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INDENTURE PRESERVED IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY RELATING TO CERTAIN  
FARTHINGS OF JAMES I

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## X.

### INDENTURE PRESERVED IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY RELATING TO CERTAIN FARTHINGS OF JAMES I.

IN the course of some accidental researches in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, my attention was called to the papers I have had transcribed, and which I now lay before the Numismatic Society, giving, as I think they do, some interesting confirmatory information with reference to certain copper farthings in circulation towards the end of the reign of James I. That there were coins of this nature is well known, and both Snelling and Ruding have commented on them, but they have spoken, as it seems to me, rather in general terms, and with comparatively few references to documents. For this reason I have thought it worth while to bring under your notice this original indenture, which has not, I believe, been printed anywhere else, or even noticed.

The subject of the copper coinage in England is curious, so far that it shows how long a time it takes to get any old customs changed, even though there may be the most manifest advantages in the proposed alteration. Thus we know that, as a matter of fact, copper coinage was in actual existence, in some form or another, nearly a hundred years before it was placed on its present basis by

Charles II., and that many efforts had been made during this period towards its establishment on a sound and legal basis. Indeed, it must have been felt that the smaller traders in England had a fair right to claim the means of carrying on, by the means of a metallic currency, their often but too scanty businesses. The natural result of this was the extensive issue in various towns and even villages of small copper tokens of a known and recognised value, which were winked at for their general convenience, if not expressly sanctioned by the direct consent of Parliament.

An attempt at something of this kind must have been made even in the reign of Queen Mary, as, in a Proclamation of Sept. 20, 1561 (preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries), we read of "Her Majesty having, as it were, achieved to the victory and conquest of that hideous monster of the brass money," a statement which, of course, implies that such pieces had existed; but whether legally or not, does not matter. It is further clear that the efforts of the Queen were not very successful, for, in 1574, the private tokens of the grocers, vintners, &c., in lead, tin, latten, and leather, had increased to such an extent as to become a nuisance. To meet this, it was proposed to coin halfpence and farthings of base metal, but this went against the tender conscience of Her Majesty; at the same time, it appears to have been felt that, even if so made, of very impure metal, these pieces would still be inconvenient, owing to their small size. Hence it was not unnaturally suggested that the best thing would be to have good penny and halfpenny pieces of simple copper. To this end, we find a proclamation was issued, which is preserved in the Harleian MSS. 698, p. 117, to make current pieces of metal, which were called "pledges,"

or tokens, of pure copper, of the value of the penny and halfpenny. This proclamation Snelling (Append. 1) thinks must have been of a date between 1572 and 1582. But nothing came of this endeavour; so far as we know, no copper was ever struck, at least for circulation, though a die was cut and a few penny and halfpenny patterns were struck off. The farthing has not, I believe, been met with, even as a pattern. Snelling, it is true, gives a plate of the "Pledges for a penny" and "halfpenny," but these are of the date of 1601.

On the other hand, if Gerard Malynes, in his "Lex Mercatoria," is to be trusted, special permissions were, occasionally, granted by the Government of the day under peculiar circumstances. Thus, Bristol was permitted to coin copper tokens that should be current for ten miles round her boundaries, Bristol being, at that time, the most important place of commerce in England after London.

When we come to the reign of James I. we see clearly that the need of the private traders had compelled them to strike farthing tokens in lead, as a proclamation of May 19, 1613, abolishes them, although in the same year the use of similar objects is quasi-legalised, though Government itself still declined to undertake the responsibility of their issue. Thus a patent dated April 10, 1613, grants for three years to John Harrington, Baron of Exeter, his executors, administrators, &c., the power "to make a competent quantity of farthing tokens of copper," with a further agreement that he should pay into the Exchequer any "benefits" (*i.e.* profits) that shall arise during the three years over and above £20,000. These tokens were, however, refused by some counties, as Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Flint, and Denbigh.

In 1614 this patent was confirmed to his widow, Lord Harrington having died; but, about the middle of the year, on June 28, 1614, Lady Harrington appears to have given it up, and to have been succeeded in the working of it by Lodewiche, Duke of Lennox; Edward Woodward and Thomas Garrett, of London, goldsmiths, being ordered to make the tokens. And similar orders were issued for Ireland on Sept. 28, 1622.

