THE TOWER GOLD OF CHARLES I

By H. SCHNEIDER

PART II

THE DOUBLE CROWNS

The double crowns follow the general pattern of the unites only to a limited extent and only during the earlier stages of the coinage. As is the rule in the post-medieval portrait series, the double crowns link up with the sixpenny pieces rather than with the unites, just as the unites are related to the shillings so far as portraiture is concerned. The reverse design of the double crowns, however, follows the lead of the unites—often in a simplified form—almost without exception.

Group A


Generally speaking the double crowns of Group A tally with one of the unite varieties only, that of Class II. Bust 1 of the double crowns strongly resembles Bust 1 of the unites with King’s Crown 1 (Pl. VII, 1). From this, Bust 1a of the double crowns differs only by having a larger and broader king’s crown of basically the same double-arched design (Pl. VII, 2). On the reverse only the plainly garnished shield design occurs (Shield 1, Pl. VIII, 23, 24) and the crown above the shield differs completely from that of the unites. Since the unique pattern for the double crown of Group A which bears the Trefoil privy mark has King’s Crown 1, I have listed Bust 1 as the first variety. This pattern has the small square lettering on the obverse which was used on some of the early dies of the ordinary issue as well. However, as is the case

1 When dealing with the Oxford unites of Charles I (B.N.J. xxviii) Mr. Beresford-Jones mentioned that the contemporary name for the coins had been ‘twenty shilling pieces’ and not ‘unites’ although the coins were so described in the mint reports. In the absence of other popular successes and achievements James I had, of course, rather advertised HENRICVS ROSAS REGNAIACOVVS but it would appear that the term ‘unite’ had never been popularly current. During the reign of Charles I the mint still used this but it had really become an anachronism because the reverse legend had been changed. For the double crowns, however, not even the mint appears to have used the term ‘half unite’ and the public certainly did not. It seems therefore logical to revert to the traditional word ‘double crown’ which we find in contemporary literature, although ‘half unite’ is correct but rather academic.

2 Cf. Martin, Bergne, Addington, Montagu (3rd sale, Lot 359), and Murdoch (2nd sale, Lot 287, illustrated on Plate IX). The coin was subsequently in Dr. E. Carter’s collection. Mr. Whitton has erroneously listed it as forming part of the ordinary issue of double crowns in his Addenda and Corrigenda to Dr. Brooke’s English Coins. He was perhaps confused by Dr. Carter’s exhibit on 3 October 1940 (B.N.J. xxiii, 1938/40) because it was not stated on this occasion that the coin was a pattern.
for the unites, both bust varieties were used concurrently for quite some time and we find frequently Bust 1 and Bust 1a of the double crowns with reverses from the same dies. It seems probable that the Bust 1 variety was abandoned at a comparatively early stage of the Group A issue. For not only is Bust 1 much rarer than Bust 1a, failing to survive the change of privy mark from Lis to Cross Calvary, but I know of no assured late die-link with a Bust 1 obverse.

Group A is known with privy marks Lis and Cross Calvary. Bust 1 with King's Crown 1 occurs with the Lis mark only. We find Bust 1a with King's Crown 2 on coins bearing privy mark Lis and Cross Calvary. All the double crowns of Group A have the Shield 1 reverse.

In order to maintain a more or less coherent general pattern for my records of the basic designs of unites, double crowns, and crowns of Charles I, I have co-ordinated the principal groups. It will thus be found that a unite of Group A has the same type of portrait and reverse design as a double crown or a crown of Group A. But the subdivisions into classes do not correspond as a rule and a unite of, say, Group D, Class II, has not exactly the same features as a double crown of that group and class. The impressive number of varieties which we find for one denomination but not the other makes it impossible to co-ordinate the classes. I could have used additional class figures for each variety which does not occur in the unite series, but this would have caused formidable gaps in the numbering of the classes and would, I think, be confusing and of no statistical advantage; for the double crowns break away almost completely from the unite designs in the later stages of the coinage.

