They are both much worn, showing that many impressions were struck from them; and the obverse die has the crack across it, corresponding with the flaw on the coins. Simon’s original punches for the bust and arms of the crown piece are also preserved, and were subsequently used by Tanner to make the reproductions known as “Tanner’s crowns.” These pieces will be described later on, with other imitations of Oliver’s coins.

The crown, as well as Oliver’s other coins of 1658, is made of silver of the old standard, the same as that used for the coins of the Commonwealth and Charles I, viz: 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine silver to 18 dwts. alloy, or 11.1 parts fine out of 12. The full weight of this piece is also the same as that of the older crowns, 464½ grains.

Oliver’s crowns sometimes occur in a worn and rubbed condition, as if they had been in circulation. Most specimens are, however, well preserved, as they have been hoarded for their beauty and curiosity. They are not rare, but, being much sought after, always realize a good price, especially when in very fine preservation. A good specimen sells from £2 to £5, but if extra fine is worth much more. One of the earliest impressions, in very fine condition, and showing very little of the flaw, passed through the following sales—M. Trattle, 1832, lot 2601, £9; Col. Durrant, 1847, lot 750, £11; H. H. Duncombe, 1869, lot 101, £11. Mr. J. D. Cuff’s crown, lot 1279 in his sale, 1854, sold for £28, in the “most beautiful
preservation.” At Col. Durrant’s sale, lot 751, a highly preserved crown, from Tyssen’s collection, realized £9.5s. Another early impression of the crown was in Mr. Duncombe’s sale, lot 104, £9.9s. Other early-struck crowns, with very small flaws, were in Sir W. Baynes’s sale, 1867, £7.5s., and Mr. J. B. Bergme’s, 1873, lot 884, £7.10s. A very fine specimen sold at the Rev. J. W. Martin’s sale, 1859, for £2.14s., but the same coin realized £9.10s. at the sale of the cabinet of a “Lady in the North,” 1873. A finely preserved crown, with slight flaw, formerly in the possession of Thomas Hollis, was lot 147 in A. Edmond’s sale, 1834, £5. Horace Walpole’s specimen sold at the Strawberry Hill sale, 1842, together with a shilling of Oliver, for £3.7s.6d. The same crown sold alone for £4.10s. at a sale in 1844. It afterwards became Mr. Duncombe’s, and brought £2.9s. only at his sale in 1869.

Our illustration, plate iii., no. 6, is taken from one of the best specimens we have met with. It is now in the cabinet of the British Museum (from the Cracherode collection), and weighs 465.2 grains. It may perhaps be a proof, it is certainly an early-struck impression, showing the flaw but slightly, to the right of the O in OLIVAR. The British Museum also possesses two other examples of this crown. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, are six specimens, five being from Browne Willis’s cabinet, and one from the Ashmole collection. This crown may also be found in the following cabinets—Bank of England; Royal Mint, London; Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; National Cabinet of France, the Louvre, Paris; Royal Library, Brussels; Collection of the Imperial Hermitage, St. Petersburg (four specimens); Royal Cabinet, Stockholm; Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen; University of Christiania, etc. Besides those in public cabinets, almost every private collection contain some or more specimens.

All the preceding remarks refer to the ordinary crown, struck in silver, and with inscribed edge. We have observed, however, in sale catalogues, two notices of silver crowns with plain edges, which must have been proofs. In the catalogue of the Thomas Thomas sale, 1844, lot 382 was a crown with a plain edge, said to be “without the flaw: doubtless a very early impression, taken as a proof, before the injury to the die.” Lot 315 of Mr. Richard Whitbourn’s sale, 1869, was also a proof crown with a plain edge.

There are also two proofs of this crown struck in gold, with the motto
The Coinage of 1658.

on the rim, and showing the flaw. One is in the collection of Mr. S. Addington, and the other in that of Mr. C. S. Bale.

The crown of Oliver by Simon has been often engraved in various publications, of which the following are the best known—G. Van Loon's Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen, 1723, vol. ii, p. 433, no. 1; G. Van Loon's Histoire Métallique des Pays-Bas, 1732, vol. ii, p. 419, no. 1; Earl of Pembroke's plates, 1746, part iv, tab. 13; G. Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, plate xiv; T. Snelling's View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England, 1762, plate xvi, no. 11; Folkes's and Ruding's plates, Silver Coins, plate xxxii, no. 4; R. Bowyer's edition of David Hume's History of England, folio, 1806, no. 4 on a plate facing p. 482, vol. iv; Charles Knight's Pictorial History of England, 1840, vol. iii, p. 556; H. W. Henfrey's Guide to English Coins, 1870, frontispiece; etc.

Half-crown. Obverse, a bust of the Protector, similar to that on the crown. Legend—OLIVAR · D · G · RP · ANG · SCO · ET · HIB &c PRO. Reverse, crowned shield of arms as on the five-shilling piece, date 1658, and legend—PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO. The edge is also inscribed with the motto—HAS · NISI · PERITVRVS · MIHI · ADIMAT · NEMO. A cross between NEMO and HAS. See Plate III, No. 7.

This half-crown is made of silver of the same standard as the crown, and its full weight is 232½ grains. The inscribed edge is struck by means of a steel collar, in the same manner as the 1656 half-crown and the 1658 crown (see p. 111, above), and the following is an exact copy of the edge, the joints being denoted by the perpendicular lines—

HAS · NISI · PERITVRVS | · | MIHI · ADIMAT · NEMO · ☐ | · |

The illustration on plate iii, no. 7, is taken from a very fine specimen in the Author's collection. On comparing this representation with no. 4 on the same plate, it will be at once seen that both obverse and reverse of the 1658 half-crown are from quite different dies to that of 1656; but we believe that all the half-crowns of the same date were struck from the same pair of dies. In the Museum of the Royal Mint are still preserved Simon's original punches for the bust and the shield of arms on the half-crowns. These two punches are the same as those mentioned in our description of the 1656 half-crown. They probably served for both coins, as the only differences are in the inscription and date.
Martin Folkes and the Rev. Mark Noble both give accounts of some half-crowns which had the date 1658, but with the last figure altered in the die from a 6. Folkes states—"I have also been informed, by my very ingenious friend Mr. George Vertue . . . . that he has observed half-crowns of this sort [1658] where the last figure of the date had been altered from a 6 to an 8 upon the die."* In Vertue's book on the Works of T. Simon there is, however, no allusion to such altered half-crowns. The passage from Noble has been already quoted above, in describing the crown. But as the half-crowns of the two dates are from entirely different dies, as already remarked, it is most improbable that any alteration in the die should have taken place.

The half-crowns of 1658 are scarce, but not nearly so rare as those of 1656. The former sell at £2.2s. to £3.3s., according to their state of preservation.

The 1658 half-crown is to be found in most collections of English coins, including the following public ones—British Museum; Bank of England; Royal Mint, London; Bodleian Library, Oxford (seven specimens); Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; National Cabinet of France; Royal Library, Brussels; University of Leyden; Imperial Hermitage, St. Petersburg; Royal Cabinet, Stockholm; Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen.

The following are some of the prices realized by this half-crown at celebrated sales—M. Trattle, 1832, lot 2602, £3.3s.; Col. Durrant, 1847, lot 754, £6.12s. 6d.; J. D. Cuff, 1854, lot 1284, £3.10s.; Capt. R. M. Murchison, 1864, lot 371, £2.4s.; H. H. Duncombe, 1869, lot 102, £2.5s.; "Lady in the North," 1873, lot 159, £3.10s.; J. B. Bergne, 1873, lot 889, £3.5s.; C. R. Taylor, 1874, £2.7s.


* Page 99 of the Society of Antiquaries's edition of Martin Folkes's Table of English Silver Coins, quarto, 1763.
and Ruding’s plates, Silver Coins, plate xxxii., no. 5; R. Bowyer’s edition of David Hume’s History of England, 1806, no. 9 on a plate facing p. 482, vol. iv.

**Shilling.** Obverse, a bust of the Protector, similar to that on the crown and half-crown. Legend—OLIVAR · D · G · RP · ANG · SCO · HIB &c PRO. Reverse, similar to that of the crown and half-crown, with the same date, 1658. The edge is milled with straight lines. See Plate III., No. 8.

The shilling, as well as the half-crown, is a wonderful example of beautiful and accurate reduction from the crown piece. The portrait is excellently preserved throughout.

This coin is made of silver of the same standard as the crown, and its full weight is 92½ grains. The illustration on plate iii., no. 8, is taken from a very fine specimen in the Author’s cabinet. It will be observed that there are two small flaws on the obverse, just above the Protector’s forehead, and under the letters “RP.” We have noticed similar flaws on all the genuine specimens of the shilling which we have examined.

Simon’s original steel punches for the head and arms on the shilling are still preserved in the Royal Mint, London, but not his dies. This piece is of about the same rarity as the half-crown of 1658, and sells at the present day from £1 to £3. It may be found in most private collections, and in the following public cabinets—British Museum; Bank of England; Royal Mint, London; Bodleian Library, Oxford (four specimens); Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Royal Library, Brussels; Imperial Hermitage, St. Petersburg; Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen; Royal Cabinet, Stockholm; Cabinet of the University of Christiania.

Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe possesses a shilling which is pierced and slightly rubbed, as if it had been worn by some adherent or admirer of Cromwell.

Fine specimens of this shilling have sold by auction as follows—M. Trattle, 1832, lot 2603, £1.15s.; Col. Durrant, 1847, lot 755, £4; Earl of Pembroke, 1848, lot 138, £1.14s.; J. D. Cuff, 1854, lot 1285, £6.2s.6d., lot 1286, £3; H. H. Duncombe, 1869, lot 103, £2; J. R. Bergne, 1873, lot 891, £2; C. R. Taylor, 1874, lot 535, £4.2s.

A few proofs of the shilling exist, struck in different metals from the
ordinary pieces in silver. One struck in *gold*, and weighing 114½ grains, formed lot 337 of a sale at Sotheby’s, 8th July, 1870. A *copper* impression, from the same dies, but in bad preservation, was in lot 428 of the Devonshire sale at Christie and Manson’s, 28th March, 1844. A proof in *lead* was in lot 113 of Mr. Burns’s sale, 17th December, 1869; and one in *pewter* was sold in lot 44 of the cabinet of Mr. C. M. Souter, 1st April, 1870.


**Six-pence.** Obverse, bust of the Protector, similar to that on the three other silver coins. Legend—OLIVAR · D · G · RP · ANG · SCO · HIB &c PRO. Reverse, crowned shield of arms as before. The date 1658 above. Legend—PAX · QVAÆRITVR · BELLO. The edge is milled with straight lines. See Plate IV., No. 1.

The six-pence is made of silver of the same standard as the crown, and its full weight is 46½ grains.

Although perhaps originally issued for circulation, these six-pences are now extremely rare. From some unknown cause, only a very few specimens have been preserved. Martin Folkes states that he had only heard of four: “I have myself seen but one of them, and have not heard of above three others, that are any where said to be now extant.”—Page 102 of the Society of Antiquaries’s edition of Folkes’s *Table of English Silver Coins*, 1763.
A rubbed example of the six-pence is now in the British Museum, but was formerly in the cabinet of the Earl of Pembroke. It weighs 47 grains. A good specimen, with milled edge, and weighing 46 4 grains, is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Mr. S. Addington has a fine specimen, weighing 45 grains, from the Murchison, Baker, Cuff, Edmonds, and Trattle collections. A fourth six-pence, not fine, was in the Thomas sale, 1844, lot 829; and a fifth, in poor preservation and gilt, was in General Drummond’s sale, 1864, and Mr. Richard Whitbourn’s sale, 1869, lot 318.

A worn example of the six-pence was formerly in the possession of Mr. W. R. Davies, of Wallingford, from whom it passed to a gentleman in America.

The seventh specimen that we have heard of is a well-preserved proof, struck in pewter from the same dies, and with milled edge. It weighs 40 4 grains, and is now in the British Museum.

A worn six-pence has sold for £5. 2s. 6d. (R. Whitbourn’s sale, 1869); but a fine one for £31 (Capt. Murchison’s sale, 1864), and £35 (J. D. Cuff’s sale, 1854).

Simon’s original steel punches for the bust and shield of arms on the six-pence are still preserved in the Royal Mint, London; but not the dies.


III.—Imitations of the Protector’s Coins.

There now remain to be described several gold and silver coins of Oliver, some of which have been considered to be original pattern pieces of his time, but which we think to have been imitations or reproductions made (with the help of Simon’s old punches and dies) by J. S. Tanner, in the reign of George II. According to Snelling and Ruding,* John Sigismund Tanner was one of the Engravers to the Royal Mint from the first

to the thirty-first year of George II., or about 1727 to 1758; and we believe that he reproduced several of Oliver's coins by striking new dies from Simon's old punches, which were then, as now, preserved in the Mint. The universally received account of the well-known piece called "Tanner's Crown" confirms our theory. It is said to have been struck, about 1738, "from Simon's dies, repaired by Tanner;" but this obviously means that Simon's punches were used to make new dies (as Dr. Combe states in the Appendix to *Vertue's Simon*).

It must here be understood that when Simon set to work to engrave his dies, he first cut the designs (i.e., the bust and the crowned shield of arms) in relief on pieces of steel called punches. These punches were hardened, and then impressed on soft steel to make the sunken dies. The lettering or inscriptions having been cut in these dies, they were hardened in their turn, and were then ready for striking the money. Therefore, since all Simon's punches remained in the Mint, Tanner probably impressed them on new pieces of steel, engraved the legends around the bust and arms, and thus made new dies, from which several proof coins were struck and sold to collectors.

It is to be observed that of the pieces which we consider to have been made by Tanner in this way, all (except the crown) omit the "&c." before "PRO." on the obverse, and the style of the lettering is alike upon all, though differing very much from the workmanship of the coins that are undoubtedly Simon's, described above.

There are two half-broad, or ten-shilling pieces, of gold, both without the "&c." before "PRO.," and on which the style of the lettering exactly resembles that on Tanner's crown. We will now describe them.

**Tanner's Half-broad, No. 1.** Obverse, bust of the Protector, laureate, to the left, with bare neck, as on the other gold coins. Legend—OLIVAR · D G R · P · ANG · SCO · HIB · PRO (There is no dot after PRO, nor any after D or G, as there should be, but a dot is placed between R and P, contrary to Simon's usual plan). Reverse, garnished shield of arms, crowned. Date · 1656 · above. Legend—PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO. Diameter, .95 inch; edge plain. See Plate iii., No. 2.

The obverse die of this coin appears to have been engraved by Tanner, who, however, used Simon's punch of the head, which is still preserved in
the Royal Mint. It is not likely that Simon would have made the mistake of omitting the "&c." after "HIB.," and, moreover, the lettering is more clumsy, being evidently Tanner's work. Neither is the bust frosted, as on Simon's coins.

For the reverse Tanner used Simon's die of the reverse of his 1656 half-broad, described above on p. 106, and see plate iii., no. 3. If carefully compared, the reverses of these two 1656 half-broad (plate iii., nos. 2 and 3) will clearly be seen to be from exactly the same die. This die, as well as Tanner's die of the obverse, is still kept in the Royal Mint.

The half-broad of this type, Tanner's No. 1, are struck on larger pieces of metal (\(\frac{1}{4}\)th of an inch larger) than the original ones made by Simon, and are not nearly so well finished. They are extremely rare. All the specimens we have met with have their edges plain, and are of very irregular weights. One in the British Museum weighs 98 grains, and exhibits several cracks or flaws in the dies, which may be seen in the illustration, plate iii., no. 2. A specimen passed through the sales of Mr. Richard Whitbourn, lot 323, and Mr. C. R. Taylor, lot 349. It resembled the Museum half-broad with regard to cracks, flaws, and plain edge, and weighed 101 grains. Another example of this type, also with plain edge, but heavier, formed lot 322 of Mr. Whitbourn's sale. A fourth specimen is in the Hunter collection, at Glasgow University; it has the edge plain, and weighs 105·9 grains.

All these four pieces are of gold, but Mr. Martin I. Preston, of Nottingham, possesses a proof of this half-broad struck by Tanner in silver. It is exactly similar to the gold one in the British Museum, having the same flaws and a plain edge, but it weighs 87 grains. It was formerly in Miss Richardson Currer's cabinet.

This coin, in gold, sold at Mr. R. Whitbourn's sale, 1869, lot 322 (fine), for £4. 6s., and lot 323 (very fine), £11. At Mr. C. R. Taylor's sale, 1874, lot 349 realized £10. 2s. 6d.

We are not aware that this piece has ever been engraved.

Tanner's Half-broad, No. 2. Obverse, exactly similar to Tanner's half-broad, no. 1, this side being from the same die. Reverse, crowned and garnished shield of arms, as before, but with the date 1658 above. Legend—
PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO. Diameter 95 inch. The edge is sometimes plain, sometimes milled. See Plate iii., No. 5.
In making the reverse die of this piece, Tanner evidently used Simon’s punch of the crowned shield of arms, which is still preserved in the Mint. The date and inscription, however, are entirely engraved by Tanner, and in workmanship and finish the reverse of this coin is far inferior to Simon’s reverse of the 1656 half-broad.

Both of Tanner’s dies for this half-broad, no. 2, are still in the Royal Mint; the obverse die being the same as that of the obverse of Tanner’s no. 1 half-broad. The reverse die is very much cracked; and the shield of arms is from Simon’s punch for his six-pence, also used by Tanner for the imitation six-pence, described below.

The half-broad of 1658 is very rare. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, are two examples, both with milled edges, and weighing 72 and 69½ grains respectively. They were from Browne Willis’s collection. Another one, also with milled edge, weighing 70 grains, was in Mr. J. B. Bergne’s sale, 1873, lot 895.

A similar half-broad, but with plain edge, is in the British Museum, and weighs 71.7 grains. Another, also with plain edge, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, weight 73 grains. A third is in the collection of the Imperial Hermitage, St. Petersburg, weight 87 grains. Mr. William Brice has one, as fine as when struck, edge plain, weight 71.6 grains. Ruding’s illustration, Supplement, plate vi., no. 26, is taken from a specimen formerly “in the collection of the late John Sawbridge, Esq., of Ollantigh, in Kent,” weight 69 grains. Several other specimens may also be traced in sale catalogues.

Mr. Brice also possesses a very curious proof in copper of this half-broad. It is slightly rubbed, and came from Hugh Howard’s collection, lot 237, where it was erroneously catalogued as a farthing.

The gold half-broad of 1658 have sold at auction sales from £10. 10s. (Bergne, 1873), to £12. 5s. (Gott, 1866, and Jackson, 1872).

This piece is engraved in—G. Vertue’s Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, plate ix. A (but it erroneously reads OLIVARI on the obverse, and omits the garnishing of the shield); T. Snelling’s View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England, 1763, plate vi., no. 15 (the garnishing also erroneously omitted); and the Supplement to Folke’s and Ruding’s plates, plate vi., no. 26.

As we have endeavoured to explain above, it appears most probable
that only the 1656 half-broad with the "&c." in the obverse legend were coined in Oliver's time, and that the two types without the "&c.," dated 1656 and 1658, were made in George II.'s reign by J. S. Tanner. The two half-broad here called Tanner's, are struck on pieces of metal slightly larger than Simon's, plate iii., no. 3. The old writers on English coins tell us very little about the half-broad. Martin Folkes did not seem to have met with any, as he says: "I am told there was also a Die cut for Ten-Shilling Pieces."* In a later edition of his work he states: "I have seen the puncheon that was cut for a ten-shilling piece;"† and again that "there is remaining in the Tower a puncheon for the head of a ten-shilling piece, but I never heard of any such piece actually minted."‡

Thomas Snelling, in his *View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England*, 1763, page 28, thus construes the remarks of Folkes: "There are likewise ten shilling pieces, but not struck in his (Oliver's) time; but since the discovery of the dye or puncheon by Mr. Folkes, at whose instance chiefly, we presume, those we have at present owe their being." However, Folkes himself does not say that he discovered the puncheon, but simply that he had seen it.

[‡] Soc. Ant.'s edit. of Folkes's *Table of English Silver Coins*, 1763, p. 102.
This piece is certainly struck from new dies engraved by Tanner, but he evidently used Simon's punches in making them. In the Museum of the Royal Mint there are still preserved—1. Punch, in relief, for the bust of the crown (Simon's). 2. Punch for the crowned shield of arms on the crown, also by Simon. 3. Simon's original die of the obverse of his crown, cracked and worn. 4. Simon's original die of the reverse of his crown, also worn. 5. Tanner's die of the obverse of his crown. 6. Tanner's die of the reverse of his crown.

As the two distinct pairs of dies, Simon's and Tanner's, may still be seen at the Mint, it is quite incontestable that these two varieties of crowns were struck from different dies. Nevertheless, it has generally been incorrectly stated in sale catalogues that "Tanner's crown was struck, about 1738, from Simon's dies, after they had been repaired by Tanner."

The editor of the second (1780) edition of George Vertue's *Works of Thomas Simon*, followed by Ruding, confuses the history of Tanner's crown with another imitation known as the Dutch crown. The word "Tanner's" should be substituted for "Dutch" in the following account—"In the Tower are not only Simon's two dies of the true crown of Oliver Cromwell, but likewise the puncheons by which they were made: the dye of the obverse being much cracked, Mr. Arundel, master of the Mint, got Mr. Tanner, the engraver, to make two new dyes from Simon's puncheons, in order that a few might be struck to give to his friends. These new dyes still remain; and in order to be more certain of the thing, I carried with me what is called the Dutch crown, which I found exactly fitted these dyes."* However, as we have before stated, the dies in the Mint are of Simon's and Tanner's crowns only, and not of the Dutch crown.

The crowns made by Tanner could not have been numerous, as they are very rare, and sell for six or seven guineas each. They are struck in silver, but are of irregular weights. One in the British Museum weighs 498 grains. Mr. W. Brice has one, with plain edge, weighing 477½ grains, and another, with the motto on the edge, weighing 452 grains. Mr. J. F. Neck has a specimen, with plain edge, weighing only 418 grains; and we have seen another weighing 491 grains. Mr. J. R. Bergue had one, with

plain edge, weighing 473½ grains, and another, with inscribed edge, weighing 477½ grains.

The Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, is particularly rich in specimens of Tanner's crown, probably because Dr. Hunter, who collected this cabinet, was a contemporary of Tanner, and obtained these pieces directly from him. The Hunterian Museum contains two specimens of Tanner's crown, with plain edges, weighing 465:77 grains and 363:09 grains respectively; and a third example, with inscribed edge, weighing 431:2 grains. The same collection also contains a curious proof of Simon's crown (see plate iii., no. 6), evidently struck by Tanner from Simon's old dies, showing their great decay, and with the flaw right across the obverse. It weighs 664:44 grains.