"This," says Snelling, "is the last we hear of this affair during this reign."

The document I have found in the Bodleian Library, however, shows the continuation of the leasing out to certain parties of the manufacture of these tokens for at least two years later, as it is an acquittal, under the hand of the Duchess of Lennox, to the same Thomas Garrett, of all moneys due to her on the condition of his paying her down the sum of £300. Besides this acquitment there is a list of the debts due, arranged under the heads of "Good debts," "Hopeful debts," and "Doubtful debts," which is so far curious that it shows what small sums were accepted as subscriptions to make up the total of what was wanted.

It is clear that, though of much use in the large towns, this coinage of tokens was not altogether popular, as in 1616—7 we find a further proclamation "owing to the unwillingness of the people to accept the new money." As it bears on this subject, I am tempted to quote from Snelling (p. 7) an amusing letter preserved in the Harleian MSS. 251, from Gerard Malynes, who, in a tract of his called "The Maintenance of Free Trade" (Lond., 8vo, 1622), claims to have been the inventor of the farthing tokens, and who was, at an earlier period, Lord Harrington's contractor. It is addressed to the Duke of

Lennox, who had tried to buy the patent from Lord Harrington. The words are :—

“ It is his (the duke’s) offer of paying £400 in the same time as he was to pay Lord Harrington £300 was imaginary, as both payments depended on the quantity of tokens issued, which, he apprehends, he can increase more than they, and which requires great policy and cunning to perform. He then recites some of the methods he had hitherto used to perform the same ; as, first, he had found means to dissolve the combination among the chandlers of London who had resolved to refuse the tokens, and was in hopes of doing the same in other parts of the kingdom ; secondly, in giving 21*s.* in farthings for 20*s.* sterling ; thirdly, in recharging them ; fourthly, in the neat minting of them, to satisfy the subject of the difficulty of counterfeiting of them ; fifthly, in a proper choice of deputies, whose dexterity consisted mostly in their pleasing manner of issuing them, and which would be more distasteful if done by the duke’s officers as deputy alnager ; sixthly, giving tradesmen three or four months’ credit to disperse them, which, seventhly, encouraged them to give credit to their customers, and so on to others ; eighthly, in giving instructions, properly timed, to the deputies how to act between the retailers and their customers ; ninthly, by changing farthing tokens for commodities not very saleable in England, which commodities were afterwards exported ; tenthly, several foreign merchants who were used to such small coins were engaged to give assistance ; eleventhly, to exchange these tokens for foreign coins in gold and silver and clipped ryals of plate ; and, lastly, the usurers were themselves to be dealt with to forward their utterance.”

There can be no doubt that all these schemes were, in

fact, dodges, and discreditable ones, to get money for King James's own use. Snelling gives details of what the King hoped to make by these transactions. By one of these it was agreed that the King "should receive half the profit every quarter without his being at any charge." The clear profit, in this instance, is said to have been £60,000, and the King graciously gave Lord Harrington £20,000.

The indenture from the Bodleian Library is as follows:—

**T**O ALL CHRISTIAN people to whome these presents Indented shall come the Right noble Princess ffrancis Duchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox Administratrix to the right noble prince Lodowick Duke of Richmond and Lenox her late Lord and Husband deceased sendeth greeting in our lord god everlasting. WHEREAS the persons in the Seedules Indented hereunto annexed doe owe and stand indebted in the particulers somes of money upon their names and heads seuerally in the said scedules set downe and ymposed to the said Duchesse of Richmond and Lenox as Administratrix to hir late Lord and Husband Lodowicke Duke of Richmond and Lenox deceased and to S<sup>r</sup> Ffrancis Crane of London Knight, and to Thomas Garret Goldsmith for and in respect of their seuerall interests in and to the making and yssuing of the farthing tokens now currant. Now THIS PRESENT WRITING WITNESSETH that the said Lady ffrancis Duchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox hath requested the said Thomas Garret to take vpon him the burthen of the getting in of such part of the said debts and arrerages thereof as belong vnto the said Duchesse in the right of the said Administracon to his the said Thomas Garett[<sup>s</sup> o]wne vse the giuing to her Grace for the same and in full satisfaccoon thereof the some of Three hundred pounds of lawfull money of England. AND the said Thomas Gar[ret at] the speciall instance and request of the said duches hath at th'ensealing of this presents paid vnto her Grace the said some of Three hundred pounds in consideracon of [her] parte and purport in and to the said debts and arrerages. And the said Dutchesse doth hereby acknowledge to haue had and receaued of the said Thomas Garrett in full payment and satisfaccoon of all and singuler her parte and purparte in and to the said debts the said some of