Group B

The first bust with the small portrait of the king does not occur in the unite series and may well have been an early experiment. Alternatively, it could have been John Gilbert's version of the Vanderdort model, for it must have been issued concurrently with the larger and much more common Bust 2a which was no doubt Greene's work (Pl. VII, 4 or 5). Only one set of punches for Bust 1 appears to have been made and I have carefully weighed the very few coins with the Cross Calvary mark which passed through my hands in order to ascertain whether this rare small portrait was not perhaps made for the 'Light Coinage of 1626'. I found, however, that all the coins have about the correct weight and, for chronological reasons, it must be regarded as more likely that a double crown of the 'Light Coinage of 1626' with the Cross Calvary mark would have the Group A rather than the Group B portrait. It is strange that the real villain of this attempt at a debasement of the coinage in 1626 should have been the joint-chief engraver Gilbert rather than one of the leading court officials or the king himself. Gilbert can hardly be described as an inspired artist but he was certainly a very resourceful and versatile man with a great deal of imagination. He had been warden of the Edinburgh mint establishment during the reign of James I, had travelled extensively and
worked on the Continent of Europe, and it seems probable that his interests and, for that matter, his knowledge went well beyond the scope of his work at the Tower. Gilbert had in fact secretly submitted a scheme to the Treasury which provided for a reduction of the fineness of the coins by the use of his "secret alloy", which was supposed to "deceive the touchstone without any possible means of discovery". The alternative proposal—and this is the really important one because it makes Gilbert the spiritus rector of the "Light Coinage of 1626"—was a reduction of the weight of the coins by 8 1/4 per cent. However, we have yet to find a gold coin which can be convincingly assigned to the short period of debasement during the year 1626.

The reverse of the coins corresponds exactly with the reverse of the contemporary unites of Group B except for the different crown punch above the shield (Pl. VIII, 25).

Class I occurs with privy marks Cross Calvary and Blackamoor's Head.


This tallies with the unites of Group B, Class Ia, and was issued concurrently with the small portrait model of Class I for some little time. The Class II bust became the standard design for the earlier double crowns of Group B and we find it with privy marks Cross Calvary, Blackamoor's Head, Castle and Anchor. The reverse of the coins with Shield 2 remains unchanged.


This is the double crown version of the "elongated" bust variety of the unites of Group B, Class Ib, and why this popular and common unite design should not have been generally adopted for the double crowns is hard to say. I have recorded only one single specimen with this portrait. The illustration shows that the bust was rather too long for the diameter of the flan but it would have been easy to correct this. Class III occurs with the Anchor mark only. The reverse with Shield 2 is maintained.


We have here, to all intents and purposes, the equivalent of the "elongated" portrait for the double crown and it is not unlike that of Class III. But the face punch is noticeably different and the bust truncation somewhat shorter. It constitutes, as it were, an elongated bust design without the king's elongated profile which we find on the Class III variety. On the reverse Shield 2

1 Sir John Craig's The Mint, p. 138.
2 The normal weight of a double crown was 70 1/4 gr., but the moneyers worked as a rule only to the tolerance per pound troy and were often rather careless about the weight of individual coins. I found that unclipped and almost unworn unites vary in weight from a little below 138 gr. to almost 142 gr., but heavy coins are obviously rare. The range for the double crowns is roughly from 68 1/4 to 71 1/4 gr. There are thus considerable discrepancies, but unless a unite weighs below 133 gr. and a double crown a maximum of 66 1/4 gr. the coins would not qualify for the light coinage of 1626.
is maintained but a later form of shield-garnishing which we know already from the unites also occurs. This is not an exact copy of the Shield 3a design of the unites and has no garnishing below the reverse crown. I have listed it as Shield 2a. Both shield varieties were used concurrently until the end of Group B. Class IVa+b is known with privy marks Heart and Feathers.