Tanner's crown has sold as follows at the principal auction sales—
Willett, 1824, £6.6s.; Trattle, 1832, lot 2605, £3; Thomas, 1844, lot 379, with inscribed edge, £3.13s.6d., lot 380, with plain edge, £4.18s.; Dur- rant, 1847, lot 752, £6.12s.6d.; Cuff, 1854, lot 1282, £5.2s.6d.; Murchison, 1864, lot 380, £5.2s.6d.; Forster, 1868, lot 134, £5.10s.; Bergne, 1873, lot 886, with plain edge, £7.12s.6d., lot 387, with inscribed edge, £7; Johnston, 1876, lot 259, with inscribed edge, £6.17s.6d.

Tanner's Shilling. Obverse, bust of the Protector, laureate, to the left, with drapery, similar to Simon's shilling. Legend—OLIVAR · D G · RP · ANG · SCO · HIB · PRO (no dots after D, R, or PRO). Reverse, crowned shield of arms, as on Simon's shilling, with the date 1658 above. Legend—PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO. Edge generally plain, but sometimes milled. See Plate iv., No. 3.

The remarks made about the workmanship of Tanner's other coins apply to this piece also. The execution and style of the lettering differ very much from Simon's, but exactly resemble the workmanship of Tanner's crown. The dies of this shilling still remain in the Royal Mint, as well as Simon's original punches for the head and arms. It is therefore our opinion that Tanner made the dies of this piece, using Simon's punches, but engraving the legends himself.

Tanner's shillings are struck in silver, but on pieces of metal of very irregular weights. They have generally the edges plain, but a few specimens have them milled. Some, weighing 162, 155, or 153½ grains, or
nearly twice the weight of a current shilling of the period, are commonly called pattern two-shilling pieces (diameter, 1\text{.}15\text{ inches}). Others, a little smaller (diameter, 1\text{.}1\text{ inches}), but from the same dies, weigh 93 grains, the correct weight of a shilling, or less, as 86\text{\textonehalf}, 85\text{\textonehalf}, or 73\text{\textonehalf} grains respectively.

The accounts of these pieces given by numismatic writers are confused and erroneous. They again make the mistake of calling Tanner's imitations Dutch coins. The editor of the second edition of *Vertue* says—“There are two pieces,* commonly supposed to be Dutch, the smallest of which is often called the nine-pence, and sometimes admitted as a substitute for the six-pence, which is exceeding scarce. As the dyes of both these pieces still remain in the Tower, I suppose them to have been intended for a shilling and six-pence, but laid aside, as was the first half-broad, on account of the &c. being left out of the inscription on the obverse; consequently, they must be put among the patterns.”†

The Rev. R. Ruding makes the following remarks concerning this shilling by Tanner—“As this coin wants &c. after HIB, I suspect that it was struck from a die which still remains in the Tower, and which Dr. Combe supposes to have been intended for a shilling, but to have been laid aside on account of that omission. A note to the Antiquaries' explanation of this piece says: 'Whether this was designed for a trial-piece of two shillings, to which it exactly answers in weight [188 grains], or a medal, is uncertain, no reverse of it having yet occurred.'‡ In Mr. Willett's cabinet is a Shilling of work like this with a reverse. There is also in the Tower another die, which is often called The Ninepence. Pieces struck from this are sometimes admitted as a substitute for the sixpence, which is exceedingly scarce. Coins from these two dies are commonly supposed to be Dutch.”—*Annals of the Coinage*, 3rd edition, 1840, vol. ii., pp. 335, 336.

The coins struck from the dies of what we have named above *Tanner's Shilling* are very rare. Of the heavier pieces, commonly called pattern two-shillings, one with a plain edge, and weighing 153\text{\textonehalf} grains, is in the British Museum. Another, with plain edge, and weighing 155\text{\textonehalf} grains, is

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* Described as Tanner's shilling and six-pence in the present work.—H. W. H.
‡ Society of Antiquaries's edition of Martin Folkes's *Table of English Silver Coins*, 1763, p. 96.
in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Mr. S. Addington has another, also with plain edge, weighing 162 grains, it was formerly in the Cuff and Murchison cabinets. Mr. W. Brice has a very fine specimen, with plain edge, weighing 153½ grains. Another, weighing 155 grains, passed through the Trattle, Thomas, and Durrant collections. At the sale of the cabinet of the Rev. J. Lewin-Sheppard, 1860, lot 170 was a so-called two-shilling piece, with plain edge, weighing 155 grains, which sold for £14.14s. In Mr. R. Whitbourn's sale, 1869, lot 316 was another, which realized £10. One with plain edge, weighing 155 grains, formed lot 81 in a sale at Sotheby's, 25th March, 1874, £16.

Lighter impressions from the same die, called pattern shillings, are quite as rare. The British Museum contains one, weighing 86½ grains, which has the edge milled with straight lines. Another, with plain edge, weighing 85½ grains, is in the Wisbeach Museum. A third formed lot 153 at the sale of A. Edmonds' cabinet, 1834, £23. In the Rev. J. W. Martin's sale, 1859, lot 311 was a shilling of this type, weighing 73½ grains, £2.10s. Another, with milled edge, weighing 93 grains, was in the Cuff sale, 1854, lot 1289, £9. One, also weighing 93 grains, was in a sale at Sotheby's, 25th March, 1874, lot 82, £5.15s.

The two-shilling piece is engraved in Folke's and Ruding's plates, Silver Coins, plate xxxii., no. 6 (obverse only), and in Ruding's Supplement, plate G, no. 3 (both sides); and the shilling on Ruding's plate G, no. 2 (but with "&" erroneously inserted in the obverse legend).

In the Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1786, is described and figured a curious copper coin of Oliver, which is there called a half-penny. It really, however, seems to be a copper impression from the dies of Tanner's shilling of Oliver, as the obverse legend reads "HIB. PRO." without the "&c." The piece has slipped on the die, and some of the letters are, therefore, double struck. In the October number, Mr. T. Row points out that this coin is only a piece of copper minted from the dies of Oliver's shilling; but it does not appear what subsequently became of the coin. See the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lvi., part ii., pages 752, 753, and 822, and plate i., fig. 3, September, 1786.

Tanner's Six-pence. Obverse, draped bust of the Protector, laureate, to the left, similar to that on Simon's six-pence. Legend—OLIVAR·D·
G R · P · ANG · SCO · HIB · PRO (no dots after G or PRO). Reverse, crowned shield of arms, as on Simon’s six-pence, with the date 1658 above. Legend—PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO. Diameter, one inch, or nearly one-tenth of an inch larger than Simon’s six-pence. See Plate iv., No. 4.

The dies of this piece were made by Tanner from Simon’s original punches of the bust and arms, which are still kept in the Mint. The punch of the shield of arms is the same as that used by Tanner in making the reverse of his 1658 ten-shilling piece. Tanner’s dies of this six-pence, now broken, are also preserved in the Mint.

Although rare, this is the commonest of Tanner’s imitations. A good many specimens exist, all struck in silver, and generally with plain edges, but a few are milled. They are heavier than the contemporary six-pence of Simon’s time, which ought to weigh 46½ grains. Tanner’s six-pences vary from 51 to 102 grains.

As will have been observed from the passages quoted above, under the description of Tanner’s shilling, the piece now under consideration has been commonly called a pattern nine-pence; but this name is quite inapplicable, since the coin is an obvious imitation of the six-pence in size and type, and only a few specimens are of the weight suitable to a nine-penny piece.

One of Tanner’s six-pences, with milled edge, is in the cabinet of Mr. S. Addington, and weighs 89 grains. Another, with milled edge, was in the sale of the Rev. W. Browne’s cabinet, 1827, lot 292, £19. One weighing 89 grains, milled edge, was in Mr. J. D. Cuff’s sale, 1854, lot 1292, £4. 7s. Another with milled edge formed lot 109 in Miss Richardson Currer’s sale, 1862, £6. 2s. 6d. One in Mr. C. R. Taylor’s sale, 1874, sold for £4. 2s., lot 539, with milled edge.

Most specimens, however, have plain edges, as the following—British Museum cabinet, weighing 89·8 grains; Bodleian Library, Oxford, weighing 63 grains, from Browne Willis’s cabinet; Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, weighing 93·5 grains; Imperial Hermitage, St. Petersburg, 91 grains. Mr. W. Brice has one, weighing 96·5 grains. Another is in Mr. S. Addington’s collection. Mr. T. M. Simkins, of Wolverhampton, has one, weighing 86·5 grains. Another specimen, weighing only 59·5 grains, is in the cabinet of Mr. Martin I. Preston, Nottingham.

Specimens were also in the following auction sales—M. Trattle, 1832,
lot 2607, 7s. 7d., lot 2608 (weighing 80 grains), £5. 15s. 6d.; T. Thomas, 1844, lot 334 (88 grains), £5. 5s.; J. D. Cuff, 1854, lot 1291 (96 grains), £5. 12s. 6d., lot 1293 (66 grains), £3. 11s.; Rev. J. W. Martin, 1859, lot 310 (93 grains), £4. 11s.; Capt. R. M. Murchison, 1864, lot 377 (51 grains), £3. 7s. 6d., lot 378 (63½ grains), £3. 7s. 6d.; T. Brown, 1869, lot 606, £4. 16s., lot 607 (lighter), £3. 12s.; J. B. Bergne, 1873, lot 892 (102 grains), £5. 5s., lot 893 (58 grains), £5; W. T. B. Ashley, 1876, lot 176, £5. 10s.; and many other sales.

The specimen of Tanner’s six-pence in the British Museum is engraved in the Rev. R. Ruding’s Annals of the Coinage, Supplement, plate G, no. 4.

The Dutch Crown. The so-called “Dutch Crown” of Oliver Cromwell is also an imitation of the original crown, but not by Tanner, as it is generally supposed to have been made in Holland. It differs chiefly from Simon’s crown (described on p. 129, above) in workmanship and execution. It is similar in the size, type, and inscriptions, and is exceedingly well copied. The chief differences are in the style of the lettering, which is less elegant than Simon’s, and in the head of Oliver, which is thinner, and different in expression. The top of the laurel wreath ends under the letter N of “ANG.” in the Dutch crown, but under the letter A in Simon’s. However, the best idea of the differences between the two coins will be gained by a comparison of our illustrations: plate iii., no. 6 (Simon’s crown), and plate iv., no. 5 (the Dutch crown).

The edge of the Dutch crown is inscribed with the motto—HASPERSNIISPERNITVRVS·MIHI·ADIMAT·NEMO, with a star at the end. This motto is nevertheless very badly and irregularly struck on nearly every specimen. This piece is made of silver, but is heavier than Simon’s crown. Most specimens weigh about 490 grains, while Simon’s crown never weighs more than 465 grains. The Dutch crown often occurs in silver gilt, but we have never heard of one struck in gold.

In the British Museum is a very fine Dutch crown, weighing 490 grains. A fine one, weighing 503·7 grains, is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Mr. W. Bruce has another, weighing 489½ grains. Mr. J. F. Neck possesses one, with the motto on the edge unusually well struck, weighing 502 grains. Mr. Mark F. Wilson has a specimen, which has
been gilt, weighing 492 grains. Others which we have seen weighed 485, 489, and 489½ grains respectively.

The Dutch crown is not only far more rare than Simon's, but also scarcer than Tanner's crown. The subjoined are some of the prices realized at auction sales by the Dutch crown—A. Edmonds, 1834, lot 148, £3.4s.; T. Thomas, 1844, lot 381, £2.10s.; J. D. Cuff, 1854, lot 1281, £5; Hon. Mrs. Grievse, 1862, £7.5s.; Capt. R. M. Murchison, 1864, lot 373, £4.4s.; R. Whitbourn, 1869, lot 314 (gilt), £3.10s.; T. Brown, 1869, lot 603, £5.5s.; lot 604 (gilt), £3.15s.; Sir George Chetwynd, 1872, lot 147 (gilt), £2.8s.; J. B. Bergne, 1873, lot 888, £8.5s.; W. T. B. Ashley, 1876, lot 175, £10.5s.

The Editor of the second edition of Vertue and the Rev. R. Ruding mention the Dutch crown, but they both confuse it with Tanner's crown. They, however, quote the generally received opinion "that the Dutch crown was done in Holland in imitation of the English one." This seems very probable, especially as several medals of Oliver were also engraved in that country, which are described in another part of this work. The common opinion of collectors at the present time is also that the Dutch crown was made in Holland. But we must not omit to notice a rather puzzling statement in Willis's Current Notes for 1857, which appears to be founded on a paragraph in the Northampton Mercury for 1738:—

"The dies of a crown piece, certainly of the time of the Protector, and of English work, were found in Flanders by an English Connoisseur, in 1738, and brought to England. Permission was obtained from the Master of the Tower Mint, and, on August 4th of that year, nearly two hundred pieces were struck, in gold and silver, for the cabinets of Collectors. They now rarely occur; one in Mr. Cuff's sale, no. 1281, sold for five pounds."—Willis's Current Notes for April, 1857, page 31.

The following newspaper paragraph is quoted in the Numismatic Chronicle, old series, vol. xi., p. 103—

"Northampton Mercury, July 10th, 1738.


"A Curious Dye of Oliver Cromwell, cut in London during his Usur-

pation, was lately purchas’d in Flanders, and brought to the Tower, where the Hon. Richard Arundell, Esq. has given leave for a certain Number to be struck in Gold and Silver for the Curious."

It will be observed that these two accounts are very similar, and both state that the dies in question were of English work and engraved in the time of Cromwell. If the Dutch crown is meant, these statements are not quite correct, for that piece is not apparently the work of any English artist, nor does it appear why a die engraved in London should be afterwards found in Flanders. At the same time it must be recollected that these accounts from Willis’s Current Notes and the Northampton Mercury will not suit either of the other two crowns of Oliver, Simon’s or Tanner’s. There is a curious mistake somewhere, but we think the commonly received account the most probable, viz.: that the Dutch crown was engraved in Holland in imitation of Simon’s English one. Whether the impressions from the Dutch dies were struck in Holland or in England it is impossible to say, and the period when they were struck is uncertain, but might perhaps be within twenty years of 1658.


There is in the British Museum an imitation shilling of Oliver, which is, perhaps, one of these contemporary forgeries. It is of silver, not cast, but struck from steel dies, which are, however, very rudely engraved. In the designs and inscriptions this piece is similar to the common shilling made by Simon (plate iii., no. 8), but the portrait and the shield of arms are very badly done. The edge is milled with straight lines.

Another rude imitation of the shilling, similar to that in the British Museum, formed lot 1290 in the sale of Mr. J. D. Cuff’s collection, 1854, and sold for £2. 3s. It weighed 96 grains, and was also probably a contemporary forgery.

It is of course unnecessary to do more than mention the common casts and electrotypes which are made from many of Oliver’s coins, either

to serve as substitutes for the rare originals or to impose upon ignorant collectors.

IV.—On the Currency of Oliver's Coins.

Having completed the particular description of all the gold and silver coins bearing Oliver Cromwell's portrait, we now purpose to consider the question whether his coins of 1656 and 1658 ever passed as current money in this country or not.

It has already been shown that the only contemporary pieces of Oliver's time, engraved by Simon and coined by Blondeau, were the gold broad of 1656 (and heavy pattern broad weighing 348½ grains), the half-broad of 1656 (with the "&c." in the obverse legend), Simon's crown in silver, dated 1658, his half-crowns of 1656 and 1658, and his shilling and six-pence of 1658, all with the "&c." on the obverse. Therefore, in enquiring into the question of their currency, we must only consider these particular coins, and not the pieces which were probably made by Tanner, and which (except the crown) are usually without the "&c." on the obverse.

Martin Folkes, in his Table of English Gold Coins, 1736, page 8, says: "I apprehend, however, these Coins were never thoroughly (sic) published as the Money of England, because I find that of the Commonwealth carried on quite to the Restoration." In the same author's Table of English Silver Coins it is stated that: "In the year 1656 Oliver Cromwell ....... adventured to coin money with his own head and style. But whether the moneys of this sort were, either now or afterwards, ever published as true, lawful, and current moneys of England, I have not been able to learn. ....
It is even probable that the pieces coined were rather looked upon as proofs, and given away as medals or counters among his friends, than publicly dispersed as common money throughout the kingdom."—Pages 98, 99, 100, of the Society of Antiquaries's edition, 1783.

Thomas Snelling also inclined to the idea of Oliver's coins being pattern pieces: "The fine pieces of Oliver Cromwell should now follow, but we have already given them among the current coin; however, we think there is a much greater probability of their being rather pattern pieces, than otherwise, and to be classed among the most curious of them; and some of the finest specimens of the superior genius both of Simon and
Blondel, in their particular branches, although we find no mention made of the latter, as being concerned therein.”—Page 51, View of Pattern Pieces, 1769.

The Rev. R. Roding, in his Annals of the Coinage, gives several arguments on both sides of the question. It is well known that all of Oliver’s coins are scarce, and it has been said that this is because they were pattern pieces. Ruding, however, quotes Folkes’s opinion that the comparatively small quantity originally made was the cause of their rarity. Folkes says—“Although I have never met with any account of the quantity that was coined of the Protector’s money, I apprehend the same not to have been very considerable: first, because in a manner all I have ever seen of it has been tolerably preserved, from whence it appears to have been hoarded up and laid by, without ever running backwards and forwards in payments; which would hardly have been the case had there ever been a great quantity of it.”—Page 101, Table of English Silver Coins, 1763.

Although there are many rubbed specimens, it is quite true that the greater number of the existing examples of Oliver’s coins are very well preserved, but this may be explained by several circumstances. As only a comparatively small quantity was coined, this money would not circulate very freely, and as Oliver died a few months after the 1658 coins were made, they would of course be hoarded as memorials of him and as curiosities, as well as for their beauty and finish, in which they far excelled all previous English coins. Samuel Pepys tells us that even so early as 1662 Cromwell’s pieces were prized and bought up by connoisseurs: “The crownes of Cromwell are now sold, it seems, for 25s. and 30s. a-piece.”—Diary, 9th March, 1662-3.

As we have just remarked, many of Oliver’s coins are met with in a rubbed and worn condition, looking as if they had been in circulation. Pinkerton and Roding say that they have seen several of Cromwell’s broads and shillings in a much worn state;* and some contemporary forgeries of the shilling are existing (see p. 149 above), which would certainly lead one to believe that the genuine shillings must have been commonly current. The Author has himself met with several rubbed speci-

mens of the 1656 broad, the 1656 half-crown, and Simon's 1658 crown, half-crown, shilling, and six-pence, which all look as if they had been in circulation. The British Museum half-crown of 1656 is rather rubbed, and the silver six-pence in the same cabinet is very much worn. Mr. W. R. Davies had a similar six-pence, also considerably worn, and the six-pence in the Thomas collection was much rubbed. Worn specimens of the 1658 crown, half-crown, and shilling, may be frequently met with.

The occurrence of so many worn coins of Oliver is a strong circumstance in favour of the theory that they were at one time current money. Another fact in its favour is the quantity made: two thousand pounds' worth of bullion was ordered by the Council to be coined (see p. 92 above), and most probably was so made into the money with Oliver's head. There is not the least doubt that this coinage was intended to be a national one, to circulate all over the kingdom, because the records quoted above prove that it was contemplated to coin as much as £10,000 weekly (see p. 125). It is also most unlikely that the several hundreds of Oliver's coins which still exist should have been made merely as pattern pieces; for unless the greater number were paid away as current money, the loss to the government would have been very heavy. For particulars of the large sums voted to Blondeau in 1656, 1657, and 1658, for making the milled coins of the Protector, see the sections on the "Historical Documents" in our accounts of the 1656 and 1658 coinages, above.

There are two facts that have been adduced as evidence for the theory that Oliver's coins were never current. The first is that the Trial of the P
c on the 3rd December, 1657, was of the Commonwealth's coins only (of the type described on pp. 29, 30, above), none of the pieces with Oliver's head being mentioned. The second argument is that these coins of Oliver are not named in Charles II.'s proclamation of the 7th September, 1661, which forbade the currency of the coins of the Commonwealth's type.*

The first objection may be easily disposed of. The reason why the milled coins with Oliver's head were not included in the Trial of the P
c in 1657, was because they were made by Blondeau in a separate and independent mint at Drury House. The rules and regulations of the Mint

in the Tower of London, which require all the money there made to be periodically examined by a Trial of the Pits, had no power over Blondeau, who was a private engineer, totally unconnected with the Mint. He received his instructions directly from the Protector and the Council of State, and rendered account to them. His operations were conducted secretly in a different part of London, by his own workmen, and quite independently of the officers of the Tower Mint, and their regulations. All this is proved by the contemporary records which we have discovered and printed above.

Ruding, in noticing Charles II’s proclamation for the calling in of the Commonwealth’s money, 7th September, 1661, says—“It is remarkable that the coins of Cromwell are not described in this proclamation, an omission which leads to the conclusion that they were never in circulation.”* However, he himself supplies an explanation for this omission, furnished him by Sir Henry Ellis—“It seems to have been forgotten that the circulation of the Protector’s money with his effigies was but of short duration. The universal return of loyalty at the Restoration rendered the currency of Cromwell’s coin so unpopular, that it was unnecessary for any proclamation against them to be issued.”† In the two years which elapsed between their issue and the Restoration, these pieces must have almost gone out of use, especially as comparatively a small quantity was made, and most of them were put away and hoarded for their beauty and curiosity. It would seem quite unnecessary to prohibit in a proclamation the currency of coins that were scarcely ever seen in circulation.

On the whole, we see no reason to doubt that the following pieces were in circulation for a short time, especially as we have seen worn specimens of each one, except the half-broad—

The gold twenty-shilling piece or broad, 1656, weighing 140½ grains, see plate iii., no. 1,

The ten-shilling piece or half-broad of 1656, with the “&c.” in the obverse legend, and milled edge, plate iii., no. 3,

The silver half-crown of 1656, plate iii., no. 4,

The crown of 1658, by Simon, plate iii., no. 6,

† Idem, vol. i., p. 419, note.
The half-crown of 1658, plate iii., no. 7,
The shilling, plate iii., no. 8,
The six-pence, plate iv., no. 1.

THE PATTERN FARthings OF 1658.

On pages 12, 13, and 52 to 58 of this work, we have already given several particulars of pattern farthings of Cromwell's period. There remain, however, a few others to be described, all bearing Oliver's head, and probably made in the year 1658. The circumstances which caused certain persons to strike patterns for farthings about this time, are detailed on page 52 above. No regular copper coinage was issued by the government during the Protectorate, nor indeed until 1672, but various patterns were made and offered to the authorities for approval.

There are five varieties of the farthings with Oliver's portrait, all evidently the work of the same engraver, and all probably coined in 1658.

