

## DIE LINKS BETWEEN EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, AND RICHARD III

By C. A. WHITTON

THE die links to be discussed have been found, save for two half-groats, among angels and groats, which, it is almost unnecessary to say, are the only coins of Edward V and Richard III abundant enough to afford practical means for investigation.

In an article published in vol. xxii (p. 213) of the *British Numismatic Journal* Mr. C. E. Blunt was able to give cogent reasons for believing that the coins with I.M. Sun-and-Rose dimidiated, bearing the name of Edward, should be attributed to Edward IV rather than to Edward V, and that to Edward V should be assigned only those coins with obverse I.M. Boar's Head. In point of fact this was not a new classification but the revival of an old one.

Briefly, the reasons given by Mr. Blunt for the reattribution of these Sun-and-Rose marked coins to Edward IV are as follows:

First, the unusual manner in which the accounts are treated suggests that the only bullion coined for Edward V was that received in May and June 1483. In this connexion it may be recalled that Edward V acceded on 9 April 1483, that Richard was appointed Protector on 5 May following, and that Edward was deposed on 26 June 1483. Thus Edward while king was under Richard's tutelage for rather more than seven weeks.

Secondly, these seven weeks seem too short a period to require two different pyx-period marks, if such they are, the Sun-and-Rose and the Boar's Head.

Thirdly, the surviving pieces with obverse I.M. Sun-and-Rose show more dies than are commensurate with such a small coinage as we know from the mint accounts took place during that time.

Fourthly, the surviving pieces with the name of Edward and obverse I.M. Boar's Head are in fact by their extreme rarity commensurate with just such a small coinage.

Lastly, the alteration of the I.M. Sun-and-Rose to Boar's Head, which was in some cases made by Richard, was done not only as a piece of ordinary economy but also to show that henceforward, that is, after 5 May 1483, the name of Edward (now the Vth) was to be associated not with the Sun and Rose, which were primarily marks of Edward IV, but with his own Protector's emblem of the Boar's Head.

I have alluded to the alteration of the I.M. Sun-and-Rose to the Boar's Head. In the article here cited this alteration was known in the case of only one die of silver and one of gold. Two groats at the British Museum, one with I.M. Sun-and-Rose, and the other with Boar's Head, were noticed by Mr. D. F. Allen to be struck from the same obverse die, and Mr. Blunt was able to instance a similar die

identity between the obverses of an angel at the British Museum, having I.M. Boar's Head, and a coin in the Rashleigh sale catalogue (lot 742), with I.M. Sun-and-Rose.

This die identity is now known to be more extensive than was then perhaps suspected. An examination of the relevant coins illustrated in most of the important sale catalogues of the last fifty years, and of a few in modern collections, has revealed that in every instance which it has been possible to examine a groat or an angel which bears the name of Edward and the obverse I.M. Boar's Head can be matched by a coin struck from the same obverse die and bearing the I.M. Sun-and-Rose. It seems therefore possible that no new dies were prepared for Edward V, but that all that were needed were provided by stamping old ones of his father with the Protector's emblem. It was possibly only a temporary arrangement, but before new dies could be made the young king had been deposed.

This is what the coins themselves appear to suggest. Let us see how far the theory accords with the evidence of history.

On the death of Edward IV on 9 April 1483 some confusion apparently prevailed while the young king was in the custody of his mother and her brothers. This confusion lasted until Richard arrived in London on 4 May, took charge of the king next day as Protector, and from then on was in supreme control of affairs. During this period, from 9 April to 5 May, it is probable that no coinage took place. The peculiar ruling of the accounts of the period, in the opinion of an official of the Record Office, suggests this. If this is so, there remain the seven weeks before Edward's deposition, that is, from 5 May to 26 June, as the only period during which money was struck for him. It seems almost certain that no coins would be struck during that time which did not bear the Boar's Head; and as we have seen, the surviving coins show that all were struck from old dies. But a historian has made a suggestion which takes us perhaps even further. Mr. Vickers in his *England in the Later Middle Ages* has remarked that in the light of some after events it seems likely that for some weeks before Edward's deposition Richard had been making preparations to seize the throne. In that case it seems a legitimate inference that he never intended that new dies should be made for Edward, knowing that they would never be needed.

The die links which it has been possible to establish between Edward IV and Edward V are shown by groups of mostly well-known coins. The groats comprise eleven coins formed from four different obverse dies and ten reverse dies. A further field of investigation lies open here, for it is possible that some of these reverse dies were used later for coins bearing the name of Richard, but Richard's groats have hitherto not been so frequently illustrated, and I have been unable to pursue the inquiry from the coins themselves. The list of angels reveals facts which in some respects confirm this suggestion. They show die identity between two obverse dies with I.M.s Sun-and-Rose and Boar's Head (perhaps the only two known with this rare mark),

though in no instance has it been possible to establish die identity between a reverse showing  $\text{€}$  and a rose beside the cross and one showing  $\text{R}$  over  $\text{€}$  and a rose. On the other hand one reverse die with  $\text{R}$  over  $\text{€}$  and rose is found with three different obverse dies, one of Edward IV with I.M. Sun-and-Rose, one of Edward V with I.M. Boar's Head over Sun-and-Rose, and one reading  $\text{RICARD}$  with Boar's Head. Conversely one obverse die with, first, Sun-and-Rose, and secondly, Boar's Head (of course, over Sun-and-Rose), is found with both types of reverse,  $\text{€}$  and rose, and  $\text{R}$  over  $\text{€}$  and rose.