This variety is remarkable for its neat, well-balanced design and for the good execution of the coins. It is perhaps Briot’s most attractive bust model of Group B. Since the Class IVa+b and the Class Va+b coins were obviously issued concurrently, it is difficult to explain why the Frenchman took the trouble to make a new bust design and probably to cut the master punches for the Class Va+b coins himself, knowing that an altogether different portrait would soon come into use.¹ Maybe Briot was not altogether satisfied with Greene’s execution of his models for the Class IVa+b double crowns. This would not be surprising because their portrait is not very pleasing. On the reverse of the coins we find Shield 2 or Shield 2a, as was to be expected. Class Va+b is known with privy marks Heart and Feathers.

Mules Group B/C

(Obv. Bust 4 with King’s Crown 5. Rev. has the new design of Group C with an oval shield (Shield 3) and Reverse Crowns 3 or 6 above. The royal initials C–R are placed beside the shield.) Obv. Pl. VII, 8. Rev. Pl. VIII, 27, showing Reverse Crown 3.

The change-over to the new portrait and reverse design of Group C went much more smoothly in the double crown series than in the other crown-gold denominations, and muling is extremely rare. The two specimens I have seen have the obverse of Group B, Class V, with a reverse of Group C (Shield 3, without pellets in the field). Group B/C mules occur with the Feathers mark only, and I know of no Group C/B mules.

Group C

The same new bust-and-shield design which we know from the unites of Group C was introduced on the double crowns during the privy mark Feathers period but perhaps a little later than on the unites, for the double crowns of Group C with privy mark Feathers are quite rare. The pellets in the field also occur on the reverses of many double crowns, but there is not the same profusion of pellets which we find on some of the unite reverses of Group C. As a rule there is only one pellet on each side of the reverse crown above the shield but, here and there, a pellet on each side of the shield occurs which forms almost part of the shield garnishing.

Class Ia+b. (Obv. of Class Ia has Bust 5 with King’s Crown 6. Rev. Shield 3

with or without pellets and Reverse Crown 4, 5, or 6.) Obv. Pl. VII, 9.
Rev. Pl. VIII, 28, showing Reverse Crown 4 between pellets.
(Obv. of Class Ib has Bust 5 with King’s Crown 6a. Rev. Shield 3 with or
without pellets next to it and Reverse Crown 5 or 6.) Obv. Pl. VII, 10.
Rev. Pl. VIII, 29, showing Reverse Crown 5.

The double crown series of Group C lacks the great profusion of portrait
varieties which we have noticed on the unites. The only noteworthy difference
which does actually change the aspect of the king’s bust lies in the crown
punches. We find a high and fairly round crown or a flatter and rather
broader crown on the king’s head, but the latter crown punch is not often
seen. Basically, the double crowns of Group C tally with the unites of Group
C, Class IIa, only, and they occur with privy mark Feathers and Rose.

Group D

As is the case for the other crown-gold denominations, there was a complete
break between the double crowns of Group C and Group D. No mules have
been recorded. There is, however, a noteworthy pattern with a variety of the
usual Group D bust and a variety of the Shield 4 design of Group D in the
British Museum. It bears a large privy mark Rose on the obverse and there
is no privy mark on the reverse. The reverse die was made of most unusual
punches which resemble those of Briot’s high relief patterns1 and were not
used for the double crowns of Group C or Group D of the regular Tower
coinage. It may well be one of the cases where Master Briot ‘intermeddled
with the graving of His Matsy’s arms’. This pattern was no doubt struck in
preparing the Group D design which was accepted only after some alterations
were made. The coin seems to have been used as a touch-piece later on and
we find it illustrated in B.N.J. xiii (1917), 99, in Miss Farquhar’s paper
‘Royal Charities’. It is a little unfortunate, however, that both Miss Farquhar
and Dr. Crawfurd2 have described this coin as a ‘typical’ makeshift touch-

piece when no Angels were available, for the pattern in question appears to
be unique.

From the Group D period onwards the double crowns show an ever-
increasing tendency to break away from the portraiture of the unites and to
follow the lead of the sixpenny pieces. The new reverse design with the
crowned C–R initials beside an oval shield having a garnishing which differs
considerably from that of Group C conforms strictly, however, with the corre-
sponding reverse design of the unites of Group D and shows hardly any
noteworthy alterations during the long run of the Group D issue.