_Type I._ has already been fully described under the year 1651; see plate i., no. 5, and pages 12, 13, above. We have there given the reasons why this farthing cannot possibly have been made in 1651, and why it must probably have been struck in 1658.

_Type II._ is very similar to Type I. It bears Obverse, a badly-executed bust of Oliver in profile to the left, laureate, and with drapery round the neck. An inner circle, of a cable pattern, nearly surrounds the bust. Legend—OLIVAR · PRO · ENG · SC · IRL. Reverse, garnished and crowned shield of arms, like that on _Type I_., and inner circle as on the obverse. Legend—CHARITIE AND CHANGE. There are small lozenges between the words of both legends. Copper; diameter 85 of an inch. Edge plain. See plate iv., no. 6.

It is engraved in—the Earl of Pembroke's plates, 1746, part iv., tab. 20; G. Vertue's _Works of Thomas Simon_, 1753, plate xxvi., no. 8; T. Snelling's _View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England_, 1766, plate 6, no. 10 (but with IRE for IRL on the obverse, and all the lozenges omitted
in the legends); Folkes's and Ruding's plates of Silver Coins, plate xxxii., no. 9.

Although rare, the farthing of this second type is the most frequently met with of all Oliver's pattern farthings. Copper specimens are preserved in the British Museum, the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, and in several private collections. When in very fine preservation it has sold for £10, Mr. E. Hawkins's sale, 1868, lot 34.

Type III. Obverse, nearly similar to Type II., but from a different die. The inner circle entirely surrounds the bust, and the letters of the legend are wider apart. There is also a mullet, or five-pointed star, at the commencement of the legend. Reverse, exactly similar to Type II. Copper; diameter 85 inch. Edge plain. See plate iv., no. 7.

This type has never before been published, and we have only heard of three or four specimens. Our illustration is taken from a very fine example in Mr. William Bric's collection, which was formerly in the Thomas and Bergne cabinets. Mr. S. Addington also has one, but struck in silver, perhaps the only pattern farthing of Oliver in that metal. A slightly rubbed specimen, in copper, is in the Museum of the Royal Mint, London. The British Museum, however, does not possess an example of this Type III.

Type IV. Obverse, exactly similar to, and from the same die as the obverse of Type II. Reverse, three pillars tied together, typifying the three countries of England, Scotland, and Ireland. On the tops of the pillars are placed the emblems of each nation: a cross (for England) being on the left hand pillar, a thistle (for Scotland) on the right hand one, and a harp (for Ireland) on the central pillar. The initial of the maker "· R · " is below the central pillar. There is also an inner circle of a cable pattern. Legend—THVS VNITED INVINCIBLE, with small lozenges after the two first words, and a mullet after the last. Copper; diameter 85 inch. Edge plain. See plate iv., no. 8.

It is engraved in—T. Snelling's View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England, 1766, plate 6, no. 8 (but the small R and the lozenges are omitted on the reverse); Folkes's and Ruding's plates of Silver Coins, plate xxxii., no. 11 (the small R also omitted).

This Type IV. is also very scarce, being somewhat rarer than Type II.
Specimens have realized £8.12s., Col. Durrant's sale, 1847, and £10, Mr. E. Hawkins's sale, 1868.

Among the many pattern farthings of this period there are two (supposed to have been made during the Commonwealth, but before Oliver was Protector), which have their obverses similar to the reverse of this Type IV. of Oliver. They are evidently the work of the same man, whose initial "R" is under the central pillar. The first Commonwealth farthing has Obverse, three pillars, legend, etc., exactly similar to the reverse of Oliver's farthing of Type IV. Reverse, a three-masted ship sailing to the left, within an inner circle of a cored or cable pattern. Legend—AND GOD DIRECT OVR CORSE, with lozenges after the three first words, and mint-mark a mullet after CORSE. Copper; diameter 9 inch, and similar to no. 7, plate 6, of Snelling's View of the Copper Coin. The second Commonwealth farthing only differs from the first in not having the small "R" under the pillars on the obverse, and in reading COVRS instead of CORSE. It is similar to no. 9, plate xxvi., of G. Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon.

Type V. Obverse, exactly similar to the obverse of Type II. Reverse, a three-masted ship sailing to the left, with a flag on the stern and one on each mast. An inner circle of a cable pattern is around the design. Legend—AND GOD DIRECT OVR CORSE, with small lozenges between the words. A mullet at the commencement of the legend. Diameter, including border, 9 inch. See plate iv., no. 9.

The specimen here illustrated, and the only one which we have seen, is in the British Museum. It is made of copper gilt, but has a white metal edge of a chain pattern. This farthing is also engraved in Folkes's and Ruding's plates of Silver Coins, plate xxxii., no. 12; but the engraving reads COVRS instead of CORSE, and the chain border is not represented.

The reverse of this farthing, Type V., is similar to that of a Commonwealth pattern just mentioned, and which is engraved in Snelling's View of the Copper Coin, plate vi., no. 7.

All the five types of Oliver's pattern farthings are clearly the work of the same engraver, but a mere glance at the badly-drawn portraits and the
coarse execution of the details will convince any one that the artist was not Thomas Simon.

However, on the reverse of Type IV., as well as on the obverse of a specimen of Type I.,* is found a small letter R, which all numismatists consider to be the initial of the engraver or maker of these farthings. This affords one some clue, and Mr. Burn and others have supposed it to be the mark of Thomas Rawlins, the royalist die-sinker, who was engraver to Charles I.'s mint at Oxford during the Civil Wars. But besides the improbability of a royalist making patterns for the Protector's coins, Mr. Burn himself shows that Rawlins was scarcely in a position to be able to make the pattern farthings of Oliver at the time when they actually were made, for a letter written by Rawlins on the 27th February, 1657-8, proves that he was then in extreme distress, and imprisoned in a low prison in London called the "Hole in St. Martin's."†

From a very careful comparison of Oliver's farthings with all the other patterns of the Commonwealth period, the Author has come to the conclusion that the Protector's five pattern farthings were really made by David Ramage, one of the Moneyers of the Mint in the Tower of London, whose name the initial R will equally well suit. On page 68 above, we have mentioned a pattern farthing which is undoubtedly the work of Ramage, as can be proved by the documentary and other evidence given on pages 65—68.

Now the execution of this farthing, and the style of the lettering upon it, are identical with those of Oliver's pattern farthings; and, from the striking similarity of workmanship, we have not the slightest doubt that the five patterns with Oliver's head, as well as several other pattern farthings of the Commonwealth and Charles II. were made by Ramage. Those engraved in Snelling's View of the Copper Coin, plate 6, nos. 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, are all his work. Our belief that Ramage, who was a regular workman of the Mint, was also a well-known maker of farthings at this period is further confirmed by a passage we have discovered in a contemporary tract—

"And by his [Violet's] own Confession (before several Witnesses)

* According to Mr. J. H. Burn, Catalogue of the Beaufoy Cabinet of Tokens, 2nd edit., 1855, p. lvi., note.
† Idem, p. 137.
the chief Abettor and Assistor of him with money at present or lately, to carry on those his mischievous designs is, one Ramage Farthing-maker in the Tower, whose aine in all this business is, To suppress all Tools for making Farthings but his own; the said Ramage having proffered a large weekly Sum to be paid to one party, if all the Presesa for making Farthings may be but taken away about London but only his, that so he may have the sole Trade in his hands."—Page 6 of The Great Trapper of England Discovered, being a true Narrative of many dangerous and abominable practises of one Thomas Violet, Goldsmith, to Trappan the Jews, etc. London, printed 1660, small quarto.

The above information appears almost sufficient to justify our identification of Ramage with the "R——" who made the pattern farthings of Oliver Cromwell.*

The following entry in the Council Book doubtless refers to some proposals for making farthings, but, besides the particulars given on pages 52—54 above, we can find no other notice of the matter among the State Papers of Oliver's Protectorate—

Thursday, 13th May, 1658.—"Upon reading the humble petiçon of Sr ThomasVyner and Edward Backwell, Goldsmiths, for the makeing of small money, &c. Ordered, That the same be referred to ye Lord Sydenham, Lord Mountagu, Lord Richard Cromwell, Lord Jones, Earle of Mulgrave, Lord Disbrow, Mr Secretary, or any two of them to consider thereof, and report their opinion therein to ye Council."—Page 616, Entry Book, No. 106, of the Protector Oliver's Council of State.

The Report thus ordered cannot now be found.

THE DUTCH SATIRICAL MEDALS.

Most collectors of medals know how the Dutch, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, produced large numbers of medals

* There is a curious notice of Ramage's family in Record Book No. IV. in the Mint. It seems that he died in 1662, and on the 5th November in that year a warrant was issued by Charles II., ordering the removal from the Mint buildings of "the widow and children of David Ramage, who, as Wee are informed, have obstructed Our Service and been very obstinate."
and jettons commemorating almost every historical event that happened during this period, not only in their own country, but also in the dominions of their neighbours. Large volumes have been filled with illustrations and descriptions of the numerous productions of the Dutch medallists, among which are—G. Van Loon's Medallie History of the Low Countrie, published in Dutch, four volumes folio, 1723—31, and in French, five volumes folio, 1732—36; M. Bizot's Histoire Métallique de la République de Hollande, three volumes octavo, 1688; and Le Clerc's Histoire des Provinces-Unies des Pays Bas, two volumes folio, 1723.

We accordingly find that the medallists of Holland produced many medals relating to English history; but only those of Cromwell's period claim notice in these pages. Five of them, commemorating the peace of Westminster, made between the Protector Oliver and the States General of the United Provinces on the 5th April, 1654, are fully described on pages 47—51, above. These medals are certainly complimentary, but we now have to describe some others which are evidently intended to satirize the Protector. The Dutch had indeed some reason to dislike Cromwell, for they had suffered most severe defeats from his navy, and had only obtained peace on hard terms, imperiously dictated to them by Cromwell, and in which the most advantages were on his side.

In two of the following medals, Oliver Cromwell is satirically compared to Masaniello, the fisher-king of Naples. Tommaso Aniello, called by corruption Masaniello, a young fisherman, and a native of Amalphi, lived at Naples towards the middle of the seventeenth century, under the government of the Duke d'Arcos, viceroy of Philip IV. of Spain. In 1647, being then about twenty-five years of age, and very popular among the market-people, he led the mob in their insurrection against the oppressive taxes imposed by the Spanish governor. The revolt was, for the time, completely successful, and Masaniello was ruler of Naples from the 7th to the 16th July, when he was murdered.*

This comparison of Masaniello to Cromwell on the medals was obviously intended to disparage Cromwell's own birth and early circumstances, as well as to cast discredit upon his position as Protector, and the means by which he became the chief of the nation. It is, however, almost unnecessary to point out how different were the real events of Oliver's life.

As he himself said in his speech to his first Parliament on the 12th September, 1654.—"I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity."* Milton also says of him—"Oliver Cromwell was born of a noble and illustrious house;" and "being now arrived at a mature and ripe age (all which time he spent as a private person) noted for nothing so much as the culture of purer religion, and an integrity of life, he was grown rich at home."†

There are two medals bearing the portrait of Cromwell on one side, and that of Masaniello on the other. The first medal, we believe, is contemporary; but the second one must have been made many years after Oliver's death, and was probably suggested by the older medal.

**MEDAL NO. I.**

Obverse, a large bust of Oliver Cromwell, three-quarter face to the right, bare-headed, and in armour. Two soldiers, in Roman costume, stand at the sides of the bust, and hold a laurel wreath over Oliver's head. Below all is a tablet, in an ornamental border, bearing the name and titles of the Protector in Dutch—OLIVAR CROMWEL PROTECTOR V. ENGEL' SCHOTL' YRLAN. 1658. (Oliver Cromwell, Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1658).

Reverse, bust of Masaniello, three-quarter face to the right, bare-headed, and in his fisherman's dress. Two other fishermen, standing at the sides, hold a crown over his head. Below the bust is also a tablet, bearing the inscription—MAS' ANIELLO VISSCHER EN CONINCK V. NAPRLS. 1647. (Masaniello, Fisherman and King of Naples, 1647).

A circular medal, size 2½ inches in diameter. It occurs both in silver and copper, but each specimen was first cast, and then finished by hand-chasing. The silver ones were cast in two separate plates, and then joined together at the edges, consequently they are hollow, thus saving a quantity of metal. The design is in unusually high relief.

This medal is dated 1658, and was perhaps made a few months before

Oliver’s death on the 3rd of September in that year. The name of the artist is unknown.

The illustration, plate v, no. 1, is taken from a fine example in silver in the Author’s collection. The medal is rare, although not extremely so. Silver specimens are in the British Museum, the Royal Library, Brussels, and in several private collections. The Royal Cabinet, Stockholm, contains a specimen, cast in bronze; and another in lead is in the cabinet of the University of Leyden. At auction sales it has sold from £1.10s., Mr. Thomas Brown’s sale, 1869, to £2.5s., Mr. W. T. B. Ashley’s sale, 1876.

It is engraved in The Medallic History of England, 1790, plate xxii., no. 10.

Mr. Martin I. Preston, of Nottingham, has a bronze medallion, which is a more recent cast, made in England, from the obverse of one of these medals. It is also tooled by hand, and on the label under Oliver’s bust the name “O · CROMWELL · P” is engraved, instead of his name and titles in Dutch.

MEDAL NO. II.

Obverse, profile bust of Oliver Cromwell, to the left, laureate, and with drapery over the shoulders. Legend—OLIVAR · D · R P · ANG · SCO · ET · HIB &c PRO. Reverse, profile bust of Masaniello to the left, in a fisherman’s cap and blouse. Legend—THOMAS · ANIELLO · DE · AMALPHI. There is a beaded border round both sides of the medal.

It is a circular medal, size 1¾ inches in diameter. The illustration, plate v, no. 2, is from a copper specimen in the Author’s collection. It is most often met with in this metal. Other copper ones are in several private collections and in the following public ones—the British Museum, the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, the National Cabinet of France, the Royal Library, Brussels, the Imperial Hermitage, St. Petersburg, the Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen. A pewter one is in the collection of the Bank of England.

The features of Cromwell are much exaggerated; but it is a struck medal, and of good workmanship. On the shoulder of Masaniello, in very small letters, are the initials of the artist, “S · V,” for St. Urbain. This was the elder medallist of that name, Ferdinand de St. Urbain, who lived
1654—1738;* so that the medal must have been made many years after
Oliver's death. It is not common, but usually sells at about ten shillings
only.

It is engraved in The Medallic History of England, 1790, plate xxii.,
no. 11.

MEDAL NO. III.

In the year 1655, Don Alonzo de Cardenas, Spanish Ambassador, and
M. de Bordeaux, Ambassador Extraordinary from France, were each sent
to solicit the Protector's alliance. Lord Clarendon informs us that Cromwell
"brought the two crowns of France and Spain to sue for his alliance
(April, 1654)," and that France and Spain were "contending, by their am-
bassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him (July,
1654)."† The poet Dryden thus alludes to these circumstances—

"Fame of the asserted sea, through Europe blown,
Made France and Spain ambitions of his love;
Each knew that side must conquer he would own,
And for him fiercely, as for empire, strove."‡

The ambassadors were kept in suspense for a very long period, as is
shown by some passages in the letters of Secretary Thurloe to Mr. Pell—
23rd June, 1654.—"We are in a treaty both with France and Spain."
6th April, 1655.—"The French ambassador is yet here, but no nearer
the conclusion of the treaty, than at this time twelvemonth."—See the
Rev. Dr. R. Vaughan's Protecorate of Oliver Cromwell, London, 1839,
vol. i., pp. 13 and 164.

Oliver, however, at length decided in favour of France, and a treaty
was concluded with that country on the 2nd November, 1655, and pub-
lished in London on the 28th of the same month.

The following medal was doubtless made in 1655 by some Dutch
engraver, in order to ridicule the eagerness with which the two ambassa-
dors were contending for Cromwell's favour. It is called by Van Loon a

* P. 262 of H. Bollenthal's "Skizzen zur Kunstgeschichte der modernen Medaillen-
Arbeit," Berlin, 1840.
‡ Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell, no. 22.
"détestable pièce," and is so coarse both in idea and in execution, that we shall not do more than briefly describe it.

Obverse, profile bust of Oliver Cromwell, laureate, to the left, in armour, and with a plain collar. The armour is studded with many large rivets. Legend—OLIVAR · D G · R P · ANG · SCO · HIBERNLÆ · PROTECTOR. Reverse, a figure of Britannia, seated, on the right; Cromwell kneeling in front of her, with his head in her lap. Full-length figures of the ambassadors of France and Spain are standing in the background, disputing which shall do him homage. Britannia has by her side a shield emblazoned with St. George’s cross. The French ambassador has his dress covered with fleurs-de-lis, and the legend is supposed to be spoken by him—RETIRED ROY . MAISTER . LOVIS . LE . GRAND. (Stand back, that honour belongs to the King, my master, Louis the Great.) The three last words are in the exergue. A circular medal, size 1·85 inches in diameter. It is the work of but a mediocre artist, and presents a much exaggerated portrait of Oliver, with coarse and bloated features.

This medal is very rare, only a few of the genuine originals being now known to exist. One of silver gilt, and another in pewter, are in the British Museum, but the silver gilt one is a cast. A silver one is also in the collection of the Bank of England. Another silver specimen, but cast, is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. The Royal Library, Brussels, contains a specimen in copper.

Horace Walpole had one in silver, from Lord Orford’s collection. It was lot 53, tenth day, in the Strawberry Hill sale, 1842. Mr. Thomas Thomas also possessed a silver specimen, bought at M. Trattle’s sale, 1832, for £9. 1s. At Thomas’s sale in 1844, however, it only realised £5. 5s. In Captain J. Hamilton’s fine collection of English medals, is another silver specimen.

It is engraved in—G. Van Loon’s Inleiding tot de Heedendaagsche Penningkunde, 1717, tase 7, pen. 7 (reverse only); Van Loon’s Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen, 1723, vol. ii., p. 407; Van Loon’s Histoire Métallique des Pays-Bas, 1732, vol. ii., p. 392; and in The Medallic History of England, 1790, plate xxxii., no. 12.

There is also a separate copper-plate print of this medal, enlarged to
4½ inches in diameter. Over the medal itself is an inscribed scroll, reading "Tempora mutantur, et Nos mutamur in illis." Below is this title: "The difference of Times between those Times and these Times," with eight lines of verse, an account of the publication of the medal, and "price 6d." There is a second state of this print, with the ruled lines of the background removed, "The Naked Truth" placed instead of the title, and the following publication line—"Published according to Act of Parlt. the 23d day of June 1739. f. i. c. by John Brett."*

The Author of the present work possesses an impression of this rare print, in the second state, which appears to have been published in some pamphlet or newspaper of the year 1739. An advertisement of it runs thus—

"This Day is publish'd (according to Act of Parliament), a curious Copper-Plate Print of the Naked Truth, being a Representation of the Glory of Old England, and the Humility of France and Spain in the Days of Oliver Cromwell; with a Poetical Explanation of the whole—in reference to the present Times, from this Motto: Tempora mutantur, et Nos mutamur in illis."

This political and satirical print was evidently issued by some of the so-called "patriot party," who in 1738-9 were loudly demanding war with Spain, in opposition to the peace policy of Sir Robert Walpole and the ministry. The engraving is obviously intended to contrast Walpole's position with Cromwell's, by showing that France and Spain humbly begged for the Protector's alliance, while England under Walpole was despised and insulted by these two nations.

THE FUNERAL MEDALS.

Oliver Cromwell, as is well known, died in 1658, on the third of September, a day which he had long considered to be his fortunate day, for on it two of his greatest victories, Dunbar and Worcester, were gained in 1650 and 1651. He expired quietly in his bed, in the sixtieth year of his age,

* See the Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum; Division I. Political and Personal Satires. Vol. i., 1870, page 499.
four years eight months and eighteen days after he had been declared Protector by the Instrument of Government.

We learn from the newspapers of the period that his body was embalmed on the 4th September, and, on the 20th of the same month, the corpse was removed from Whitehall Palace, in a private manner, being attended only by his own household servants, his Chamberlain, and a guard. The body was taken to Somerset House, "where it rests for some days more private, but afterwards will be exposed in state to public view."*

It is, however, most probable that he was buried quietly in Westminster Abbey a few days afterwards, for only a waxen effigy was exhibited to the people as lying in state at Somerset House, and this effigy only was carried to the Abbey in the grand funeral procession on the 23rd November following. There seems no doubt, therefore, that the actual corpse was laid in the tomb long before.

A brief description of the pompous funeral procession and ceremony, will not, we hope, be here considered out of place; as the small oval funeral medal of Oliver was, no doubt, made by Simon for distribution on this occasion.

As we have just hinted, an effigy of the late Protector was carved in wood, and then covered with wax, which was modelled as an exact portrait by Thomas Simon, the medallic artist. This effigy, royally dressed in purple velvet and ermine, was placed in sumptuousy prepared rooms in Somerset House, where it was publicly shown, lying in state, during October and November, 1658. A detailed account of the elaborate arrangements, with an engraving, will be found in M. Stace's *Cromwelliana*, p. 179, quoted from the *Mercurius Politicus* of the 14th to the 21st October, 1658.

On Tuesday, the 23rd November, the day appointed for his solemn funeral, this effigy of the Protector, vested in royal robes, a sceptre in one hand, a globe in the other, a sword by his side, and a crown on his head, was removed from the room where it had been lying in state. It was then placed on a hearse, in an open chariot or bier, covered with a pall of black velvet. The chariot was drawn by six horses, also covered with black velvet; the hearse being profusely adorned with escutcheons and

plumes. The procession passed along the Strand to Westminster, the streets being railed in and lined with soldiers. On each side of the funeral chariot were borne six bannerrolls or pennons, which were emblazoned with the arms of Cromwell and of the families to which he was allied. The several pieces of his highness's armour were carried by eight officers of the army, attended by heralds. Next followed Garter King-of-Arms, with a gentleman on each side of him. Then came the Chief Mourner (doubtless the new Protector, Richard Cromwell) attended by various noble persons, as his supporters. The procession was very lengthy, and went along in several divisions, which were distinguished by drums, trumpets, banners, and led horses. Among the numerous personages who followed in this funeral may be mentioned—the Foreign Ambassadors; the members of the Protector's House of Lords; the members of his Privy Council; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London; the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal; the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; the Commissioners of the Army, of the Navy, and of the Excise; the Commissioners for the Approbation of Preachers; the Judges of the Upper Bench and Common Bench; the Barons of the Exchequer; the Judges of the Admiralty; the Judges of Wales; His Highness's Counsel at Law; the Masters in Chancery; the Masters of Requests; the officers in command of the Fleet and of the Army; the head officers of the Army; the late Protector's physicians, and domestic servants; his bargemen and watermen; the officers, clerks, and messengers of the Privy Council, and of the Houses of Parliament; the secretaries, clerks, and other officers of the Army, Admiralty, Treasury, Navy, Exchequer, and other public offices; the "poor knights" of Windsor; the poor men of Westminster; with the servants of the great men who attended the funeral, etc. Lastly, led by the Master of the Horse, came the horse of honour, in rich embroidered trappings of crimson velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow plumes.