One angel of Richard III is especially interesting. It is a coin in the Ashmolean Museum, with obverse I.M. Boar's Head, but the reverse, with I.M. Sun-and-Rose, shows, not  $\text{R}$ , but  $\text{€}$  and a rose beside the cross (Pl. I, 4), and is moreover struck from the same reverse die as the Rashleigh angel listed below (lot 742), which reads  $\text{EDWARD}$ , has I.M. Sun-and-Rose on both sides, and forms also an obverse die link in the series under discussion.

It is not without importance to note that when the graver altered the initial mark on certain angels (see, e.g., Montagu, ii. 636, and Packe, 61) he took the opportunity, with the customary careful attention to gold dies, to "touch up" the die in some respects; thus the initial  $\text{€}$  of Edward was restruck and the inner circle was redrawn beneath the king's name. Such details show that die identity may at first sight remain undetected.

#### DIE LINKS BETWEEN EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, AND RICHARD III

GROATS (all rev. dies have I.M. Sun-and-Rose)

Same obv. die	{	1. Edw. IV, I.M. Sun-and-Rose; no pellet below bust; <i>B.N.J.</i> xxii, p. 213, Pl. 7.
		2. " V " Boar's Head; " " " " " 8.
Same obv. die	{	3. " IV " Sun-and-Rose; " " Morrieson sale, 210.
		4. " V " Boar's Head; " " Walters sale (1913), 461.
		5. " V " " " " " R. C. Lockett, <i>same rev. die as no. 9.</i>
Same obv. die	{	6. " IV " Sun-and-Rose; " " Murdoch sale, i. 371.
		7. " V " Boar's Head; " " Wheeler sale, 276, <i>ex Roth sale, i. 228.</i>
Same obv. die	{	8. " IV " Sun-and-Rose; pellet below bust; Wheeler sale, 275.
		9. " V " Boar's Head; " " Dawnay sale 51 (July 1922, Soth.); <i>same rev. die as no. 5.</i>
		10. " V " " " " " Brooke, <i>English Coins</i> , Pl. xxxv, 1.

#### HALF-GROATS

1. Edward IV or V, obv. I.M. uncertain, but either Sun-and-Rose or Boar's Head, rev. no. I.M., *B.N.J.* xxii. 213, Pl. 9.
2. Richard III, obv. I.M. Sun-and-Rose, rev. same die, *B.N.J.* xxii. 213, Pl. 10.

## ANGELS

<i>Obverse</i> (All read <b>EDWARD</b> unless otherwise shown)		<i>Reverse</i> (I.M. Sun-and-Rose unless otherwise shown)
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	1. I.M. Sun-and-Rose, Drabble, 119.	Æ and Rose. R over Æ and Rose (Pl. I, 1).
	2. " " B.N.J. xxii, 213, Pl. no. 3.	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	3. " " Rashleigh, 742.	Æ and Rose; <i>same rev. die</i> as no. 10.
	4. " Boar's Head, B.N.J. loc. cit., no. 2.	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	5. " Sun-and-Rose, Maish, 169 <sup>1</sup> (Soth., March 1918).	Æ and Rose
	6. " " Packe, 61 (Soth., July 1921).	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	7. " Boar's Head, B.N.J. loc. cit., no. 4. <sup>2</sup>	R over Æ and Rose
	8. " Sun-and-Rose, RICHARD, Fitzwilliam	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	9. " Boar's Head, RICHARD, Drabble, 120.	" " } <i>Same</i> <i>rev.</i> <i>die</i>
	10. " " RICHARD, Ashmolean.	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	11. " " RICHARD, Fletcher, 44. <sup>3</sup>	Æ and Rose, <i>same rev. die</i> as no. 3 (Pl. I, 4).
	12. " " RICHARD, M. Foster, 66 (Pl. I, 8).	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	13. " " RICHARD, Roth, ii. 207.	R and Rose (I.M. Boar's Head). R <sup>+</sup> and Rose (I.M. Sun-and-Rose over Boar's Head) R <sup>+</sup> and Rose (I.M. Boar's Head) } <i>Same</i> <i>rev.</i> <i>die</i>

<sup>1</sup> Manley Foster 62 (Sotheby, Nov. 1903) shows the same obverse die, with Sun-and-Rose, but another reverse with Æ and Rose.

<sup>2</sup> Montagu, ii. 636 is from the same pair of dies; Mr. H. A. Parsons has an angel from the same obverse die (with Boar's Head) and a reverse from the same die as Montagu ii. 631 (Æ and Rose).

<sup>3</sup> Glendining, Dec. 1937.

<sup>4</sup> R struck over a misplaced rose, not Æ.