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Three hundred pounds of lawfull money of England whereof and wherewith the said Dutchesse doth hold hirselfe well contented satisfied and paid. And hath giuen graunted assigned and set over. And by these presents doth giue graunt assigne and sett over vnto the said Thomas Garrett his executors administrators and assignes to his and their proper vse and behoofe all her right title interest and demaund whatsoever in all and every of the said debts, which debts doe amount in the wh[ole to] the some of One thousand two hundred fowerscore and one pounds fourteene shillings and two pence. And being deuided there is due thereof to the sa[id Sir F]rancis Crane six hundred and forty pounds seaventeene shillings and a peny for his moiety in and to the proffitts made vpon the raising yssuing and re[changing] the said farthing tokens. And to the said Thomas Garrett in the right of the said Dutchesse as administratrix to the said Duke hir said late lord and [husba]nd for her Graces two parties in the other moiety of the said proffitts fower hundred twenty and seauen pounds fower shillings and eight pence. And to him [the said] Thomas Garrett in his owne right two hundred and thirteene pounds twelue shillings and fower pence for his the said Thomas Garretts said th[ird parte] in and to the proffitts of making yssuing and rechanging of the said farthing tokens. AND further I the said Ffrancis Dutches Dowager of Richmond and Lenox haue by these presents remised released acquitted and discharged and doe hereby for my selfe my executors administrators and assignes remise release acquite and discharge the said Thomas Garrett his heires executors administrators and assignes and euery of them of and from One hundred and threescore pounds in Irish tokens and in twenty three pounds in wast tokens remaining in the custody and charge of the said Thomas Garrett and from all and all manner of accounts quarrells reconings and demaunds touching the said debts or any parte thereof. IN WITNES whereof I the said Right noble princesse Ffrancis Dutchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox haue set my hand and seale YEVEN the fifteenth day of Ffebruarye Anno Domini 1624. And in the yeare of the raigne of our soueraigne lord king James of England Fraunce and Ireland defender of the faith &c. the two and Twentith. And of Scotland the eight and fiftith.

Endorsed:—

The Dutchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox her graces  
 Confirmacon and makinge ouer of all the olde debts  
 dew to her grace vnto Mr. Thomas Garrett Gold-  
 smith.

Sealed and deliuered in the presence of vs,

ROBERT NAYER,  
 ROGER LANGFORDE.

AN INVENTORY of all the debtes good and badd vnpaid of the  
 debt of £1281 14s. 2d. sett downe at the foote of the Accompte  
 in the yeare of our Lord God, 1624, and owinge to Ffrances  
 Dutchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox Sir Ffrancis Crane  
 of London Knight and Thomas Garrett Goldsmith by reason of  
 their severall interest in and to the making yssuinge and re-  
 changinge of his Majesties farthinge tokens of copper nowe  
 currant.

GOOD DEBTS.

	£	s.	d.
Parker Goldsmith, June 16th, 1623 . . . . .	005	00	00
Peter Dodd, October 28th, 1622 . . . . .	010	00	00
W. Moulsworth, Aprill 2th, 1624 . . . . .	012	07	07
Mr. Durrant, Ja. 2th, 1622 . . . . .	008	00	09
Shipden, Decemb. 4th, 1623 . . . . .	010	00	00
Hocknell, January vij <sup>th</sup> , 1623 . . . . .	010	15	00
Ffisher Redi., Jan. 2th, 1621 . . . . .	003	00	00
Hall Durh., Jan. 2th, 1621 . . . . .	010	00	00
Goodwin, Aprill 19th, 1622 . . . . .	002	00	00
Peter Blankart, Decemb. 26th, 1623 . . . . .	008	00	00
Hodges, January 2th, 1621 . . . . .	002	10	00
Ramsden, August, 1618 . . . . .	007	00	00
Allen golds., January 2th, 1621 . . . . .	005	00	00
Trenett, Decemb., 1623 . . . . .	002	00	00
Griffith, August, 1624 . . . . .	040	00	00
Mr. Blande, Januar 23th, 1623 . . . . .	050	00	00
	£185	13	4

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GOOD DEBTS.