The rear of the procession was brought up by the Protector's guard of halberdiers, the warders of the Tower, and a troop of horse-soldiers. Many thousands of spectators lined the way, or viewed the pageant from windows, stages, and scaffolds.

On arriving at the west gate of Westminster Abbey, the hearse, with the effigy thereon, was taken off the chariot, and carried into the Abbey by ten gentlemen, a rich canopy of state being held over it by six other
The Funeral Medals.

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gentlemen. In this stately manner the effigy was brought up to the east end of the Abbey, and there placed in a magnificent structure which had been purposely erected to receive it. The real corpse of Oliver, however, had been previously interred in a vault under Henry VII.'s Chapel.*

Nevertheless, he was not allowed to rest here, for about two years afterwards, on the 26th January, 1661, pursuant to an order of the House of Commons, Oliver's body was barbarously exhumed from the vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and on the 80th January, the twelfth anniversary of King Charles's execution, it was (together with the bodies of Ireton and Bradshaw) suspended on the gibbet at Tyburn until sunset, when it was beheaded, and the body thrown into a pit beneath the gallows. The head was fixed on a spike over Westminster Hall, where it remained until blown down in James II.'s reign. It is said to have been picked up by a sentry; and, after passing through several hands, this embalmed head is now, we believe, in the possession of Mr. Horace Wilkinson, Sevenoaks, Kent.

Thomas Simon, who modelled the face of the above-mentioned effigy, is stated to have been one of the persons who walked in the funeral procession, on the 23rd November, 1658;† and he also made a very beautiful medal, commemorative of this occasion, which was, as Vertue and others consider, distributed at the funeral to the principal friends of the deceased.

This medal is usually met with in gold, and is a beautiful and elegant little work, executed with minute care and exactness. It is oval in shape, and has a loop for suspension.

It bears—Obverse, profile bust of Oliver Cromwell to the left, laureate, and in armour. Under the shoulder is the artist's name "T · SIMON," in small letters. Legend—OLIVAR · D · G · R P · ANG · SCO · HIB ·c · PROTECTOR. Reverse, a pastoral scene, exhibiting a large olive tree, in full bloom, with the stump of a still larger one, which has apparently been just cut down, by its side. To the right and left of the landscape are two


† Horace Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting: see his Works, edit. 1798, 4to., vol. iii., p. 289.
shepherds, each accompanied by his flock. There are also two very small trees in the background, one behind each shepherd. Above, is the legend—NON · DEFICIENT · OLIVA · SEP · 3 · 1658. A small oval medal, size '85 of an inch by '75 of an inch. See plate v., no. 3.

The bust of Oliver on the obverse of this medal is very beautifully and carefully executed. It resembles the portrait, also by Simon, on the Inauguration Medal (plate i., no. 6), although Cromwell looks older and more careworn on the funeral medal.

The design of the reverse requires some explanation, which the motto "NON DEFICIENT OLIVA" partially supplies. The date of Oliver's death follows this motto, which obviously signifies that "the olives (or Olivers) will not be wanting," to continue the government of the nation. But there is a curious mistake on the medal. Not only ought the word "deficient" to be more correctly spelled "deficient," but the last word clearly ought to be "olives," not "olive," to make correct Latin. The device is also a play on Cromwell's name Oliver, representing him under the allegory of an olive tree. The motto tells us that, although the great Oliver, the first Protector, is dead, other Olivers (or other Cromwells, in the persons of his sons) will not be wanting as the future Protectors of the Commonwealth. The stump of the cut down olive tree evidently represents the deceased Protector, whose life has been cut short by death, while the flourishing olive tree growing near it seems to refer to the new Protector, Richard Cromwell; who immediately and quietly succeeded to all his father's powers, although he did not keep them long. The shepherds and sheep are the people of the nation, who are represented as peaceably following their proper pursuits under the shadow of the olive tree, or government of the Protector.

The original medals of this type are very rare. They were struck in gold, with a loop for suspension, and perhaps were worn by the chief personages at the grand funeral on the 23rd November, 1658. In the British Museum is a fine specimen in gold, with loop and ring; and another similar one, also in gold, with loop, is in the Bank of England's collection. A third is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. A fourth original example in gold, also with loop, was sold for £3. 5s. as lot 30 of the sale of British Museum Duplicates, on the 10th February, 1876. It was formerly in the late Mr. E. Hawkins's collection.
The Funeral Medals.

One of these gold medals was in S. Tyssen's sale, 1802, lot 2868, and the same specimen sold at Sir M. M. Sykes's sale for 2. 16s., but again at A. Edmonds's sale, 1834, for £16. In the Thomas Thomas sale, 1844, were two specimens: lot 465, which sold for 5. 2s. 6d., and lot 563, which realized the same price.

George Vertue, in his description of the Works of Thomas Simon, London, 1753, page 15, states that, in the earlier part of the last century, one of these oval gold medals was in the collection of the Earl of Oxford, and another in that of Sir Hans Sloane.

There are a few specimens of this medal in other metals than gold, which are probably trial proofs, struck off by the engraver Simon himself. In the British Museum is one in copper, and one in lead. Another impression in lead is also in the cabinet of the University of Leyden. A pewter one was in lot 34 of a sale at Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson's, 25th March, 1874.

It is almost needless to caution the reader that all the original and genuine specimens, made by Simon, are struck from steel dies, and not cast. Inferior copies of this medal, cast in silver, sometimes occur for sale. We have never met with a silver one struck from the original dies.

This medal is engraved in—G. Van Loon's Beschrijving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen, 1723, vol. ii., page 435, no. 2; Van Loon's Histoire Métallique des Pays-Bas, 1732, vol. ii., page 420, no. 2; G. Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, plate xii. (but reads PROTECTO, instead of PROTECTOR, on the obverse); and The Medallic History of England, 1790, plate xxii. no. 9.

Simon may perhaps have derived a hint for the punning device of the reverse from the elegiacal verses on the Protector's death, issued by T. Davies about the 5th October, 1658. The medal may not have been required until the funeral on the 23rd November, and this would leave Simon more than six weeks for his work. The design of the olive tree is obviously in allusion to Oliver's own name, and some lines comparing Cromwell to an olive tree occur in certain elegiacal verses on his death by Thomas Davies, entitled The Tenth Worthy, printed on a single folio sheet, which is dated in manuscript "5th October 1658," by Thomason, the collector of the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum:—
“When War was at the height of tears and blood,
The Lord sent Oliver the Great, and Good,
Who prov'd our Olive-branch, and Peace he got.

... “He did provide
That we should not be left without a Guide;
But after him find settled here we see
The primest branch of that fair Olive-tree.”

Also, in Andrew Marvell's verses on the First Anniversary of the Government under the Lord Protector, is a similar allusion—

“Thou with the same strength, and a heart so plain,
Didst like thine olive still refuse to reign.”

Further, we observe that, during Richard's Protectorate, Mr. Hewley, speaking in Parliament, said—“Our olive is an emblem of peace.” See Burton's Cromwellian Diary from 1656 to 1659, 8vo, London 1828, vol. iv. p. 15. The editor of the Diary, Mr. J. T. Rutt, remarks in a footnote—

“Here, perhaps, may be a complimentary reference to the Protector Richard, as the son of Oliver.” To our thinking, these contemporary allusions evidently show that the Protector Oliver was frequently compared to an olive tree by persons of his time.

Imitations of Simon's Funeral Medal.

There are two other and larger medals, with reverses very similar to the small oval funeral medal just described, which are evidently imitations of it. George Vertue considers that the first one was struck several years after Cromwell's death, “to gratify his admirers,” and that it was probably done in Holland.—(Works of Thomas Simon, London, 1758, page 15.) He also alludes to the large gold medallion (the subjoined Imitation No. II.), but does not describe or engrave it, as it is not one of Simon's works.

Dutch Imitation No. I.—Obverse, profile bust of Oliver Cromwell to the left, laureate, and with Roman drapery round the neck. Legend—OLIVAR. D . G . R P . ANG . SCO . HIB . PRO. Reverse, a large olive tree, with a shepherd feeding his flock under its shade. There may also be perceived some small trees and a church steeple in the distance. Legend—NON . DEFICIENT . OLIVA . SEP. 3. 1658. A circular medal, size 1·15 inches in diameter. See plate v. no. 4.
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The obverse of this medal is a close imitation of the obverse of Simon's shilling of Oliver (see plate iii. no. 8), and the busts are very much alike. The reverse is copied from the reverse of Simon's small oval funeral medal (plate v. no. 3), but with some differences. There is a similar large olive tree, but there is no stump at its side. There is only one shepherd, and there are fewer sheep, but in the back-ground is inserted a church steeple, which is not on Simon's medal.

It is not known who was the engraver of this Dutch imitation. Some specimens have their edges milled, contrary to the usual custom with regard to medals. They generally occur in gold, and occasionally in silver, but are neither rare nor valuable. A leaden specimen, but corroded, is in the possession of Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart.


**Dutch Imitation No. II.**—Obverse, profile bust of Oliver Cromwell, laureate, to the left, in armour, with large plain collar. Legend—OLIVAR · D · G · R P · ANG · SCO · HIBERNIAE · PROTECTOR. Reverse, a large olive tree, with a shepherd feeding his flock under its shade. In the back-ground are several trees, with a tower and a large circular building on the left. Legend—NON · DEFIITIENT · OLIVA · SEP · 3 · 1658. A circular medal, size 1·9 inches in diameter. See plate v. no. 5.

The obverse of this piece is copied from that of the Dutch satirical medal described above on page 163. Both medals may perhaps be by the same artist, although this funeral medal is better executed than the satirical one.

The reverse of this second imitation is also a copy from Simon's small oval medal (plate v., no. 3), or more probably from the Dutch Imitation No. I. It differs from the last-mentioned medal only in size and in having the tower and building, instead of the church steeple, in the background.

These two Dutch imitations both continue Simon's error of "OLIVA" for "OLIVÆ," on the reverse. The largest of the two is by a different engraver from the smaller one. It must have been made some time
previous to the year 1691, as it is illustrated in the Abbé Raguenet's *Histoire d'Olivier Cromwel*, 12mo, [Amsterdam] 1691, page 297.

Specimens of Imitation No. II. occur both in gold and silver, but the gold ones are very rare. Mr. J. Kermack Ford, of Southsea, has one in pewter.


This second Dutch Imitation is also engraved in J. Evelyn's *Discourse of Medals*, folio, London 1697, on page 119, but the engraver has erroneously put "DEFIITIET" instead of "DEFIIENT." Evelyn himself is also under some mistake in thinking that this medal was struck in England by the direction of the Protector Richard Cromwell; for the piece is undoubtedly a later Dutch imitation. Evelyn's remarks are as follows—"For so confident was this Bold Man [Oliver] of establishing himself and posterity (having now killed and taken possession), that his presumptuous son stampt another medal, representing his father in arms and titles as above."

In G. Leti's *Vie d'Olivier Cromwel*, Amsterdam, 1694, vol. ii., p. 482, the author makes the following ridiculous statement concerning this medal—"Milord d'Anglesey [Lord Anglesey] m'a dit qu'un de ses amis avoit vu cette médaille en argent huit jours avant la mort de Cromwel."
CHAPTER V.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDALS.

In the present chapter we shall describe some miscellaneous medals and tokens, all bearing portraits of Oliver Cromwell, but all made since his time, except one contemporary medal relating to the battle of Dunbar, which was accidentally omitted in its proper place.

DUNBAR MEDAL No. IV.

This piece ought more properly to have been described on page 9 of this work, immediately after the description of the other Dunbar Medals. It was, however, then overlooked, from the circumstance that, on the only specimen now known, the word "DVNBAR" can scarcely be perceived at all.

This specimen, the only one we have seen, is in the cabinet of the British Museum, but is a mere trial proof in lead. It was originally about 1 1 inches square, but is now much broken and corroded. The design upon it is oval in shape, size 1 inch by 9 inch, and represents a three-quarter-face bust of Oliver Cromwell to the right, bare-headed, and in armour. Above, is the legend—HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED VS.* The word DVNBAR was once to be read behind the head, but it is now nearly all gone by decay. There is no design on the reverse.

The style of the bust very much resembles that on the Lord General Medal (plate i. no. 4), except that there is no mantle over the armour. This medal was probably made soon after the other Dunbar Medals, and before the Lord General Medal, and it seems the work of Thomas Simon, although George Vertue thought that it was not (Works of Thomas Simon, London, 1753, page 14).

* This was the saying of Samuel when he set up the stone EBEN-AGER, in memory of the victory over the Philistines near Mizpeh (1 Samuel, chap. vii. verse 12.)
The reason why only a leaden proof now exists, is perhaps because the steel die broke in the hardening process, and Simon did not care to engrave a new die all over again. This proof impression, taken in soft lead, before the die was hardened, is therefore the only example known to collectors. It was obtained by the British Museum from the collection of the late Mr. Edward Hawkins, who bought it at the sale of the Duke of Devonshire's cabinet.

This medal is engraved in—G. Vertue's *Works of Thomas Simon*, 1753, plate xii. D; and in *The Medallic History of England*, 1790, plate xxii. no. 8, apparently copied from Vertue's plate. Both illustrations omit the word "DYNBAR" behind the head.

**Imitation Inauguration Medal.**

There is a well executed medal bearing Oliver's bust, although not struck in his time, which must now be described. George Vertue, in his *Works of T. Simon*, 1753, p. 14, gives the following account of its history. He says that so much profit was made by the sale in England of the oval impressions of the Lord General Medal (which were struck off from the old broken die about the year 1723, see above, pp. 10, 11), that another medal was imitated after it, with the bust exactly copied from the Lord General Medal, and the letters "T. S." placed beneath, in order to make it pass for an original medal by Simon. To supply a reverse to it, however, as the real Lord General Medal is without one, the imitator copied the reverse of Simon's Inauguration Medal (plate i. no. 6).

Vertue thinks that this forgery was made at Geneva, and it seems very probable that it was engraved there, about the year 1725, by the celebrated medallist of that city, Jean Dassier; whose best known works are a series of medals representing the English sovereigns, published in 1731.

The imitation medal now under consideration is struck from steel dies, and is of good execution, not unlike Dassier's work. It bears—Obverse, three-quarter-face bust of Oliver Cromwell to the right, in armour, and draped; exactly copied from the Lord General Medal (plate i. no. 4), but with the addition of the forged initials "T S.," for Thomas Simon, beneath the bust. The legend is different, reading—OLIV · D · G · R · P · ANG · SCO · ET · HIB · PRO. Reverse, a lion sèjant supporting the Protector's shield of arms, with his motto above—PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO ·; all
Miscellaneous Medals.

exactly copied from the reverse of the Inauguration Medal, (plate i. no. 6).
— A circular medal, size 1·3 inches in diameter. See plate v. no. 6.
Silver specimens of this imitation are now rare, and sell for good prices.
Copper ones are commoner, and not worth much.

The obverse only of this medal is engraved in G. Vertue’s Works of
Thomas Simon, 1753, plate xii. C; and in The Medallic History of England,
1790, plate xxii. no. 5.

Dassier’s Medal.

About the year 1731, Jean Dassier, a native and inhabitant of Geneva,
published a well executed series of medals of the sovereigns of England from
William the Conqueror to George II., dedicated to the latter monarch.
Dassier had previously distinguished himself by his medals of the Protestant
Reformers, etc.; and it is said that he engraved this series of English kings
with a view to obtaining a situation in the Royal Mint, London. Dassier
is stated to have come to England about 1740, with the same aim, but he
was not successful in his desire to obtain employment here, and he soon
returned to Switzerland. He died in 1763, at the age of 87 years.*

Dassier’s set of the monarchs of England contained thirty-three medals,
which were published by subscription at the price of six guineas. A medal
of Queen Caroline, the consort of George II., makes one of the number, and
it is thought that Cromwell was at first left out, although it was subsequently
found necessary to issue a fine medal with his portrait, “to perfect sets.”†
The series therefore consists of thirty-four medals, including Cromwell’s and
Queen Caroline’s. Although many of the portraits of the earlier kings are
not to be depended upon, the series is still sought after by collectors. The
medal of Cromwell may sometimes be purchased separately, either in silver
or in copper. It bears——

Obverse, bust of Oliver Cromwell in profile to the left, laureate, and in
armour, with drapery over the armour, in the Roman style. Legend—
OLIVARIUS CROMWELL. The artist’s name is in small letters below
the bust—I · DASSIER · F · (Jean Dassier fecit).
Reverse, a large square mausoleum or tomb, which bears an oval shield

* P. 257 of H. Bolsenthal’s Skizzen zur Kunstgeschichte der modernen Medaillen-Arbeit,
Berlin, 1840.
† Notes and Queries, 4th series, vol. ii. p. 163.
with Cromwell's arms in six quarters, surmounted by a helmet. Below, on
a tablet, is the inscription—ANGLÆ · SCO · ET · HIB · PROTECTOR.
Around the tomb, on the pediment, are standing and sitting four winged
cherubs, or genii. One points to the inscription, another holds a mirror
and reclines on a skull, a third bears a laurel wreath and fasces, and the
fourth has the lion's skin and club of Hercules, and holds in his hand the
three golden apples of the Hesperides, symbolising the three kingdoms over
which Cromwell ruled. In the exergue is the legend—NAT · 3 · APRIL ·
1603, MORT · 3 · SEPT · 1658. A circular medal, size 1.5 inches in
diameter. It is a little smaller than the other medals of the series.

The portrait of Cromwell is not very successful, for, although well
engraved, it differs a good deal in expression from the busts on his medals
by Simon. On the reverse is a great blunder, in the date given as that of
Oliver's birth. He was not born on the 3rd April, 1603, but on the 25th
April, 1599.*

This medal is engraved in—An Explanation of Dassier's Medals of the
Sovereigns of England, folio, London, 1797, plate v., no. 2; also in The
Medallic History of England, 1790, plate xxxiv. no. 6.

**Octagonal Medal.**

In the British Museum is a roughly executed medal of copper gilt,
octagonal in shape, and with a ring for suspension. It is cast, not struck, and
appears to have been made after Cromwell's time, perhaps in the last century.
The design is on one side only, and exhibits a profile bust of Oliver Cromwell
to the left, laureate, and with drapery round the neck. There is no legend.
The device is surrounded by an octagonal border of straight lines. Size,
without the loop, 95 inch by 8 inch.

We have not heard of any other specimen than that in the British
Museum.

**Kirk's Medal.**

A small medal of Cromwell was also made by James Kirk, a well-
known medallist of medium ability, who executed a good many miscellaneouss
pieces about the middle of the last century. It bears——

Miscellaneous Medals.

Obverse, bust of Oliver Cromwell in profile to the left, laureate, and in armour. The words KIRK FEC (it) in small letters at the sides. No other legend. Reverse, the following inscription in three lines—OLIVAR CROMWELL 1658. A circular medal, 1 inch in diameter.

This is one of a series of twelve small medals which were distributed monthly, during one year (1773-4), to the purchasers of the Sentimental Magazine (London, published by G. Kearsley, 8vo.) The Cromwell medalet was presented with the magazine for October 1773, price sixpence for the two.

In the Author’s collection are two varieties, one struck in Copper, and the other of copper plated with silver. They are common, and worth very little.

The portrait is a fair one, more like Cromwell than that on Dassier’s medal.

Smith’s Medal.

There is another modern medal bearing Cromwell’s bust. It was struck in Paris in 1846, and forms one of a series of medals of celebrated men of all nations, published by Durand. The artist’s name is given on the medal as Smith.

Obverse, large bust of Oliver Cromwell, in profile to the left, in armour, and with a large falling collar. He also wears a broad-brimmed, steeple-crowned hat, with feathers in it. The name of the engraver SMITH F (ecii), below the shoulder. At the sides—OLIVER CROMWELL. Reverse, the following legend in ten lines—NATUS HUNTINGDON AN. M. D. XC. IX. OBII LONDINI AN. M. DC. L. VIII. SERIES NUMISMATICA UNIVERSALIS VIBORUM ILLUSTRUM. — M. D. CCC. XLVI. — DURAND EDIDIT. (Born at Huntingdon in the year 1599, died at London in the year 1658.—Universal Numismatic Series of Celebrated Men, 1846, published by Durand). A circular medal of copper, size 1·7 inches in diameter.

Although it is a well-executed and a struck medal, the portrait on the obverse is by no means a good likeness.

Copper Token.

A copper half-penny token, bearing a bad attempt at a portrait of Cromwell, was issued by one of the Welsh Copper Mining Companies, about the end of the eighteenth century. It is thin, and circular, size 1·05 inches
in diameter, badly struck and executed, and bears—Obverse, a very rude bust of Oliver Cromwell, in profile to the right, draped, and helmeted. Legend—OLIVER CROMWELL. Reverse, a large harp, crowned. Legend—SOUTH WALES.

**LEADEN TOKEN.**

There also exists another very rude token, but made of lead. It is uncertain when it was made, as the date "1658" upon it is merely copied from the coins of Oliver. We should, however, think that the period was about the commencement of the present century. From the inscription on the reverse it appears to have been intended for a ticket of admission to some place called "Cromwell Garden," where the charge was six-pence.

In the designs and legends this piece is a rough imitation of Oliver's shilling of 1658 (see plate iii. no. 8). It is rather thick, and is circular, size 1 2 inches in diameter. Obverse, bust of Oliver Cromwell in profile to the left, laureate, and draped (badly copied from the shilling). Legend—OLIVAR D G R P ANG SCO HIB &c PRO. Reverse, crowned shield of arms as on the shilling. Legend—PAX QVÆRITVR BELLO No [blank]. Over the crown is the date "1658," and below the shield is the price "6d." At the sides of the shield are the words "CROM' GARDEN."
CHAPTER VI.

THE SEALS OF OLIVER BEFORE HE WAS PROTECTOR.

Private Seal No. I.—The earliest original letter of Oliver Cromwell now extant is sealed with a very small seal, in red wax, bearing his crest only. The seal is oval, size '5 by '4 inches, and bears the Cromwell crest—out of a wreath, a demi-lion rampant, single-tailed, argent, holding in his dexter gant a gem-ring or. A crescent (the difference of a second son or the second son’s house) is placed over the lion’s breast. The whole device is surrounded by a beaded line. See illustration, Plate VI. No. 1.

This seal, rather damaged, is on an original letter from Oliver Cromwell to Mr. Storie, dated the 11th January 1635 (6), which is preserved in the album of Philibert Vernati and George Willingham, British Museum, Additional Sloane MSS. No. 2035, fo. 125. It is curious that, as far as we know, this is the only impression of the Private Seal No. I now in existence.

The Rev. Mark Noble, on page 11, vol. i., of his Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell (third edition, 1787), relates an anecdote about the crest of the Cromwells, to the effect that the more ancient way of bearing it was with a javelin or spear in the demi-lion’s gant, but that, in 1540, King Henry VIII. was so pleased with Sir Richard Cromwell’s skill in a tournament that he presented a diamond ring to him, bidding him ever afterwards bear such a one in the fore-gant of the demi-lion in his crest. This Sir Richard Cromwell was great-grandfather of the Protector Oliver. The latter, on his seals, appears to have used in his crest sometimes a javelin, sometimes a ring, and sometimes a fleur-de-lis; see the illustrations on plate vi.

Private Seal No. II.—This seal is oval, size, to the beaded edging, '7 by
Hemismata Cromwelliana.

The device is—a square-shaped shield of arms bearing six quarterings; above it, an esquire's helmet, with mantling, and on the helmet is the crest—out of a wreath, a demi-lion rampant, single-tailed (argent), holding a fleur-de-lis in his dexter gamb. The quarterings on the shield have not the colours expressed, but are—1st, sable, a lion rampant argent, for Cromwell; 2nd, sable, three spear-heads argent, for Caradoc Vreichfras; 3rd, sable, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis argent, for Collwyn ap Tangno, Lord of Efionydd; 4th, gules, three chevrons argent, for Jestyn ap Gwrgant, Prince of Glamorgan; 5th, argent, a lion rampant sable, for Madoc ap Meredith, the last Prince of Powys; 6th, or, on a chevron sable a mullet argent, for Murfyn. Over the centre of the shield is a crescent, as difference; and the whole device of the seal is surrounded by a beaded or corded line. See Plate VI. No. 2.

We are unable to explain why the demi-lion of the crest holds a fleur-de-lis in his paw, on this seal and on Private Seals Nos. III. and IV. All heraldic works give the Cromwell crest with either a javelin or a ring in the lion's paw.

This variety of Oliver's private seal, No. II., is perhaps the most interesting as being the one used by him when signing the Death Warrant of King Charles I. An impression of it, in red sealing-wax, not quite perfect, is there placed at the end of Oliver's signature. The published fac-similes of the Death Warrant give quite an incorrect representation of this seal, but we have been enabled to examine the original warrant, now in the Library of the House of Lords, through the obliging courtesy of W. J. Thoms, Esq., F. S. A., Deputy Librarian. It is a curious circumstance that another impression of this seal is placed after Major-General Harrison's signature on the same Warrant: perhaps he was without a seal at the moment, and Cromwell, standing by, lent him his.

Impressions of Private Seal No. II. may be seen upon the following original letters of Oliver Cromwell, all in the British Museum——

Letter of 4th May 1645, to Sir Peter Wentworth; Egerton MSS. No. 2042.

Letter of 15th October 1645, to Sir Thomas Fairfax; Additional Sloane MSS. No. 1519, ff. 125, 126.

Letter of 31st July 1646, to the same; same MS. f. 142.

Letter of 10th August 1646, to the same; same MS. ff. 129, 130.
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell.

Letter of 11th March, 1646-7, to the same; same MS. ff. 127, 128 (in black wax).

Letter of 28th June, 1648, to the same; same MS. ff. 177, 178.

Letter of 11th September, 1648, to the same; Lansdowne MSS. No. 1236, ff. 89, 90.

Private Seal No. III.—This seal is also oval, and is of the same width but a little higher than No. II., measuring '75 by '65 inches, to the beaded edging. The design is exactly similar to that of No. II., but slightly enlarged. See Plate VI., Nos. 3, 4.

Impressions of seal No. III. may be seen upon the following original letters of Oliver Cromwell, all in the British Museum—

Letter of 26th August, 1646, to John Rushworth; Additional Sloane MSS., No. 1519, ff. 143, 144.

Letter of 6th October, 1646, to Sir Thomas Fairfax; same MS., ff. 145, 146.

Letter of 19th March, 1646-7, to the same; same MS., ff. 149, 150. [Plate VI., No. 4].


A good impression of this seal, in red sealing-wax, is on an original order to Colonel Thomas Barwis, signed by Oliver Cromwell, and dated the 24th October, 1648: now in the possession of Henry William Field, Esq.

Private Seal No. IV.—This seal is oval, size '65 by '55 inches, to the beaded edging. It bears a shield with six quarterings, surmounted by an esquire's helmet, with mantling. Above the helmet is the crest—out of a wreath, a single-tailed demi-lion rampant, holding a fleur-de-lis. In the centre of the shield is a crescent, for difference. Several of the quarterings seem to have been wrongly engraved, and all have been reversed, those that should be on the dexter side of the shield are placed on the sinister side, and vice versa, thus—1st (should be 3rd), a bar between three fleurs-de-lis. The bar ought to be a chevron, see the description of seal No. II., 2nd, three spear-heads. 3rd (should be first), a lion rampant. 4th (should be 6th), a chevron between three mullets, but should be—on a chevron a mullet. 5th, a lion rampant. 6th (should be 4th), three bars, but should
be three chevrons. The whole device is surrounded by a beaded border line. See Plate VI., No. 5.

The following is a list of the original documents bearing impressions of this seal—


Letter of 13th August, 1649, from Oliver Cromwell to his daughter-in-law Dorothy Cromwell; among the family papers of the Cromwell-Russells now in the possession of Frederick Prescott, Esq., of Oxford Square, London. This impression of the seal is in golden-brown sealing-wax.

Letter of 22nd August, 1649, to the Speaker Lenthall; Tanner MSS., No. 56, f. 93, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Letter of 26th July, 1651, to the President of the Council of State; Tanner MSS., No. 54, f. 120.

Letter of 4th August, 1651, to the Speaker Lenthall; same MS., f. 130.

Letter, undated, but probably 1652, to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood; Additional MSS., No. 4165, ff. 1, 2, in the British Museum.

Private Seal No. V.—This appears to be the latest of Oliver’s private seals. It is oval, size 9 by 7½ inches to the edging. A square-shaped shield bears the arms in six quarterings, but there is no crescent in the centre. Above the shield is the crest on an esquire’s helmet, with mantling on each side. The crest is different from that on the previously-described seals, being—out of a wreath, a demi-lion rampant (argent), double-tailed, and holding a javelin or spear (or) between his paws. The first five quarterings of the arms are the same as those on seal No. II., but the sixth bears a lion rampant, probably meant for the first one repeated, i.e., sable, a lion rampant argent, for Cromwell. The whole design is surrounded by a border of a cable pattern. See Plate VI., No. 6.

Impressions of this seal are on the following original documents of Oliver Cromwell’s—

Letter of 23rd August, 1648, to the Committee of Derby House; Tanner MSS., No. 57, f. 230, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Letter of 8th October, 1648, to Speaker Lenthall; same MS., f. 346.
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Letter of 28th October, 1648, to the same; *same MS.*, *f.* 393.

Document of 3rd February, 1649-50, signed by Oliver as Lieutenant of Ireland; in the possession of Miss Farington, of Worden.


Letter of 13th June, 1651, to Speaker Lenthall; *Tanner MSS.*, No. 54, *f.* 85.

Letter of 4th September, 1651, to the same; *Tanner MSS.*, No. 55, *f.* 29.

Letter of 8th September, 1651, Evesham, to the same; *same MS.*, *f.* 46.

Letter of 8th September, 1651, Chipping Norton, to the same; *same MS.*, *f.* 54.

Letter of 29th November, 1653, to the Lord Mayor; now in the Library of the City of London, Guildhall.

Petition of Randall Poole to the Protector, marked as received the 31st March, 1654; among the *Interregnum Petitions*, vol. x., p. 661, in the Public Record Office, London.

Letter of 22nd September, 1654, to Speaker Lenthall; *Tanner MSS.*, No. 52, *f.* 130.

Letter of 5th October 1654, to the same; *same MS.*, *f.* 135. The last two examples are impressed over paper.

*Private Seal No. VI.*—A small oval seal, size *55* by *45* inches; bearing a pointed shield with the arms—a chevron between three trefoils. No colours expressed. A beaded edging surrounds the device. See Plate VI., No. 7.

The only known impression of this seal is on an original letter of Oliver Cromwell to Colonel Birch, dated the 30th September, 1651. This and a previously-mentioned document of Cromwell's belong to Miss Farington, of Worden, who has obligingly communicated copies of the seals.

Whether the arms on this No. VI. are those of one of Cromwell's ancestors, or whether the original seal was his at all, we are unable to say. It is possible that Oliver may not have had his own seal at hand when writing the letter above-mentioned, and that he borrowed some other person's seal to fasten it with. It has, however, been suggested to us that these arms are a blundered representation of those of Collwyn ap
Tangno (compare the third quartering of seal No. II., above); but the three trefoils on the small seal ought certainly to be fleurs-de-lis, and there appears no reason why Cromwell should have used a seal bearing Collwyn's arms alone.

*Private Seal No. VII.*—A small seal, bearing a lion rampant only, in an octagonal beaded border. Size 6 by 5 inches. See plate VI., No. 8.

This seal is said to have been Oliver Cromwell's, but we have never seen any document of his bearing an impression of it. Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, has kindly contributed an impression, taken from a gold signet-ring, said to have been Cromwell's, and which was once in the possession of J. Bertrand Payne, Esq., but is now, unfortunately, lost.

*Official Signet.*—A large circular seal, size 1 3 inches in diameter, to the outside of the ornamented border. It bears a large, plain, and nearly square shield of arms. Above it, is the crest on an esquire's helmet, with mantling at the sides. The whole design is surrounded by a circular ornamented border. The crest is—out of a wreath, a demi-lion rampant, double-tailed, and holding a spear erect. There are six quarterings on the shield, similar to those on Private Seal No. V., viz.—1st, sable, a lion rampant argent, for Cromwell; 2nd, sable, three spear-heads argent, for Caradoc Vreichfres; 3rd, sable, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis argent, for Collwyn ap Tangno, Lord of Efionydd; 4th, gules, three chevrons argent, for Jestyn ap Gwrqant, Prince of Glamorgan; 5th, argent, a lion rampant sable, for Madoc ap Meredith, the last Prince of Powys; 6th, the same as the 1st, for Cromwell. No colours are expressed on the seal. See Plate VI., No. 9.

This signet is well engraved, but (like all the private seals described above) it is clearly not the work of Simon. From its size, which is too large for private letters, it evidently was an official seal, and we accordingly find it impressed on military passes, protections, commissions, and other official documents signed by Oliver Cromwell.

There are a good many documents still in existence bearing impressions (over paper wafers) of this signet. The following is a list of those known to us, but many others are probably extant.
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell. 185

Protection, dated 21st October, 1650, granted by Cromwell, when Lord General and Commander-in-Chief, to the Countess of Lothian. The original is in the library of the Marquis of Lothian, at Newbattle Abbey, Dalkeith. (Information obligingly communicated by A. Orrock, jun., Esq., by the courtesy of the Marquis.)

Commission, dated 17th November, 1651, to John Wells, to be Ensign. —Additional MSS., No. 5015*, f. 25, in the British Museum.


A similar Summons, dated 6th June, 1653, to Jervase Piggott, Esq., to serve as a member for the county of Nottingham, in the same Parliament. Lansdowne MSS., No. 1236, f. 107, in the British Museum.

Commission, dated 17th December, 1653, issued by Oliver as Protector, appointing Colonel Robert Blake, Colonel George Monk, Major-General John Desbrow, and Captain William Penn, Admirals and Generals of the Fleet.—Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Presentation, dated 13th October, 1654, of Robert Everden to the vicarage of Brighthelmston, by the Protector.—Additional MSS., No. 19399, f. 81, in the British Museum.

Pass, dated 8th March, 1654-5, for Mr. James Thompson to go to Flanders.—Interregnum State Papers, No. 8154, f. 74, in the Public Record Office, London.


Presentation, dated 6th October, 1656, of Richard Stephens to the rectory of Stanton Barnard, Wiltshire, by the Protector.—Information kindly communicated by the Rev. Walter Sneyd, of Keele Hall, Staffordshire, who possesses the original document.

Presentation, dated 15th August, 1657, of Thomas Davies to the rectory of Llantrysant, in the county of Anglesey, by the Protector.—Information kindly communicated by John Hopkin, Esq., of Great Grimsby, who possesses the original document.

Warrant, dated 10th June, 1658, to the Supervisor of Ely House and
Lunissata Cromwelliana.

the Savoy.—*Interregnum Petitions, etc.*, vol. ii., B., p. 605, in the Public Record Office.

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**The Great Seal for England.**

This seal has already been described on page 19 of the present work, but we shall here add some facts regarding its history which were there omitted. See Plate VIII., which is slightly reduced in size from the original seal (diameter 5'75 inches). Although not a very good impression, the cast from which it was photographed, was the most perfect one obtainable anywhere, in a genuine state.

About a year after his accession to the Protectorate, Oliver ordered that a new Great Seal should be made for him by Thomas Simon, the Engraver of the Mint and Seals; as appears by the following entries in the books of the Council of State—

*Thursday, 15th February, 1654-5.—"Ord" by his Highness ye Lo. Protector, by and with the advise and consent of the Counsell, (1) That the Motto incorporating that side of the great seal of England which beareth the pourtraiture of his Highness be *Olivarius Dei gratia Reip: Anglia Scotia et Hiberniae &c. Protector.* (2) That the Motto incorporating the other side of the Great Seal shalbe *Magnum Sigillum Reipub: Anglia Scotia et Hiberniae, &c.* (3) That the Crest and Lyon supporter shalbe crowned according to the draught in pechm* 5* now showed. (4) That the sizes of the great seale shalbe according to the draught now showne singly in pap* 4* . . . . . . . . . . (6) That Mr Thomas Symon doe forthwith goe about the ingraveng of the sev'ralle seals aforementioned, according to the Rules forgoing and those mentioned in sev'ralle ord* 6* of 25 August, 1654."*—*Pages 37, 38, Draft Order Book, No. 82, in the Public Record Office, London.*

These orders were approved by the Protector on Tuesday the 6th March, 1654-5. All the orders concerning seals had been previously read

1 Ordered. 2 with. 3 parchment. 4 paper. 5 orders. 6 No orders of this date relating to seals can now be found.
to the Protector on Friday the 23rd February, but his Highness then took
time to consider them. (Pages 51 and 70, Draft Order Book, No. 82).

On Friday, the 16th March, in the same year, a Warrant for making
the Great Seal, the Privy Seal, and the Seal Manual, was issued to Thomas
Simon, in this form—

"In pursuance of sev'rall orders of his Highness the Lord Protector
by and wth the advise and consent of his Counsell, bearing date the 25th
of Augt 1654, the 15th Febr. 1654, and ye 20th Febr. 1654, copies of wch
are hereunto annexed, Theis are to will and require you forthwth to proceed
to the ingraveing of a Great Seale, a privy Seale, and Seale Manuall, ac-
cording to ye Rules p'scribed1 in the sayd ordrs and ye draughts to wch
they referr. Hereof you are not to faile, and this togeather wth his High-
ness sayd ordrs shalbe yor sufficient Warrant in that behalfe. Given at
Whitehall this 16th day of March 1654.

"Signed in the Name and by ordr of the Counsell

Hen. Lawrence, Prd.2

"To Mr Thomas Symon, Sole Cheife
Gravr of the Minte and Seales."

From the Council of State's Draft Order Book, No. 82, page 88; and,
according to a note in the margin, this warrant with the three orders and
his drawings were delivered to Simon on the same day.

The preparation of the Great Seal was therefore at once proceeded
with, and in May it seems to have been nearly finished, judging from the
following petition of Simon's, which was read before the Council on Friday,
the 25th May, 1655—

"To the Right Honble the Counsell, the humble Petition of Thomas
Simon, Cheife Graver of the Minte & Seales,

Sheweth

That whereas your Petitioner hath binn by Order a long time im-
ployed in Modeling the Greate Seale, & hath monyes due to him for
makeing the Privie Seale, Signet, & other things for the State, & hath taken
up 160l valew of gold & silver for the Greate Seales of England & Ierland,

1 prescribed. 2 President.
which are in a good forwardness, which gold & silver he tooke of a Goldsmith that has urgent occasion for his mony, your Petitioner being at least 300 out of purse already in the worke,

humbly prays that your Hon* would bee pleased to graunt a warrant for your Petitioner to bee payed 200 forthwith, by way of imprest, to bee deducted when the worke is finished,

and your Pet* shall pray,

Simon here states that he has used £160 worth of gold and silver in making the Great Seals of England and Ireland. It therefore seems probable that the English Great Seal was made of gold, and the Irish one of silver; unless both seals were partially composed of each metal. Simon's total charge for the English Great Seal was £200, and for the Irish one £150. (See his Account for work done from 1650 to 1657, printed at the end of this chapter).

The advance of £200, asked for by Simon in this petition, was granted to him by the Council's order of Friday, the 25th May, 1655,† and a Warrant of that date was issued by them to Mr. Gualter Frost, Treasurer of the Council's Contingencies, for paying to Thomas Simon the sum of £200 "towards ye Charge of ye Great Seals of England and Ireland, &c., to be deducted out of ye whole when ye worke is finisht.‡"

From the records quoted above, it undoubtedly appears that the English Great Seal of Oliver was not made until the summer of 1655. A curious statement in a letter from Mr. Pell to Secretary Thurloe, dated the 22nd July, 1654, is therefore somewhat inexplicable. Pell says that—"the weekly sheet of news printed at Genoa, July 1, [1654], by Farroni, tells us that the Lord Protector hath changed the Great Seal of England; setting upon the new one his own effigies on horseback, with this inscription—Olivero, il Grand Imperatore d’Inghilterra, di Scotia, Hibernia e

* Interrogum Petitions, etc., vol. xii., p. 407; Public Record Office.
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell.

*Francia, e Protettore de protestanti, e delle chiese riformate.* (Oliver, the great Emperor of England, of Scotland, Ireland, and France, and Protector of the Protestants, and of the Reformed Churches.*) On referring to page 19, above, the reader will see how incorrect this description from the Italian newspaper is.

When Oliver Cromwell was made Protector on the 16th December, 1653, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England were Bulstrode Whitelocke, Richard Keble (Serjeant-at-law), and John Lisle. On the 4th April, 1654, Sir Thomas Widdrington was appointed in place of Keble, deceased, and the Protector's Letters Patent were issued on the 3d August, 1654, for Bulstrode Whitelocke, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and John Lisle to be the three Commissioners (Patent enrolled on page 4, Patent Book, No. 12, in the Public Record Office). In June, 1655, the seal was taken from them by Oliver, and delivered to Nathaniel Fiennes and John Lisle, who were made the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, and so continued until Oliver's death.

Although made, or ordered to be made, in the spring of 1655, Oliver's new Great Seal, bearing a portrait of him on horseback, does not appear to have been actually used for sealing documents until a long time afterwards. The Great Seal previously in use, also made by Simon, was that of the Commonwealth, dated 1651, which may be thus described—*Oberose,* maps of England and Ireland, with all the names of the counties, chief towns, etc. In the upper part of the field is an oval ornamented shield bearing St. George's cross, and in the lower part a similar shield bearing the Irish harp. Legend—*THE · GREAT · SEAL · OF · ENGLAND · 1651.* *Reverse,* view of the interior of the House of Commons, with all the members, and the Speaker, sitting. Legend—*IN · THE · THIRD · YEARE · OF · FREEDOME · BY · GODS · BLESSING · RESTORED · 1651.* Size: 5¼ inches in diameter. See G. Vertue's *Works of Thomas Simon,* plates vi. and vii.

The late Mr. W. Durrant Cooper, in a paper on the Commonwealth's Great Seals (*Archeologia,* vol. xxxviii., part i.), states that the old seal of 1651 was continued in use for more than a year and a half after Cromwell

had ordered his new Great Seal in February, 1654-5. To prove this, he
instances an impression of the seal of 1651 appended to a document
dated the 25th February, 1655-6, in the collection of the Society of Anti-
quaries; and a second impression of the same seal belonging to a patent
of the 8th September, 1656, in the British Museum, Sloane MSS.,
No. 3243.

In the sale of the late Mr. W. T. B. Ashley’s collection of Autographs,
at Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson’s, March, 1876, there was a document
of the Protector Oliver, dated the 12th February, 1657-8, which also had
affixed to it the Commonwealth Great Seal of 1651. Also, through the
obliging permission of the Secretary of State for India, the Author has been
shown an impression of the Great Seal of 1651, which is attached to a
Warrant of Oliver’s, dated at Westminster, the 16th August, 1655, and
addressed to the Commissioners of the Treasury, directing the repayment
of £50,000 (money previously borrowed), to the “Governor and Company
of Merchants trading to East India.” This document and seal are now
preserved in the India Office, Westminster.

Returning now to the Great Seal of Oliver, described on page 19 of
this work, we have to state that there are, in the British Museum, two
incomplete impressions of this seal. One of them is merely a small dab of
yellow wax, about two inches in diameter, impressed on both sides from
the centre of Oliver’s Great Seal, and affixed to a document dated the 23rd
October, 1657 (Cotton Charter, No. xvii., 35). It seems to have been some-
times the practice, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to impress
a small piece of wax with only the central portion of the Great Seal, pro-
ably in order to effect a saving of wax.

Another impression of Oliver’s Great Seal, in yellow wax, and nearly
perfect, is in the British Museum, a separate detached seal, Cotton Charter,
No. xxxix., 30.

The following extract from the Mercurius Politicus newspaper, no. 433,
9th to 16th September, 1658, page 832, show that Oliver’s Great Seal, as
well as some of his other seals, were used after his death on documents of
his son, the Protector Richard—
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell

September 11.—His Highness his Warrant this day passed the Great Seal of England, commanding and authorising the Lords Commissioners of the said Great Seal to make use of the old Great Seal used in the life time of his late Highness for sealing of Patents, Commissions, Writs, and other things, until a new Great Seal can be provided with such Sculpture, Inscriptions and Impressions, as his Highness shall think fit to direct.

"September 14.—The like Warrant passed for his Highness Signet and Privy Seal."

Accordingly, we find several documents existing, which were executed during Richard's Protectorate, but had impressions of Oliver's Great Seal attached to them. In the care of Fredk. Prescott, Esq., among other articles which have descended in the Cromwell family, is the original Patent from the Protector Richard re-appointing Henry Cromwell Lord Deputy of Ireland. It is dated the 6th October, 1658, and to it is appended a good impression, in yellow wax, of Oliver's English Great Seal.

In the British Museum is another Patent of Richard Cromwell's, dated the 4th March, 1658-9, with a complete impression, fairly preserved, of Oliver's Great Seal attached to it (Additional Charter, No. 14975).