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Widdowes, April the 4th, 1624 . . . . .	010	00	00
Mr. Chambers Sy., March 18th, 1621 . . . . .	050	00	00
Olliband, Decemb. 19th, 1622 . . . . .	000	10	00
Host Mr. Langford, December, 1620 . . . . .	004	00	00
Burton Slee, August 8th, 1622 . . . . .	002	00	00
Dodd Shitt., Januar., 1621 . . . . .	005	00	00
Willcocks Lin., Septemb., 1623 . . . . .	010	00	00
Mayor Yorke, Januar., 1621. . . . .	020	00	00
Hill Glo., Januar., 1621 . . . . .	003	00	00
England, May, 1623 . . . . .	020	00	00
Bridgeman, October, 1622 . . . . .	006	00	00
Gough, July, 1623 . . . . .	005	00	00
Stuckey, Nouemb., 1623 . . . . .	050	00	00
	<hr/>		
	(sic) £185	00	00
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HOPEFULL DEBTS.

John Meriton, August, 1617 . . . . .	005	00	00
John Smith, Janu., 1621 . . . . .	042	00	00
Allen Roc. Nouember, 1621 . . . . .	001	00	00
Kinge, January, 1617 . . . . .	010	00	00
Awberrie, May, 1619 . . . . .	010	00	00
Benia. Carter, August, 1618 . . . . .	002	00	00
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	£070	00	00
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HOPEFULL DEBTS.

Errington, Aprill, 1620. . . . .	010	06	07
Kellaway, 1623 . . . . .	001	00	00
Hante, August, 1622 . . . . .	003	00	00
Slicer, October, 1618 . . . . .	002	10	00
Gibridge, March, 1620 . . . . .	001	00	00
Greene, Maye, 1620 . . . . .	010	18	00
Dartnall, Julie, 1620 . . . . .	001	00	00
Hole, December, 1622 . . . . .	001	10	00
Sir Rich. Hawkins, May, 1619 . . . . .	009	13	00
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	£070	17	07
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## DOUBTFULL DEBTS.

	£	s.	d.
Hampton, December, 1621 . . . . .	015	00	00
Ed (?) ., October, 1620 . . . . .	011	17	09
Alden, August, 1618 . . . . .	005	00	00
Gibbons, May, 1617 . . . . .	001	00	00
Sandlyn, June, 1620 . . . . .	001	00	00
Parslewe, May, 1620 . . . . .	009	18	06
Beuerton, December, 1622 . . . . .	002	00	00
Waffe, October, 1618 . . . . .	000	10	00
Waller, January, 1617 . . . . .	005	00	00
Ffreeman, March, 1618 . . . . .	001	00	00
Barker, Septemb., 1622 . . . . .	002	00	00
Rateliffe, October, 1619 . . . . .	005	00	00
Heylands, March, 1619 . . . . .	000	05	00
Sallowbanck, March, 1619 . . . . .	000	05	00
Blincowe, March, 1620 . . . . .	001	06	00
Kington, June, 1620 . . . . .	000	10	00
G. Ffoster, Aprill, 1619 . . . . .	001	00	00
Hooker, March, 1617 . . . . .	003	18	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Newman, August, 1618 . . . . .	001	00	00
Ball, Aprill, 1618. . . . .	000	15	00
Clarke, Ffebruary, 1617 . . . . .	005	00	00
Harrison, Januar., 1620 . . . . .	000	10	00
Phillipps, Aprill, 1618 . . . . .	003	19	09 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pitts, October, 1618 . . . . .	003	00	00
Barnes, March, 1620 . . . . .	003	15	00
Whiteinge, August, 1617 . . . . .	000	10	00
Gibson, October, 1618 . . . . .	000	10	00
Burt, October, 1618 . . . . .	001	00	00
Taylor, December, 1619 . . . . .	003	05	00
Anstropp, July, 1620 . . . . .	010	00	00
Turner, December, 1620 . . . . .	001	00	00
Ffreeman, Nouemb., 1619 . . . . .	000	10	00
Clarke, Decemb., 1622. . . . .	001	10	00
Morrison, Octob., 1619. . . . .	008	05	00
Hunter, Octob., 1618 . . . . .	000	10	00
Seywell, Nouemb., 1617 . . . . .	009	10	00
Readinge, October, 1618 . . . . .	001	00	00
Wollredge, Ffebruary, 1616 . . . . .	006	12	00
	£180	12	11 $\frac{3}{4}$

DOUBTFULL DEBTS.