The English Great Seal of Oliver Cromwell is illustrated in the following works—


Besides the original wax impressions of this Great Seal, there exist several casts of it in metal. They were made of copper, lead, etc., probably after Cromwell’s time, and are generally tooled up and slightly altered by hand chasing. They are of little interest or value.
THE PRIVY SEAL FOR ENGLAND.

On page 20 of this work we have already given a few particulars regarding Oliver's Privy Seal for England, but, in following Vertue's engraving, we have fallen into two errors. The actual diameter of the seal is 2 3/4 inches, and the inscription around it is as follows—OLIVARIVS · DEI : GRA : REIPVB : ANGLIÆ · SCOTIÆ · ET · HIBERNIÆ &c PROTECTOR.

The original matrix of this seal is now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford. Our illustration, plate i., no. 7, is taken from a sharp impression of this matrix, obligingly sent to the Author by J. P. Earwaker, Esq., Deputy Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

The matrix is circular, 2 3/4 inches in diameter, '4 of an inch thick, and seven ounces in weight. It is made of silver. The edge is plain and square, the back flat, smooth, and plain, except from a small Maltese cross engraved in outline near the upper edge. This curious and valuable relic was presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Mrs. Calvert, of Bath, in 1824, and with it was the following memorandum—

"The original Privy Seal of Oliver Cromwell came into the possession of the Freemans from Ann Webb, one of the daughters of John Webb, of Broomfield, Essex, Esquire, who married into the Fiennes family. Teste Rich. Freeman, grandson."

Nathaniell Fiennes was the Keeper or Commissioner of His Highness' Privy Seal (see Privy Seal Book, No. 13, in the Public Record Office).

When Vertue engraved this seal in 1753, the matrix belonged to Thomas Freeman, of Chelmsford.—*Works of Thomas Simon*, London, 1753, page 65.

On referring to the State Papers of the period, now preserved in the Public Record Office, we find that the preparation of a Privy Seal was ordered by the Protector Oliver on the same day as his Great Seal, viz.:

Thursday, 15th February, 1654-5.—"Ordered by his Highness ye Lo. Protector, by and wth the advise and consent of the Counsell, That . . . . . the privy seal [be] according to the largest draught of 3 in another pap'r now shoune."—Page 37, *Draft Order Book*, No. 82, of the Council of State.
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell.

On Tuesday, 20th February, 1654-5, it was—

"Ordered by his Highness ye Lo. Protector, by and wh ye advise and consent of the Counsell, That the Motto incompassing the privy scale be Olivarius Dei gratia reipub: Anglia Scotia Francia et Hibernia &c. Protector."—Page 45, Draft Order Book, No. 82.

The word "Francia" here inserted in the motto is no doubt an error of the Clerk to the Council, as that word does not appear on the seal. The two orders just quoted were approved on Tuesday, the 6th March, 1654-5.

A warrant, dated the 16th of the same month, directing Thomas Simon to make the Privy Seal, and other seals, has been already printed in our account of the English Great Seal.

The following recommendation was made to the Protector on—

Friday, 20th April, 1655.—Ordered "That it be offered to his Highness, as the advise of the Counsell, that his Highness will please to make use of a Privy Seale."—Page 37, Draft Order Book, No. 83.

Thomas Simon's charge for the English Privy Seal was £20. See his Account for work done from 1650 to 1657, printed at the end of this chapter.

The Seal for Letters of State.

On Wednesday, the 5th September, 1655, Thomas Simon submitted to the Protector's Council of State a drawing which he had prepared for a "Seal for Letters to Foreign Princes and States." This drawing was approved, and the Council ordered that Simon should forthwith proceed to make the seal, according to this design. This order is printed at length under our description of the seal for the English Council, below.

The seal was therefore made, and in his Account for work done from 1650 to 1657 Simon charged £25 for it, as the "steel seal for letters of state." See the Account, printed at the end of this chapter.
Several impressions of this seal, over paper wafers, are still extant, but not in very good preservation. They are oval, size 1½ by 1½ inches, and bear a lion sējant holding a shield with the Protector's usual arms, viz: Quarterly, 1st and 4th, St. George's cross, for England; 2nd, St. Andrew's cross, for Scotland; 3rd, the Irish harp; over all, on an inescutcheon, a lion rampant, Cromwell's paternal arms. Above is the legend—PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO, the same motto as on Oliver's coins. Round the edge of the seal is Simon's usual wreathed border of leaves. The design is in but slight relief. See woodcut.

Although intended chiefly for "letters to foreign princes and states," this seal was also used on letters which the Protector sent to persons in England and Scotland. Our illustration is taken from an impression on a letter from Oliver to General Montagu, dated the 11th August, 1657. The original letter is now preserved in the British Museum, Additional Ayecough MSS., No. 12098. The signature only is Oliver's. See Thomas Carlyle's Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, letter ccxix., vol. v., p. 78, popular edition, 1872. This letter was formerly in the possession of Thomas Lister Parker, Esq., of Browsholme Hall, Yorkshire, and copies of the signature and seal are engraved on a plate facing page 238 of the Rev. Dr. T. D. Whitaker's History of the Parish of Whalley, 3rd edition, 1818.

There are two impressions of this seal, over paper wafers, in the General Register House, Edinburgh. One is on a letter bearing Oliver's sign-manual, dated Whitehall, the 28th July, 1657, and addressed to the Commissioners of the Treasury and Exchequer in Scotland. The second impression is on another letter, addressed to the same persons, also signed by Oliver, and dated Westminster, the 26th September, 1657.
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell

There was however another seal used by Oliver which is exactly similar to the one just described, except in size. It is oval, and measures 1·5 by 1·35 inches. We have met with only two impressions of it. The first is impressed over paper on a letter signed "Oliver P.," dated Whitehall, the 19th February, 1656-7, without address, but intended apparently for one of the Major-Generals. This document is in the Public Record Office, London. The second impression is also over paper, on an original warrant to Colonel Robert Gibbon, Governor of Jersey, concerning the revenues of that island, dated the 1st April, 1658, with the Protector's sign-manual at the top. The warrant is among the papers of Cromwell's descendants, now in the care of F. Prescott, Esq.

The Signet for England.

This seal, which in the State Papers is called both "the Seal Manual" and "the Signet for England," was made by Thomas Simon, pursuant to several orders of the Protector Oliver's Council of State. The first notice of it occurs under date of—

Thursday, 15th February, 1654-5.—Ordered "That ye Seale Manuall be in the ingraveing of it fitted to make impressions upon wax."—Page 38, Draft Order Book, No. 82.

This order was approved by the Protector on Tuesday, the 6th March, 1654-5 (page 70, same book). On Friday, the 16th March, the Council issued a warrant to Thomas Simon, directing him to make a Seal Manual, and other seals, forthwith. This warrant is printed in our account of the Great Seal, page 187 above.

These are all the notices relating to this seal that we have found in the State Papers. There is no doubt that Simon made this Seal Manual or Signet, according to orders, as a charge of £15 for the Signet for England appears in his Account for work done between 1650 and 1657 (printed at the end of this chapter).

The seal which we take to be the Signet here meant, is an improved copy, by Thomas Simon, of a nearly similar signet used by Oliver Cromwell on official documents, such as military commissions and passes, etc., before he was made Protector. The older seal was circular (see plate vi, no. 9, and page 184 above), but Simon's Signet is slightly oval, and measures
1.4 by 1.3 inches. It bears Oliver's family coat-of-arms on a shield with six quarterings, together with his crest, a helmet, and mantling. The mantling is elegantly designed, and is similar in style to that on the English Privy Seal (plate i., no. 7). The crest is—out of a wreath, a demi-lion rampant, double-tailed, and holding a spear. The helmet is side-faced and barred, being the helmet proper to a prince. It is curious that a side-faced helmet is used here, as the full-faced one of a sovereign is used on all the Protector's Great and Privy Seals. The quarterings on the shield are the same as those on the official signet of Cromwell before he was made Protector, see page 184 above. The seal is surrounded by a wreathed border of leaves. See Plate VI., No. 10.

We have been obligingly informed by the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, that an impression of this Signet, over paper, is on a letter from the Protector to "the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke," dated Whitehall, the 3rd February, 1653-4. The original letter is in the possession of the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

It will, however, be observed that the dates of this and the undermentioned document are prior to the dates of the orders of the Council quoted above. This circumstance may perhaps be accounted for, by the supposition that Simon had actually made the Signet before he received the formal written orders to do so.

Another impression of this seal, over a paper wafer, may be seen in the British Museum (Additional Ayscough MS., No. 5014), on the original Instructions of the Protector Oliver to General Charles Fleetwood as Lord Deputy of Ireland, dated the 17th August, 1654.

This Signet is engraved in G. Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, 1753, plate xxxi., but the illustration is a little larger than the original.

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THE SEAL FOR THE ENGLISH COUNCIL.

On Thursday, the 15th February, 1654-5, the Protector's English Council of State appointed a Committee to consider what design should be adopted on a new seal for themselves. It was ordered—

"That it be referred to ye Lo. Lambert, Col. fflyennes, Col. Jones, and
S* Charles Wolseley, to consider of the forme of a seal for the Counsell of his Highness ye Lo. Protector."—Page 38, Draft Order Book, No. 82.

Also, on Wednesday the 29th August, 1655, the English Council made the following order respecting a proposed seal for the Council in Scotland—

Ordered, "That upon the Seale for the Counsell of Scotland there be ingraven the armes of Scotland, with his Highness Coat of Armes upon an Escutcheon of &tence."—Page 1, Draft Order Book, No. 85.

According to a marginal note in the book, this order was sent to Thomas Simon on the 31st August. Consequently, on the 5th September, Simon offered to the Council, for their approval, four drawings of seals, three of which were to be for the three Councils of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the fourth for sealing letters of state to foreign princes. The subjoined order was made on this occasion—

Wednesday, 5th September, 1655.—"Foure draughts of Seales being prepared by Mr Tho. Simon, his Highness Graver for the Mint and Seales, were this day presented, viz, one Seale for Letters to Forreine Princes & States, one for the Counsell of Engl, one for the Counsell of Scotl, and one for the Counsell of Irel. Ord[ered] That the said Mr Symon doe fortheith proceed to prepare the said four Seales according to the said Draughts, leaving out of the 4th three Seales for the Counsell of Engl, Scotland, and Ireland, this Motto, Paz gueritur belli."—Page 21, Draft Order Book, No. 85.

It appears that, by the 26th of the next month, Simon had finished making the seals for the three Councils. Those for the Scottish and Irish Councils were approved of, but the seal for the English Council was rejected, and a new one ordered to be engraved with the legend "SIGILLVM CONSLII" only, without the addition of "ANGLIÆ." The following is the entry in the English Council Book—

Friday, 26th October, 1655 (ante meridiem).—"Mr Thomas Symon, the graver of his Highness Mint and Seales, having according to former order prepared a Scale for the Counsell, as also Seales for the Counsell in Scotland and Ireland, and the same being now presentd to his Highness and the Counsell, Ordered That ye Seales for the Counsell for Scotland and

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1 pretence.  2 prepared.  3 presented.  4 four.  5 said.  6 presented.
Ireland be approved of; [And] That another Seale for his Highness Coun-
sell be prepared wthout adding ye word (Angliae) in the motto thereof.”—

It appears that Simon charged £14 for the seal of the English Council
(see his Account for work done from 1650 to 1657, printed at the end of
this chapter).

This seal was no doubt made of steel, and was circular, 1½ inches in
diameter. The design consisted of a large ornamented shield, surrounded
by a laurel wreath, and bearing the Protector’s usual arms, viz: Quarterly,
1st and 4th, St. George’s cross; 2nd, St. Andrew’s cross; 3rd, the Irish
harp; with the Cromwells’ lion rampant on an escutcheon of pretence.
Outside of the shield and wreath is a circular band, shaded with fine lines
or graining, bearing the legend—SIGILLVM · CONCILLII. The seal has
a wreathed border of leaves round the edge. See Plate VI., No. 11.

The design is not in high relief, but it is very delicately engraved,
and beautifully finished by Simon. It will also be seen to correspond
with the orders of the Council, quoted above. A description of the seal
previously used by the Council, from December, 1653, to November, 1655,
will be found in our notes to Simon’s Account, printed at the end of this
chapter.

The only impression we have seen of the seal for Oliver’s Council of
State in England, is on a document in the Public Record Office, Interregnum
Letters and Papers, No. 816A, fo. 181 verso. It is a fairly preserved impres-
sion, made over paper, on the back of a letter addressed to “Colonel
William Boteler* at Oundle,” dated Whitehall, the 22nd August, 1656,
and “signed in the name and by order of His Highness and the Council”
by Henry Lawrence, President.

George Vertue, in his Works of Thomas Simon, London, 1753, has
engraved this seal on plate xxv., but not quite accurately. He puts “CON-
SILII” instead of “CONCILLII,” in the inscription. He states, on page
42, that his illustration is taken from the seal affixed to an order sent to
Guernsey by Oliver Cromwell.

* Butler, Major-General for the counties of Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, and Hun-
tingdon.
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell.

The Seals for the English Law Courts.

When Oliver Cromwell was made Protector he did not have any new seals made for the English Law Courts, but continued in use those which had been made by order of the Parliament in February, 1648-9. We shall now briefly describe those seals of the Commonwealth that we have found affixed to deeds of the Protector's period, although the matrices or dies of the seals were engraved in February or March, 1648-9, by Thomas Simon.

The Court of Upper Bench.—This court corresponded to that previously termed the King's Bench, but on the Parliament's assumption of the supreme power in 1648-9, the title of "King's" had of course been changed. Henry Rolle was Chief Justice of the Upper Bench under Oliver, until the 5th June, 1655, when he resigned. John Glynn succeeded him, was appointed on the 15th June, 1655, and resigned in January, 1659-60.*

The only impression of the Seal of the Upper Bench that we have met with, is on a Patent of the Protector Richard Cromwell's, dated the 27th January, 1658-9, and now preserved in the British Museum, Campbell Charter, No. xix., 19. The wax is however so much damaged that it is impossible to describe it fully. It is circular, and has devices on both sides. Obverse, maps of England and Ireland, surrounded by the sea. Near the top of the field is a shield bearing St. George's cross, and near the bottom is another bearing the Irish harp. Around all is a circular band bearing a legend, illegible on the impression above-mentioned, but reading probably—SIGILLVM · PRO · BREVIBVS · CORAM · IVSTI-CIARIIS · ————† · BANCI · 1648. (Seal for writs before the Justices of the Upper Bench, 1648). Reverse, view of the interior of the House of Commons, with the members sitting. The lower quarter of the field is marked off by a horizontal line, and contains a shield bearing St. George's cross, with a palm branch at each side. Legend around the seal—IN · THE · FIRST · YEARE · OF · FREEDOME · BY · GODS · BLESSING · RESTORED · 1648. There is an ornamental edging round both sides of the seal, and the diameter to the outside of this border is 3 9 inches.

† Word here illegible on the seal. It may have been "Superiovis."
This seal does not seem to have been known to George Vertue, as it is neither mentioned nor engraved in his book on the *Works of Thomas Simon*.

*The Court of Common Bench.*—This was the same as the former Court of Common Pleas, but its name had also been changed by the Parliament after the death of Charles I. Oliver St. John was Chief Justice of the Common Bench from 1649 to 1660.*

The seal for this court,—most probably made by Simon in March, 1649, and continued in use from that time to the Restoration—bore on the Obverse, maps of England and Ireland, with the two shields of arms, exactly as on the seal for the Upper Bench; but the legend reads—SIGIL-LVM • PRO • BREVIBVS • CORAM • IVSTICIARIIS • COMVNIS • RANCI • 1648. (Seal for writs before the Justices of the Common Bench, 1648). Reverse, view of the House of Commons. Below, a shield bearing St. George’s cross, supported by two mermaids. Around the whole is the legend—IN • THE • FIRST • YEARE • OF • FREEDOME • BY • GODS • BLESSING • RESTORED • 1648. There is an ornamental edging round both sides. Diameter of the seal to the outside of this border, 3½ inches.

This seal is engraved in G. Vertue’s *Works of Thomas Simon*, London, 1753, plate iii., but the obverse legend is incorrectly given. Our description is taken from impressions of this seal in the British Museum, one being attached to a deed of the Protector Oliver’s, dated the 30th January, 1656-7 (*Additional Charter, No. 12679*); and a second on a deed dated the 23rd October, 1657 (*Additional Charter, No. 5639*). A third impression, in the Museum, is affixed to a Commonwealth deed in the name of the “Keepers of the Liberty of England,” dated the 7th February, 1650-1 (*Additional Charter, No. 982*).

*The Exchequer Court.*—Although we have been unable to discover any impression of it, there was without doubt a seal made for this court. The following order of the House of Commons shows that new seals were made for all the law courts soon after the death of Charles I.:—

* Lord Campbell’s “Lives of the Chief Justices.”
"Die Sabbati, 30 Februarii, 1648 (9.)

"Mr. Love reports from the Committee of Lords and Commons for the publick Revenue, their Desire touching the Custom-house Books for the Year ended 25 Decembris 1648: And the Exchequer Writs and Process, bearing Date the last Day of Michaelmas Term last, and the Three-and-twentieth of January last, should be sealed with the old Exchequer Seal.

"Ordered, That the Seal of the Court of Exchequer be altered in the like manner as the Great Seal is altered: And that the Title of the said Seal be, from henceforth, Sigillum Seaccarii Publici: And that the Writs and Process to issue out of the said Court, which bear Date the last Day of Michaelmas Term last, and the Three-and-twentieth of January last, shall be sealed with the old Exchequer Seal.

"And it is referred to the former Committee appointed to prepare the Great Seal, to prepare an Act for that Purpose: And are also to prepare an Act for Alteration of all other Seals belonging to the several Courts in Westminster Hall: And they are likewise to consider of the Antedating of Writs." — Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vi., page 130.

There is no specimen of the Commonwealth's Exchequer Seal in the British Museum, nor is it engraved or mentioned by George Vertue in his description of the Works of Thomas Simon.

William Steel was Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer under the Protector, until August, 1656, when he was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

The Court of Probate.—In the British Museum is an imperfect impression of a seal of the Protector's Court of Probate. It is attached to a deed of Oliver's granting administration to Alice Bennett, widow of William Bennett, of the city of Gloucester. It is dated the 3d December, 1657, "given at London under the seal of the Court for Probate of Wills and granting Administrations." (Additional Charter, No. 13968, presented by Sir W. C. Trevelyan, Bart.)

This impression of the seal is a fragment only. It has been oval, size 3-8 by 2-4 inches. The design is on one side only; in the centre is a large shield bearing St. George's cross, and around it is a legend, of which the only letters visible are the commencement of the word SIGILLVM.
Among the papers of Cromwell's descendants, now in the care of Frederick Prescott, Esq., is another fragment of this seal.

THE SEALS FOR THE ADmiralty.

In Thomas Simon's Account for work done between 1650 and 1657, there occurs a charge of £4. 10s. for "two seals for the Commissioners of the Admiralty." These seals were very probably made about December, 1653, in accordance with the two following orders of the Parliament—

"Tuesday, the 14th of December, 1652.

"Ordered, That the Commissioners appointed by the Act constituting Commissioners for the Managing and Ordering the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy, have Power to make use of the Seal of the Anchor for their Warrants and Commissions; And that the Seal of the Anchor, which is with the Council of State, be delivered unto the said Commissioners, to be made use of accordingly."—Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii., page 229.

"Monday, the 5th of December, 1653.

"Ordered, That the Commissioners appointed by the Act constituting Commissioners for the Managing and Ordering the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy, have Power to make Use of the Seal of the Anchor, now in their Custody, for their Warrants and Commissions."—Ibid. page 362.

We have endeavoured to discover impressions of the seals above-mentioned, but we cannot identify them with absolute certainty. The following are, however, descriptions of some seals used on Admiralty documents during the period of the Protectorate; and Nos. 2 and 3 are apparently Simon's work, and may be the two seals for which he charged £4. 10s. in his Account.
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No. I.—The largest seal is circular, size 1·15 inches in diameter. It has the representation of an anchor in the centre, and to it is attached a cable, which is disposed in loops and curves around the anchor. The whole is surrounded by a wreath formed of a laurel and a palm branch united.

A good impression of this seal is on a letter from the Commissioners of the Admiralty to the Commissioners of the Treasury, dated Whitehall, the 15th April, 1658 (now in the Public Record Office).

No. II.—This seal is similar in design to No. I, but it is smaller, being just one inch in diameter. It is also of better work, and appears to have been engraved by Simon.

An impression is on a letter from the Commissioners of the Admiralty to the Commissioners of the Treasury, dated Whitehall, the 12th November, 1657, and another impression of this seal is on a letter from the same persons to the Council of State, dated the 14th October, 1658. Both these letters are in the Public Record Office.

No. III.—The third seal also bears the anchor and cable within a wreath, like the two previous seals, but it is much smaller, measuring only 6 of an inch in diameter. It was perhaps also made by Simon.

We have seen several impressions of this seal among the State Papers in the Record Office, but they are all so much damaged that it is impossible to give any illustration of them. One is on a letter from the Commissioners of the Admiralty to the Commissioners of the Navy, dated Whitehall, the 19th May, 1656; a second is on a letter from the same persons to the President of the Council of State, dated the 8th December, 1657; and another impression is on a letter from Major-General Thomas Kelsey, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, to “the Lord Disbrowe,” received the 7th January, 1657-8.
THE SEALS FOR APPROBATION OF PREACHERS.

During the Commonwealth period the clergy were chiefly Presbyterians, but it appears that the Protector tolerated nearly all the Protestant sects. At the beginning of the year 1654, as Thomas Carlyle remarks, "Episcopacy being put down, and Presbytery not set up," church government had been for some years past "all a Church-Anarchy."* Therefore, in March, 1653-4, Oliver and his Council made an Ordinance "for appointing Commissioners for Approbation of Publique Preachers," anno 1653, cap. 16, passed the 20th March, 1653-4, confirmed anno 1656, cap. 10. See Henry Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances, London, 1658, part ii., pages 279, 280.

By this Ordinance thirty-eight persons were made Commissioners, or a "Board of Triers," for the purpose of making trial or examination of every minister who had been nominated to any benefice. No one was allowed to take any public lecture or benefice, with profits annexed, without being first judged and approved by these Commissioners. Of the thirty-eight, nine were laymen, and twenty-nine were clergy; some were Presbyterians, some Independents, and a few Anabaptists.

On the 23rd June, 1654, another Ordinance was passed "for giving further time for Approbation of Publique Preachers," anno 1654, cap. 30, confirmed anno 1656, cap. 10 (Scobell's Collection, part ii., page 313). The Board continued to sit at Whitehall until the latter part of the year 1659.

After examination, if the candidate was approved, the Commissioners granted "admission to such Benefice or Lecture by an Instrument in writing under a Common Seal, to be appointed by His Highness, and under the hand of the Register or Registers for the time being."—Ordinance of the 20th March, 1653-4.

The Seals of Oliver Cromwell

Two of these Approbations or Licences are preserved in the British Museum. They are written on parchment, and each one has a seal attached. The first is the approval of Richard Bryan to the rectory of Whaddon, Wilts, dated the 20th August, 1656 (Additional Charter, No. 5718); and the other is the approbation of Daniel Norris to the vicarage of Tetbury, Gloucestershire, dated the 17th November, 1658 (Additional Charter, No. 5279).

There is also an engraving of the same seal in Edmund Calamy's Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, etc., who were ejected after the Restoration in 1660, London, 1727, vol. i., page 462. There is here printed a copy of the original presentation of Edmund Calamy, the younger, to the rectory of Moreton, in Essex, dated the 20th April, 1659, and a woodcut represents the seal which was attached to it.

The seal used on the above-mentioned three documents is circular, and measures two inches in diameter. In the centre is an oval ornamented shield, bearing St. George's cross. Around is the legend—THE · SEALE · FOR · APPROBATION · OF · PVBLICK · PREACHERS ·, between circles of double lines. This seal was very probably the one made by Thomas Simon, and for which he charged £5. 15s. in his Account for work done between 1650 and 1657. See woodcut.

There is, however, a second seal for Approbation of Ministers, the silver matrix of which is now in the possession of Ayscough Fawkes, Esq., of Farnley Hall, Otley, Yorkshire. This seal was evidently prepared during
the time of the Commonwealth, but as we have never been able to find any old document bearing an impression of it, we are unable to fix the exact date at which it was in use, if ever used. It may have been made for the Westminster Assembly of divines, who sat from the 1st July, 1643, to the 22nd February, 1649, and it may have been used for sealing the licences to preachers granted by them. We consider that the first-described seal, with the St. George's cross, was the only one used during the Protectorate, or from 1653 to 1659, and that Mr. Fawkes's seal, if used at all, must have been used at some previous period.

This second seal is oval, and measures 2½ by 2½ inches; and the matrix is one-fifth of an inch in thickness. In the centre, between two palm branches tied together, is an open Bible, inscribed THE WORD OF GOD. Around all, and outside of an inner circle, is the legend—THE · SEALE · FOR · APPROBATION · OF · MINISTERS. A rose is before the first word; and an ornamental wreathed border surrounds the whole. The workmanship is good, but we are not sure that this seal was made by Thomas Simon. See Plate VI., No. 12, which is taken from an impression off the original silver matrix, kindly contributed by Ayscough Fawkes, Esq. The history of the matrix or die has also been communicated by him, and is as follows—

The seal was presented to Mr. Fawkes's grandfather, Walter Fawkes, Esq., by Mr. Thomas Lister Parker, of Browsholme Hall, Yorkshire, on the 15th December, 1819. Accompanying it was an undated letter from "Peter Robinson " to the " Rev. Mr. Marsh," which has the two following indorsements—

1st, "This letter was found at Browsholme with the Seal, and purchased by the then possessor, Mr. Ed. Parker, 1661."

2nd, "And is now with the Seal presented to Walter Fawkes, Esq., by T. L. Parker, of Browsholme, Dec. 15th, 1819."

In this letter, Mr. Robinson states that he has sold the seal to Mr. Marsh for £55, and says—"I had (the seal) from one Captain Cossley, who had it from his father, a very eminent merchant in London, who was a great republican and friend of Oliver's, he having received it from some person that was familiar with Oliver, and kept it as a memorial of him. But being forced to go on some extraordinary business to Jamaica, he presented it to his son, who not being of the same mind as his father,
was more willing to part with it, so it came into my hands. . . . . . Petr Robinson."

The seal, accompanied by this manuscript letter, was sold for £29. 8s., as lot 266 in the sale of Mr. Parker's library at Sotheby's, on the 29th April, 1815, but it was no doubt bought in, as Mr. Parker afterwards gave it to Mr. Walter Fawkes in 1819.

This second seal has been engraved in Mr. T. L. Parker's *Description of Browsholme Hall*, privately printed, 1815; and on page 241 of the Rev. Dr. T. D. Whitaker's *History of the Parish of Whalley*, 3rd edition, 1818.

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**The Seal for the County of Durham.**

On Friday, the 5th September, 1656, it was ordered by the Council of State—

"That Mr. Thomas Symon, the Gravr of his Highness Mynt and Seales, doe forthwth prepare a Scale for the County Palatyn of Durham, haveing the Pourtraiture of his Highness the Lord Protector on one side, and the armes of ye County pal. of Durham on the other side."—*Pages 371, 372, Council Entry Book No. 105.*

The bill for making this seal, amounting to £30, was presented to the Council on Tuesday, the 10th February, 1656-7, and the following order was thereupon made—

"Whereas the Counsell did form'rly appoynt that Mr. Thomas Symons, the Graver of his Highness Mint and Seales, should provide a Scale for the County Palatine of Durham, wch, according to a pape from Mr. Anthony Smith now offered, amounts unto xxxl. Ordered That xvl, a moyety thereof, be borne at ye States Charge, and answered out of the profitts that shall accrue to ye State by the Court for the said County palatine, and the p'son that shall receive the sayd profitts for the State is to allow ye same accordingly."—*Page 699, Council Entry Book, No. 105.*

Mr. Robert Ready, of the British Museum, has supplied us with casts of this seal, which entirely correspond with the description given in the Council's order of the 5th September, 1656. The seal has two sides,

1 paper.  

2 person.
circular, and 3·8 inches in diameter. *Obverse*, equestrian figure of Oliver Cromwell to the left, similar to that on the Great Seal. Behind Oliver, in the upper part of the field, is an ornamented shield bearing the Durham arms, a cross between four lions rampant. Below, between the horse's legs, is a distant view, probably of the city of Durham. There is no legend on this side, but an ornamental wreathed border of oak leaves surrounds the whole design. *Reverse*, a large shield, ornamented with scrolls, flowers, cherubs, etc., and bearing the arms of Durham—Azure, a cross between four lions rampant, argent (but the colours not expressed). Legend around—AD · BREVIA · IN · EODEM · COM' · (italics) SIGILLAND · (umb) DEPVTATVM · 1656 · (Appointed for the sealing of the writs in the same county). Outside all is a border of oak leaves. See Plate VII., No. 1.

Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt., was Chancellor of the County Palatine of Durham during the Protectorate. He was appointed by Oliver's warrant of the 3rd September, 1655. See *Additional Ayscough MSS.*, No. 4184, in the British Museum.

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**THE DOVER SEAL.**

This seal is not mentioned in Simon's Account, nor in any other of the State Papers, as it was most probably made by Thomas Simon for the authorities at Dover, and paid for by them. Major-General Thomas Kelsey was Lieutenant of Dover Castle under Oliver, and Dr. Walter Walker was Judge of the Admiralty of the Cinque Ports.

We have never met with an impression of this seal, but a representation of it is engraved on plate xcv. of Vertue's *Works of Thomas Simon*, 4to, London, 1753. It is called by Vertue "the Cinque Port of Dover Seal," and may be thus described—One side only, circular, 3·2 inches in diameter. In the centre is an equestrian figure of the Protector Oliver, similar to that on his Great Seal. Between the horse's legs is a distant view of Dover Castle, etc. On a band around is the legend—OLIVARIIS · DEI · GRA: REIP · ANGLIE · SCOTLA · ET · HIBERNLA &c PROTECTOR. A wreathed border of leaves surrounds the whole.
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell.

The Great Seal for Scotland.

Obverse, an equestrian figure of the Protector Oliver, similar to that on the English Great Seal. Instead however of the view of London below the horse, there is a view of Edinburgh, including the Castle, Holyrood Palace, the Firth of Forth, and the Fife coast in the distance. A shield in the right-hand upper corner of the field bears the cross saltire of St. Andrew, surmounted by a small inescutcheon with Cromwell's paternal lion rampant. Legend—OLIVARIVS · DEI · GRA · REIP · ANGLÆ · SCOTIÆ · ET · HIBERNIÆ · &c · PROTECTOR. Reverse, this side only differs from the reverse of the English Great Seal in the shield of arms and in the legend. The helmet, crest, motto, and supporters are the same, but the shield bears the saltire cross of St. Andrew, surmounted by an inescutcheon bearing a lion rampant, Cromwell's family arms. Legend—MAGNVM · SIGILLVM · SCOTIÆ · 1656. This seal is circular, size 5·1 inches in diameter to the outside of the wreathed border with which both sides are surrounded.

On the 12th April, 1654, an Ordinance was passed by the Protector and his Council "for uniting Scotland into one Commonwealth with England." The Great Seal and the other seals for Scotland were therefore made with devices in accordance with the following clause in this Ordinance—

"And that this Union may take its more full effect and intent, Be it further Ordered by the Authority aforesaid, That the Arms of Scotland, viz. a Cross, commonly called Saint Andrews Cross, be received into, and born from henceforth in the Arms of this Commonwealth, as a Badge of this Union; and that all the Publique Seals, Seals of Office, and Seals of Bodies Civil or Corporate, in Scotland, which heretofore carried the Arms of the Kings of Scotland, shall from henceforth in stead thereof, carry the Arms of this Commonwealth."—See Henry Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances, London, 1658, part ii., p. 294, and the Collection of the Acts and Ordinances, etc., from Dec. 16, 1653 to Sept. 3, 1654, London, 1654, p. 95.

The English and Irish Great Seals were made in 1655, but the Scottish one, as appears from the date on the reverse, could not have been made until 1656. We have not met with any order of the Council of
State relating to this latter seal, but in Thomas Simon's Account for work done from 1650 to 1657 it is mentioned—

"For Scotland, the Great Seal . . . . £150."

Impressions of this Great Seal are much rarer than those of Oliver’s English Great Seal. Mr. Henry Laing, on pages 19, 20, of his Descriptive Catalogue of Scottish Seals, Edinburgh, 1850, describes an impression of this seal which is in Lord Elibank’s collection of charters. In the British Museum is a metal cast of the obverse only, Detached Seal No. XXXIV. 20. A good impression, in yellow wax, belongs to J. Kermack Ford, Esq., Southsea.

This seal is engraved in—G. Vertue’s Works of Thomas Simon, London, 1753, plate xix. (both sides); A. Collas’s Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique, Sceaux des Rois et Reines d’Angleterre, folio, Paris 1835, plate xxii, (obverse only); A. Collas’s Great Seals of England, folio, London, 1837, plate xxii. (obverse only); and S. Thompson’s series of British Museum Photographs of Seals, No. 995, Plate xi., 3, 4.

Samuel Desborow was Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland under the Protectors Oliver and Richard.

THE QUARTER SEAL FOR SCOTLAND.

There is no mention of a Quarter Seal for Scotland in the books of the English Council of State, but it is named in Thomas Simon’s Account for work done between 1650 and 1657, where £75 is charged for making it, or exactly half of what the Great Seal cost. This Quarter Seal was no doubt a reproduction of the upper half of the Great Seal for Scotland, being semicircular, and having a design on both sides. The devices were exactly similar to those on the upper half of the Great Seal. We have never heard of any impression now existing of this Quarter Seal, and Mr. Thomas Dickson informs us that there is no example of it among the Scottish archives, in the General Register House, Edinburgh.

The Quarter Seal, says Mr. Joseph Robertson,* was long in use in Scotland, and can be traced back to the time of David II. It was kept by the Director of the Chancery, and called the Testimonium Magni Sigilli, or

The Seals of Oliver Cromwell.

"Testimonial of the Great Seal." It was put on an inferior class of writs. A Quarter Seal was also used in England for a short period, in the reigns of Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., or about 1360 to 1413.

The Privy Seal for Scotland.

We have not met with any orders of the Council of State regarding a Privy Seal for Scotland; but it is mentioned in T. Simon's Account for work done between 1650 and 1657, and a charge of £15 is made for it.

Mr. Henry Laing of Edinburgh (the author of two excellent works on Scottish Seals) has favoured us with a cast of the seal mentioned in Simon's Account.* It is undoubtedly Simon's work, and is circular, size 2¾ inches in diameter. In the centre is an oval ornamented shield, bearing—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, St. George's cross; 2nd, St. Andrew's cross; 3rd, the Irish harp. There is no escutcheon of pretence. The field or ground around the shield is strewn with thistles and small St. Andrew's crosses. The legend, on a band surrounding the whole, is—THE PRIVIE SEALE FOR SCOTLAND. The seal is surrounded by a wreathed edging of leaves. See Plate VI., No. 13.

A representation is also engraved on plate xxv. of G. Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, but the word PRIVIE is erroneously engraved PRIVIT.

Second Privy Seal.—There is a second variety of the Privy Seal for Scotland, used in the time of Oliver, which has been obligingly communicated by Mr. Thomas Dickson, of H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, where the seal is preserved. Only one impression is known, which is attached to a Precept in the name of the Protector Oliver, directed to the Chancery, for expediting a Charter under the Great Seal in favour of James Logane, of Hills, and Elizabeth his wife, given under the Privy Seal, at Edinburgh, the 10th March, 1658. This date is not the English one, but is new style, according to the Scottish mode of reckoning in the seventeenth century.

The seal attached to this deed is of yellow wax, with the design on one side only. It is very imperfect, large portions having been broken off.

* From the late Mr. Doubleday's collection of casts of seals.
The design has been circular, size 2½ inches in diameter. In the centre is a shield bearing St. Andrew's cross, surmounted by an inescutcheon with the Cromwell lion rampant. Above the shield is the royal helmet, crest, and mantling, exactly as on Oliver's Great Seal. The supporters, a lion and a dragon, are also the same. Legend on a band around, but the portions between brackets are wanting—[OLIVARIVS · DEI ] GRA: REIPVB: ANG[LIÆ · SCOTLÆ · ET ] HIBERNLÆ &c PROTECTOR.

It is a rather curious circumstance that Oliver had two privy seals made for Scotland, but, as will have been observed, the devices are very different. Perhaps the design of the first one was not liked, and consequently the second seal with a different type was made and used.

THE SIGNET FOR SCOTLAND.

On Wednesday, the 9th January, 1655-6, the English Council of State—

"Ordered, That it be offered to his Highness as the advise of the Counsell, That a Signet be provided for Scotland, and that Thomas Simon, the Engraver, doe forthwith prepare the same."—Page 121, Draft Order Book, No. 86.

At the afternoon meeting of the Council on Friday, the 11th January, this order was approved by the Protector (page 130, same book).

The seal was accordingly made, and Simon's charge of £5 for it appears in his Account for work done between 1650 and 1657; but we have not been able to discover any impression of it. Mr. Thomas Dickson informs us that he has never met with any example among the Scottish records.

THE SEAL FOR THE SCOTTISH COUNCIL.

This seal was made by Thomas Simon in October, 1655, and presented to the Council of State in London on the 26th of that month. It was then approved of, and was probably at once sent to Scotland for use by the Council there. All the entries in the State Papers regarding this seal have been printed above, in our account of the seal of the English Council.
The Scottish Council's seal is circular, size 1.65 inches in diameter. In the centre is an ornamented shield, surrounded by a laurel wreath, and bearing a large cross saltire (St. Andrew's cross) surmounted by Cromwell's lion rampant on an escutcheon of pretence. The legend, around the whole, is—SIGILLVM · CONCILLII · SCOTIAE (the seal of the Council of Scotland). A wreathed border of leaves surrounds the seal. See woodcut.

A fair impression of this seal is in the Public Record Office, London, affixed to a letter signed by General George Monk, on behalf of the Scottish Council, dated Edinburgh the 18th November, 1657, and addressed to the Council of State at Whitehall (Interregnum State Papers, No. 840, p. 644). There are also a few other impressions in the same office.

By the courtesy of Mr. Thomas Dickson, of the General Register House, Edinburgh, we learn that there are two impressions of this seal preserved in that office. The British Museum also possesses a bad impression of this seal, on a letter to the Protector Oliver from the Scottish Council, signed by Monk, and dated Edinburgh, the 8th April, 1658 (Additional MS., No. 4158).

The seal of the Scottish Council was impressed over paper wafers from a steel die made by Simon, for which he charged £3. (See his Account, below.) We also observe that, in a list of articles of stationery for the use of the Council of Scotland, ordered to pass custom free into that country, 25th August, 1657, there is the item—"5000 broad Wafers, for the Counsell's Seale."—(Page 107, Council Entry Book, No. 106, London).
THE GREAT SEAL FOR IRELAND.

Obverse, an equestrian figure of the Protector Oliver, similar to that on the English Great Seal, but with a view of Dublin under the horse, showing the harbour and forts, the city, and the hills in the distance. A shield in the right-hand upper corner of the field bears a large harp, surmounted by a small inescutcheon charged with Cromwell's paternal lion rampant. Legend—OLIVARIVS · DEI · GRA · REIP · ANGLIÆ · SCOTIÆ · ET · HIBERNIÆ · &c · PROTOCTOR. Reverse, shield, helmet, crest, supporters, and motto similar to those on the English Great Seal, but the arms are—a large Irish harp, surmounted by an inescutcheon bearing a lion rampant, Cromwell's family arms. Legend—MAGNUM · SIGILLVM · HIBERNIÆ · 1655. This seal is circular, size 5 3 inches in diameter, to the outside of the wreathed border with which both sides are surrounded.

In the books of the English Council of State, the first entry relating to the Irish Great Seal is the following order of—

Wednesday, 21st February, 1654-5.—"Uppon a report made from the Comittee for ye Affairs of Ireland, Ordered That it be offered to his Highness as the advise of the Counsell, That a Great Seale be made for Ireland and delivrer'd to some fitt person or persons for executing ye powers of the Court of Chancery there."—Page 46, Draft Order Book, No. 82.

This order was approved by the Protector on Tuesday, the 6th March, 1654-5 (page 70, Draft Order Book, No. 82).

On Friday, the 30th March, 1655, at the afternoon meeting, Thomas Simon submitted a drawing of the proposed seal to the Council for their approval, which was thereupon given in these terms—

"Ord.[ered] That it be offered to his Highness, as the advise of ye Counsel, That a Great Seale for Ireland be ingraven according to the draught prepared by Mr Symon and now show'd, and that a Warrant be in that behalfe issued."—Page 115, Draft Order Book, No. 82.

A clerk's note in the margin states that a warrant was prepared, signed by the President of the Council on the 31st March, and sent to Simon on the 2nd April, 1655.

In Simon's Petition of the 25th May, 1655, the Great Seal for Ireland is mentioned as being then in preparation, and on the same day £200 were

1 Court. 2 Warrant.
advanced to him on account of this and the English Great Seal. See page 187, above.

The last order of the Council on this subject relates to the legend on the reverse of the seal—

Thursday, 7th June, 1655 (*post meridiem*).—"Ordered by his Highness the Lord Protector and the Counsell, That the Motto incompassing the Great Seale of Ireland be *Magnum Sigillum Hiberniae*, and that Mr Symon the Ingraver of the Mint and Seales doe proceed accordingly."—*Pages 127, 128, Draft Order Book, No. 83.*

This order was approved on the 9th June, and sent to Simon on the 11th.

Simon's charge for making the Irish Great Seal was the same as that for the Scottish one, viz. £150. See his Account for work done between 1650 and 1657, printed below.

A good impression of this seal, in yellow wax, is attached to an Inquisition of the Protector Richard Cromwell, dated 25th February, 1658-9; which document has descended in the Cromwell family, and is now in the care of Frederick Prescott, Esq.

Another impression, a detached seal, also in yellow wax, is in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; and a fine impression in red wax, but of the obverse only, is in the British Museum, *Detached Seal, No. XXXIV. 18.*


The Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal, in Ireland, during the Protectorate, was William Steel, appointed August, 1656. He received a salary of £2000 *per annum* (see *Council Entry Book*, orders of the 4th September, 1656).

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**THE SIGNET FOR IRELAND.**

On Thursday, the 7th June, 1655, at the afternoon sitting of the English Council of State, it was—
Enigmatica Cromwelliana.

"Ordered by his Highness the Lord Protector and the Counsell . . . . that Mr Symon, the Ingraver of the Mint and Seales, doe p'vide1 a Seale Manuall for Ireland."—Page 128, Draft Order Book, No. 83.

This order does not appear to have ever been approved, nor is a Signet or Seal Manual for Ireland mentioned in Simon's Account for work done between 1650 and 1657. Neither have we met with any impression of such a seal, and we therefore do not think that it was ever made.

The Seal for the Irish Council.

It appears from Simon's Account that he made a seal for the Irish Council, at a cost of £8, but we have not been able to obtain any description or impression of it.

The Seals for the Irish Law Courts.

On Wednesday, the 21st February, 1654-5, it was ordered by Oliver's English Council of State—

"That Judges and other persons be appointed necessary for executing ye powers of the Exchequer in Ireland; That such Seales also be appointed as shalbe necessary for ye severall Courts in Ireland."—Page 46, Draft Order Book, No. 82.

This order was approved by the Protector on Tuesday, the 6th March (page 70, same book).

In Thomas Simon's Account for work done between 1650 and 1657, printed below, there are mentioned "three seals for the Upper Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, in Ireland: £50 each."

Upper Bench or Common Pleas.—We have been favoured by Mr. Henry Laing with a cast of an interesting seal by Simon, which must have been intended for either the Court of Upper Bench or of Common Pleas, in Ireland. The legend does not state for which court it was made. In the British Museum, Detached Seal, No. XXXIV., 21, is a cast in metal of the same seal. The device is on one side only, circular, size 3-3 inches in

1 provide.
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell.

diameter. It bears an equestrian figure of Oliver, a shield with the Irish arms behind him, and a view of Dublin below, between the horse's legs. The view is, however, slightly different from that on the Irish Great Seal. On a band around the whole is the legend—OLIVARIVS · DEI · GRA · REIP · ANGLIÆ · SCOTIÆ · ET · HIBERNIÆ &c PROTECTOR. This seal has Simon's usual wreathed border of leaves. See Plate VI., No. 14.

The Exchequer Court.—We have never met with an impression of the seal for the Irish Exchequer, but a representation of it is engraved on plate xxv. of George Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, London, 1753, from which we take the following description—

The design is on one side only. Circular, size 3 3 inches in diameter. In the centre is an oval ornamented shield, bearing—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, St. George's cross; 2nd, the Irish harp; 3rd, St. Andrew's cross; but we suspect that Vertue has erroneously transposed the 2nd and 3rd quarterings in his engraving. The field, or ground around the shield, is strewn with small St. George's crosses and Irish harps. The legend, on a band surrounding the whole, is—THE · SEAŁE · OF · THE · EXCHE·QVOR · FOR · IRELAND. The seal has Simon's usual wreathed edging of leaves. Vertue, in 1749, possessed impressions of this seal and the Scottish Privy Seal in lead.