	£	s.	d.
Markeham, April, 1620. . . . .	001	04	00
Ga. Fforster, Sept., 1621 . . . . .	022	00	00
Graneuer, Nouemb., 1618 . . . . .	005	00	00
Chicknell, December, 1617 . . . . .	005	00	00
Edw. Nowell, Sept., 1618 . . . . .	007	10	00
Raynsford, January, 1617 . . . . .	017	01	10
Claye, January, 1618 . . . . .	001	00	00
Walter, March, 1622 . . . . .	000	05	06
Squyne, October, 1622. . . . .	002	00	00
Browne, January, 1621 . . . . .	001	10	00
Saywell, March, 1619 . . . . .	000	05	00
Watson, March, 1619 . . . . .	000	05	00
Life, March, 1619 . . . . .	000	05	00
Corne, May, 1620 . . . . .	001	00	00
Storie, S. G., Ffebr., 1618 . . . . .	047	19	9½
Monger, January, 1621. . . . .	000	10	00
Belte, Maye, 1619 . . . . .	005	00	00
Brewer, July, 1618 . . . . .	002	00	00
Cortropp, October, 1620 . . . . .	000	03	6
Guno, Ffebruary, 1619. . . . .	000	05	00
Jole, February, 1619 . . . . .	000	05	00
Austine, March, 1620 . . . . .	000	05	00
Smith, of Darkin, Octob., 1618 . . . . .	000	05	00
Towne Malin, Octob., 1618 . . . . .	000	05	00
Neston, October, 1618 . . . . .	000	10	00
John Bowne, October, 1618 . . . . .	000	05	00
Younge, March, 1618 . . . . .	000	05	00
Rathbone, December, 1619 . . . . .	001	10	00
Ffitz-John, August, 1618 . . . . .	007	05	00
	£130	19	07

## ALLOWANCES.

	£	s.	d.
Gold, Nouemb., 1617 . . . . .	000	10	00
Wallis, Nouemb., 1620 . . . . .	000	01	06
Browne, Ffebruary, 1619 . . . . .	001	08	00
Medcalfe, August, 1618 . . . . .	000	10	00
Day Winsor, Januar., 1617 . . . . .	002	15	00
Stremer, October, 1622. . . . .	000	13	00
Joslin, January, 1621 . . . . .	000	06	07
Bowles, Aprill, 1618 . . . . .	000	05	00
Adlington, Aprill, 1618. . . . .	001	00	00
Ffisher, May, 1618 . . . . .	000	02	00
Maddison, August, 1618 . . . . .	000	10	00
Bridgeman, Ffebruary, 1617. . . . .	005	12	02
Davies, December, 1619 . . . . .	000	05	00
Wadland, August, 1622 . . . . .	002	06	06
	£016	04	09
	£403	01	11

## ALLOWANCES.

Inche, August, 1618 . . . . .	001	00	00
Ellis, December, 1617 . . . . .	000	10	00
Daye, January, 1617 . . . . .	002	00	00
Blankert, January, 1621 . . . . .	000	04	00
Blackmore, Nouemb., 1618 . . . . .	000	01	06
Gardiner, October, 1618 . . . . .	008	00	00
Chambers, August, 1618 . . . . .	003	00	00
Treuyle, August, 1620 . . . . .	001	00	00
Knight, Nouember, 1619 . . . . .	000	10	00
	£016	05	06
	£402	11	09 $\frac{3}{4}$
Memorandum that the debts of Cowper and Nynn, of cccxxvj <sup>th</sup> I saye . . . . .	426	00	00
And Mr. Byrde his debte being xlix <sup>th</sup> vij s. vj d. . . . .	049	07	06
	£475	07	06

And to bee deuided as they shal bee received  
in vizt.

To the Dutchesse grace of Richmond a third  
parte.

To Sir Ffrancis Crane a Moytie.

To Tho. Garrett a sixth parte.

W. S. W. VAUX.

April 20th, 1876.