THOMAS SIMON'S ACCOUNT.

Having discovered, among the State Papers at the Public Record Office, London, a copy of the Account of Thomas Simon for all the work that he did for the Parliament and the Protector from 1650 to 1657, we think it will prove interesting to our readers if printed here, as it has been hitherto unknown to all antiquaries.

This Account was laid before the Council of State on Thursday, the 6th August, 1657 (Entry Book, No. 106, p. 62), when it was referred to the two Clerks of the Council, Henry Scobell and William Jessop, for them to examine and consider it, and report thereon to the Council. This report was accordingly made, and read before the Council on Thursday, the 15th October, 1657 (Entry Book, No. 106, p. 218), but the Account was referred
back to the Clerks of the Council for them to examine into the rates charged.

On Thursday, the 14th January, 1657-8, the Clerks again presented Simon's Account, and reported that "they had therein consulted Sir John Barkstead, kni, who, upon a view of the particulars,¹ had declared his opinion yet,² considering the nature and ingenuity of the worke, he did judge the prizes³ demanded as aforesayd might be well allow'd." (Entry Book, No. 106, p. 405). A copy of the Account is entered in the Council Entry Book under this date, and we print it below, verbatim et literatim.

It will be observed that the whole of this Account amounted to £1728. 5s. 8d., but out of this sum Simon had been already paid £700, viz: £200 by the Council's warrant of the 25th May, 1655 (Money Warrant Book, No. 126, p. 155; £200 more by an order of the Council of the 5th September, 1655 (Draft Order Book, No. 85, p. 21); and £300 by the Council's warrant of the 18th January, 1655-6, and their orders of the 16th and 25th January, 1655-6 (Money Warrant Book, No. 126, p. 189, and Draft Order Books, No. 86, p. 137, and No. 87, p. 21).

Accordingly, on the 14th January, 1657-8, the sum remaining due on Simon's Account was £1028. 5s. 8d., and the Council therefore recommended that the Protector should issue a warrant to the Commissioners of the Treasury for paying this sum to Thomas Simon (Entry Book, No. 106, p. 405). On the 19th of the same month, the Council ordered that this warrant should pass without fees (Entry Book, No. 106, p. 411); and the Privy Seal Warrant for paying £1028. 5s. 8d. to Thomas Simon, dated the 8th March, 1657-8, is enrolled in Oliver's Privy Seal Book, No. 13, p. 246.

Although the Privy Seal Warrant was thus prepared, it seems that Simon received no money on it for some time, for, on the, 13th July, 1658, he petitioned the Council for speedy payment of the sum due to him by the Privy Seal, "that soe hee may satisfy his creditors," stating also "that hee hath himselfe and servants wroght above theas 5 yeares for your Hon,² and hath not received any recompence for his greate paynes, and that hee doth pay interest for Gold and Silver that eates up the prophit of a greate part thereof." Annexed to this Petition is a further bill for £132. 16s., being £12. 16s. for two chased silver boxes (weighing 32 oz. 4 dwt.) to hold the Swedish Treaty, and £120 for a gold medal and chain (weighing

¹ particulars. ² that. ³ prices. ⁴ profit.
The Seals of Oliver Cromwell.

27 oz. 5 dwts. 12 grs.) for presentation to the Portuguese Ambassador. (*Interregnum Petitions*, vol. xii. a.)

On reading this Petition, on Tuesday, the 3rd August, 1658, afternoon sitting, the Council ordered—"That ye Lord Disbrow be desired to speake with Mr. Sherwin, about paying the sayd Warrant to the petiz.1, and to deale with him in ye" bealfe as effectually as he can, in order to ye" petiz. speedy satisfaccon."—(*Entry Book, No. 106, p. 777*).

Four months later, on the 7th December, 1658, Simon was paid £200 on account (*Pells Issue Book, No. 93, p. 53*), and on the 5th February, 1658-9, he received £78. 5s. 8d. more (*Pells Issue Book, No. 93, p. 105*); but these are all the payments we can find recorded. Whether Simon was ever paid the sum of £382. 16s. still owing to him for work done, it is impossible to say.

Thomas Simon's Account for Seals, Medals, Coins, etc., Made Since the Year 1650. From the *Council Entry Book*, No. 106, pages 404, 405, under date of the 14th January, 1657-8. [The letters inserted between brackets refer to the explanatory notes subjoined.]

"The 2 Seals for Congleton burr. iiiij. xv[s]; a steele Seal for the p'liam[t] xv[i[a], a steele Seal for the Comrs of the Navy v[i; 2 Steele Seales in imitacon of Charles Stuarts xv[j; and 2 Steele Stamps for ye Excheq'r xl[s, alleadged to be provided in the tymre of the long p'liam[t]. "

"A Scale for the Comrs for approveing publique preachers v[i xv[s [k]; 2 Seales for the Comrs of ye Adm'rs iiiij. x[s [c], and for altering the late Counsell of States Seal xl[s [d] ..... 12.05.00.

"For England, the great Seale co1, [c], privy Seale xx[i [f], Signett xv[i [g], Signet in Steele xv[i [k], a steele Seale for Letters of State xxv[i [r], and ye Counsellors Scale xiiiij. [k] ..... 289.00.00.

petitioner. *that.*
"For Scotland, Great Seale c[7], quarter Seale lxxvi, [m], Privy Seale xvi, [n], Signett vi, [o], and ye Counsells Seale viij, [p], 253.00.00."

"For Ireland, Great Seale c[9]; 3 Seales for the Uppe Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer 50l each [r]; and Counsells Seale viij, [s] 308.00.00."

"For Coynes, Stamps, Dyes &c. [t] 250.00.00."

"For Meddalls to Major Redman x[1], Col. Sadler 50l, [u] Swedish Agent c[1], Duke of Curlsands Agent cxx, [v] 310.00.00."

"For Silver Boxes for the Treatyes with Denmarke, [w] Swedt, France, and Portugall 55.05.08."

"For Presses for Seales 78.00.00."

"For Contingencies, Vizt, making Originall draughts 1l, expense in attendance xxx, and Iron, Steele, Smiths 130.00.00. works &c. l1, 1728.05.08."

"Making in the Totall 700.00.00."

"Towards which he received, 25 May 1655, cc[1]; 11th Sept 1655, cc[1]; and 18 Janv 1655, ccc[1]; in Tot. 1028.05.08."

"[a] A steel seal for the Parliament, £15."—This is probably the seal of which a proof impression is in the British Museum, Detached Seal, No. xxxv. 90. It was taken by the late Mr. J. Doubleday in 1832 from the original matrix then in the possession of Mr. Langdale. We are informed that this matrix now belongs to Mr. Stopford, of Drayton. This seems to be the same seal or matrix that was found by a workman in a wall of Richard Cromwell's house at Hursley, Hants, when it was being pulled down by order of Sir William Heathcote, who had purchased the
estate. See George Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, 2nd edition, 1780, page 13; and there is an engraving of it by Vertue on plate v. of the same book. The seal has in the centre two large pointed shields, conjoined, and surrounded by ornamental scrolls and foliage. The dexter shield bears St. George's cross, for England, and the sinister one the Irish harp. Outside of a cored inner circle is the legend—THE · SEALE · OF · THE · PARLIAMENT · OF · THE · COMMONWEALTH · OF · ENGLAND. A wreathed edging of leaves surrounds the whole seal, which is circular, 2-4 inches in diameter. See Plate VII., No. 2.

This seal is no doubt the one referred to in the following Act of Parliament—

"An Act for a Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. —22nd January, 1650-1.—Be it Enacted by this present Parliament, That the Seal Engraven with the Arms of England and Ireland (that is to say, A Cross and a Harp) with this Inscription in the Circle, that is to say (The Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England) shall be the Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to be solely used by Order of Parliament. And be it further Enacted, That whatsoever shall counterfeit the same, shall be adjudged and taken to be guilty of High Treason, and shall be tryed in such maner, and undergo the like penalties as are appointed by any Act of Parliament in case of High Treason."—See the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, single sheets, vol. ix.

"[b] A seal for the Commissioners for Approving Public Preachers, £5. 15s."—This is the seal with St. George's cross in the centre, described above on page 205.

"[c] Two seals for the Commissioners of the Admiralty, £4. 10s."—See the account of the seals of the Admiralty on page 203, above.

"[d] For altering the late Council of State's seal, 40s."—The seal made in 1649 by Simon for the Council of State, and the one used by them from February, 1649, to December, 1653, is circular, size 1-8 inches in diameter. The device consists of two ornamented shields, conjoined, one bearing St. George's cross and the other the Irish harp. Outside of a plain inner circle is the legend—THE · SEALE · OF · THE · COVNCIL · OF · STATE ·
APPQYNTED · BY · THE · AVTHO' · OF · PARL'. A wreathed edging of leaves around. See Plate VII, No. 3.

There are numerous impressions of this seal, over paper wafers, in the Public Record Office and in the British Museum. The alteration mentioned in Simon's Account above, was the cutting out of the legend on this seal after Oliver had been made Protector, and a new Council had been appointed by the Instrument of Government dated the 16th December, 1653. Impressions of this latter seal, exhibiting a plain band in place of the legend, are to be found on documents of the years 1654 and 1655, in the Public Record Office. See Plate VII, No. 4. Directly however that the new seal with the legend SIGILLVM CONCILLI (described on page 198, above) was made, this altered seal was laid aside by the Council of State.

"[e] The Great Seal for England, £200."—See the description on pages 19 and 186, above.


"[h] The Signet in Steel, £15."—We do not know what seal is here meant.

"[i] A steel seal for Letters of State, £25."—This is described on page 194, above.

"[k] The Council's Seal, £14."—The seal for the English Council of State is described on page 198, above.


"[m] The Quarter Seal for Scotland, £75."—See description on page 210, above.
"[n] The Privy Seal for Scotland, £15."—See description on page 211, above.

"[o] The Signet for Scotland, £5."—Impressions of this seal are not now known to exist; see page 212, above.

"[p] The Council's Seal, £2."—The seal of the Scottish Council of State is described on page 213, above.

"[q] The Great Seal for Ireland, £150."—See description on page 214, above.

"[r] Three seals for the Upper Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, £50 each."—See the descriptions of the Seals of the Irish Law Courts, page 216, above.

"[s] The Council's Seal, £2."—The seal of the Irish Council of State is not now extant, see page 216, above.

"[t] For Coins, Stamps, Dies, etc., £250."—See page 97, above, and the accounts of the 1656 and 1658 coinages of Cromwell's coins in Chapters III. and IV. of this work.
APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 3, lines 5 et seq.—The original manuscript of this letter of Oliver Cromwell is stated to have been once in the possession of James Lamb, Esq., of Fairford, Gloucestershire, and afterwards (about 1780) belonged to John Raymond, Esq., of the same place. See page 73* of the second edition of G. Vertue's Works of Thomas Simon, London, 1780. We have been unable to discover where the original letter now is, but an old manuscript copy of it is in the British Museum, Additional MSS., No. 9828, f. 201.

Page 5, line 7.—Nicholas Briot must have been dead before 1656, for we find among the Abstracts of Interregnum Petitions in the Public Record Office, mention of a petition to the Protector from Hester Briot, relict of Nich. Briot, dated the 22nd January, 1655-6. It states that £2806 was due to Briot at his death, and his widow prays a considerable sum in lieu thereof, or a competent pension till discharged.


Page 7, line 29.—The original steel dies of the large Dunbar Medal, much worn and cracked, and each enclosed in an iron frame, have been
Appendix.

shown to the Author by Mr. A. B. Wyon, the eminent medallist, in whose
possession they now are. The dies were purchased many years ago by
Mr. Wyon's father.

Page 8, line 6.—The small gold Dunbar Medal in the British Museum
is perhaps the one formerly in the collection of Thomas Herbert, the eighth
Earl of Pembroke; and which sold at the Pembroke sale for £11. 10s.,
lot 259, 2nd August, 1848. It is engraved in Tab. 19, Part IV. of the
Pembroke plates, entitled—Nummi Anglici et Scotici, cum aliquot Numis-
matibus recentioribus, colloquent Thomas Pembrochiae et Montis Gomerici Comes,
London, 1746, quarto.

Page 8, line 9.—The Author has recently (1876) added to his collec-
tion an example of the small Dunbar Medal, No. II., with devices on both
sides, struck in tin, very finely preserved, but without the loop. It appears
to have been an original artist's proof, struck by Simon himself.

Page 9, line 10.—Here should have been inserted the description of
the Dunbar Medal No. IV. See, however, Chapter V., page 173.

Page 10, line 20.—The Rev. Canon Marsden's specimen of the Lord
General Medal is an original artist's proof, struck upon a circular piece of
gold 1½ inches in diameter. It shows a faint line (which in later speci-
mens became a crack) running through the letters "EL. MI" of the legend.
It is in very fine preservation, and has the device, motto, and initials of
Thomas Hollis, its former possessor, engraved on the back.—The Author
possesses a very fine original impression of this medal, on a circular piece
of silver, which is without the least trace of the crack in the die. It must
therefore have been one of the very first impressions that were struck.

Page 11, line 6.—The original steel die of the Lord General Medal,
much cracked, and with the small piece broken off the top, is now in the
possession of Mr. A. B. Wyon.

Page 18, line 26.—Miss Ffarington, of Worden, possesses a specimen
of the Inauguration Medal in copper.

G. Leti, in his *Vie d'Olivier Cromwel*, Amsterdam, 1694, vol. ii., p. 280, says that these Inauguration Medals were thrown to the people out of the windows of Whitehall, on the occasion of Oliver's being appointed Protector in December, 1653.

Pages 19 and 20.—Great Seal and Privy Seal for England.—See further particulars in Chapter VI., pages 186 and 192.

Page 25, line 17.—Dr. Young, the Keeper, has kindly forwarded the following particulars regarding the Cromwell and Fairfax medal in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. It is like Plate II., No. 1., and is struck in silver, $\frac{1}{2}$th inch thick. The letters "T. R. P." are clearly visible (though very small) on both sides of the medal, just below each bust. It is well preserved, and better struck than the specimen in the British Museum. These are the only two examples known to exist.

Page 34, line 24.—It appears from the State Papers that the Christian name of the Auditor Beale was "Bartholomew."

Page 35, line 7.—From other documents it seems that the first name should have been "James Hoare" not "James Howard."

Page 36, line 23.—The Under-Graver during the latter part of the Protectorate appears to have been Nicholas Birch.—See the *Petition of R. Pight*, page 597, vol. x. of *Petitions, Interregnum State Papers*.

Page 36, line 25.—Simon's Patent of the 9th July, 1656, has been already printed in the Appendix to the second edition of G. Vertue's *Works of Thomas Simon*, 1780, pp. 67—72; and, as it is very lengthy and unin-
teresting, we think it unnecessary to reprint the document here. The original inrolment may be seen in the Public Record Office, London, on pp. 142—147 of Oliver's Patent Book, No. 12.

Page 46, last line.—From Sir Bernard Burke's Dictionary of Landed Gentry it appears that Sir Ralph Maddison belonged to the family of Maddison, of Fonaby, Lincolnshire, and was knighted in 1603.

Page 63.—Peter Blondeau.—The publication of Mrs. Green's valuable Calendar of State Papers, 1649-50, has made known to us the following additional paper of Blondeau's, which is curious and interesting. The subjoined copy is taken verbatim et literatim from the original manuscript, one and a quarter pages folio, all in a clerk's hand, except Blondeau's signature (Interregnum State Papers, vol. ix., no. 2, in the Public Record Office):—

"By my former Proposition I said I could two severall ways make the new extraordinary Coyne marked with Letters at the circonference upon the thicknesse of the brime; the first way is auncient, wch may be knowne to severall persons, but it is long in doing, & cannot be used upon the Ordinary Coyne that is thinne.
"But I can doe it by another manner, wch is a particular Invention found out by me, & no man but I can doe it, whereof I made severall tryalls, & among others the peeces I have exhibited are of my making that way.
"And whereas I have beene told that some persons have endeavoured to persuade you that they can doe it as well as my selfe, & even hate shewed you some peeces of their making, I can assure you upon my life, that their peeces are made by the first way, wch is knowne both to my selfe & many others.
"I can further assure you that they cannot coyne yo"r money that way, although you should give them ten shillings for each pound of Silver.
"I say more, for I offer my selfe to be committed to such prison as you will thinke fitt, for two months together, & if within that time you can finde any man that knows my Invention, not only in England, but all the world over, & that might coyne that way I have propounded, as well, with
as much diligence & expedition, & as cheape as I doe offer underneath, I am content in such a case to lose my life, & shall acknowledge my selfe guilty of having offered to informe falsly & cessen the Parliament & the Counsell of State of the Commonwealth of England. In witnesse whereof I have subscribed this present with my owne hand, in London the 26th of February, 1649.

"Pierre Blondeau."

Subjoined is—

"Peeter Blondeau's Proposition to the right honorable the Commissioners of the Mint.

"The Gold being given unto me at the same degree of goodness the Mint ought to be, if I be bound to cast it & recast it into plate, & maintain all the Machines & Utensills & generally whatsoever shalbe needfull, except the Stamps & the Graver, I will make the money compleatly according to my Proposition for ten shelings the pound of Gold.

"And for the Silver it being given unto me at the same degree of goodness the Mint ought to be, & I be bound to cast & recast it into plate & maintain all at my charges, except the Stamps & the Graver, I will compleatly make the money, according to the Proposition [I] doe make, for sixteene pence the pound of silver.

"And if any one will undertake the double melting, & beare the waste in the st meltings, so that I doe not meddle with the same, I will abate foure pence for each pound of Silver. And for the Gold proportionably.

"But in case I be desired to furnish the Stamps & pay the Graver, then I must have foure pence more for each pound of Gold,

"And a penny & a halfe for each pound of Silver, provided the greatness of the coyne be proportionable to its thickness."
EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

* * *  Plates I. to VIII. should be bound up at the end of the book, immediately following this Explanation.

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**PLATE I.**

1. The Dunbar Medal No. I.  
2. The Dunbar Medal No. II.  
3. The Dunbar Medal No. III.  
4. The "Lord General" Medal  
5. The Pattern Farthing, dated 1651, Type I.  
6. The Inauguration Medal  
7. The Privy Seal  

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**PLATE II.**

1. Medal of Cromwell and Fairfax  
2. Medal of Sir Thomas Fairfax  
3. Dutch Medal on the Peace of Westminster  
4. Pewter Farthing No. I.  
5. Pewter Farthing No. II.  

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**PLATE III.**

1. Fifty-shilling Piece or Broad  
2. Half-broad of 1656 (Tanner's).  
3. Half-broad of 1656 (Simon's)  
4. Half-crown of 1656  
5. Half-broad of 1658  
6. Crown of 1658 (Simon's)  
7. Half-crown of 1658  
8. Shilling of 1658  

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**PLATE IV.**

1. Six-pence of 1658 (Simon's)  
2. Tanner's Crown  
3. Tanner's Shilling  
4. Tanner's Six-pence  

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<tr>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
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### Explanation of the Plates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>The Dutch Crown</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Pattern Farthing, Type II</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Pattern Farthing, Type III</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Pattern Farthing, Type IV</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Pattern Farthing, Type V</td>
<td>156</td>
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**PLATE V.**

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Dutch Satirical Medal No. I</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Dutch Satirical Medal No. II</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Funeral Medal, by Simon</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Imitation Funeral Medal No. I</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Imitation Funeral Medal No. II</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Imitation Inauguration Medal</td>
<td>174</td>
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**PLATE VI.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Oliver's Private Seal No. I</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>No. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>No. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>No. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>No. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>No. V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>No. VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>No. VII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Official Signet before Protectorate</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>The Signet for England</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>The Seal for the English Council</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>The Seal for Approbation of Ministers</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>The Privy Seal for Scotland</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Seal for an Irish Law Court</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
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</table>

[In the centre of the plate.]

**PLATE VII.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The Seal for the County of Durham</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The Seal of the Parliament</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The Seal of the Council of State</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>The Altered Seal of the Council</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PLATE VIII.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oliver's Great Seal for England</td>
<td>19 and 186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Reduced in size from the diameter of 5 inches.]
Of all my correspondents of those days only two are now left me. Dr. Kitchin as you saw died the other day.

I come now think of the writer who, &d. "Time flies! alas! no! we fly, Time remains."

I presume you intend to print yr book? If you should require a printer I can recommend Dawps who print for Sothebys, &c; for good work & they are used to numismatic work.

Yrs obediently

P.S. Mr E in Blore was very anxious to get the comet jeton perhaps he might appreciate yr less perfect specimen?

His address is

1 Boston Square

Hunstanton

I. P. Barnard by

J. H. Dormer
How are you? This is a letter to tell you about my recent travels. I spent the last week in Europe, visiting several countries and experiencing different cultures. I visited Paris, where I saw the Eiffel Tower and a few other famous landmarks. The food was excellent, and I enjoyed trying new dishes.

I hope you are doing well and that your life continues to be enjoyable. Please let me know if you are coming to the USA soon. I would love to have you over for dinner and show you around.

Best regards,
[Your Name]
If all my correspondent of
those days only love me now to
me. I'm his friend, you see and
does he 2 case.
I come these times of the
writer who should write fiction... not me if I...you...?
I presume you intend to print
the book? If you should require
a printer I can recommend
names who print for Shemps, I.,
for good work, if they are not
in financial work.

This obviously
is January 18

Ee
Dear [Name],

I have been using the technology platform to access your personal data and recommendations for various products. I noticed that you recently purchased the latest smartphone model. Is that correct?

I am interested in learning more about the features and specifications of that model, as I am considering purchasing it myself. Could you provide me with more details or any insights you have on the product?

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

[Your Name]
mother - poor woman.

Of all my correspondents of those days only two are now left me. Dr. Hitchin as you saw died the other day.

I come now think of the writer who said 'Time flies! alas! not we fly, Time remains.'

I presume you intend to print your book? If you should require a printer I can recommend Dawe who print for Sotheby's, etc; for good work, if they are used for numismatic work.

Yours obediently

F.D. Barnard 
J.H. Bronner

P.S. Mr. E. W. Beloe was very anxious to get the comet jeton, perhaps he might appreciate yr less perfect specimen?

His address is

1 Boston Square

St. Maryton
Dear [Name],

I see you have been a long time away from us and I hope you are well. I am writing to check in and see how you are doing. It has been a while since we last spoke and I am curious about your experience in [location].

I am doing well here, still enjoying my work at [company]. There have been some changes, but overall it's been a positive experience. I am looking forward to coming back and seeing everyone again.

Please let me know how you are doing and if there is anything I can do to help. I hope to see you soon!

Best,

[Your Name]