Class I. (Obv. Bust 6 with King’s Crown 7. Rev. Shield 4 with Reverse

This portrait still links up with the unite bust of Group D, Class I, and has
the typical high crown which divides the obverse legend. The issue of Class I
double crowns must have been very small indeed and the former Clarke-
Thornhill specimen which is now in the British Museum may be the sole

1 Cf. Brooke’s English Coins, pl. lvii. 11, so far as the basic design of the shield garnishing is
concerned.  
2 The King’s Evil, p. 105.
surviving representative of Class I which is known with privy mark Harp only.


The king's portrait differs completely from that of the corresponding unites of Group D, Class II. The double crowns of Class II have a smaller face punch than those of Class I and the king's crown is flatter with jewelled outer and unjewelled inner arches. The anomaly in this class which occurs normally with privy mark Harp and Portcullis are coins with the Tun mark struck over Portcullis which therefore belong to this portrait class.


The portrait design itself shows little change, but the king's head is distinctly smaller now and the king's crown was correspondingly reduced in size. It has higher and unjewelled arches. The lace collar of the king's dress is somewhat less elaborate and the bust truncation differs slightly. This is by far the commonest class of Group D double crowns and we find it with privy marks Bell, Crown, Tun, and Anchor.


It is mainly for statistical reasons that I have placed in a class of its own what may well be an isolated obverse die made from tools which had already gone out of use. For the coin is perhaps a very rare curiosity rather than an important departure from the usual portraiture, and I am therefore reluctant to assign it to a separate issue. The portrait reveals, in fact, a strange mixtum compositum of punches: we can identify the face punch of Class I but the king's crown, although not unlike that of Class I (King's Crown 7), is not quite so high and inner and outer arches are unjewelled. It does not divide the obverse legend and is in fact well confined within the inner circle. I know of no specimen other than the late Dr. Ernest Carter's. This variety has privy mark Crown.

**Group Da**

Since the portraits are my main criterion for the classification of the coins, I must now deal with the double crowns bearing privy mark Eye, regardless of the fact that from a chronological point of view they are to be placed after the coins of Group E and Group F.

After the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, when the Group F model of Briot's design was in force, the existing dies and tools were used until they became completely unserviceable. The output of double crowns seems to have dwindled much more than that of the other crown-gold denominations. Actually, the total number of double crowns which have come down to us
with a privy mark later than Triangle-in-Circle appears to be about 15, and only those with the Sun mark, which had by far the highest pyx figure for Tower gold coined during the Civil War, are sometimes seen. During the (P) mark period the tools of Group F were still used but they had clearly come to the end of their tether, and, apart from the noteworthy exception with which I shall deal a little later,\(^1\) no new bust punches for the double crowns were made at all after the outbreak of the Civil War.

No serviceable tools of the double crown bust of Group F seem to have survived when privy mark Eye came into use. As was the case for the unites during the (P) mark period when the old punches of Group D were cleaned, touched up, and put into commission again, the discarded tools for the Group D double crowns of Class IIa were revived and used for the dies bearing privy mark Eye. Only three specimens appear to be extant with that mark and they are all so worn that it is difficult to ascertain whether alterations—such as the addition of armour—were made when the punches were recut. It does not look like it but the condition of the coins leaves us in doubt.

Group Da has Bust 7b with King’s Crown 9 and on the reverse Shield 4 with Reverse Crown 8. (Obv. Pl. VII, 15. Rev. Pl. VIII, 35.) Excepting the late Reverse Crown 8 above the shield, this tallies almost exactly with the coins of Group D, Class IIa. Group Da is known with privy mark Eye only.

**Group E**

The double crowns—following the usual lead of the sixpenny pieces—adopted the so-called ‘Aberystwyth Bust’, but it must have been only at the very end of the Anchor mark period that the bust design of Group D was superseded. For nearly all the double crowns bearing privy mark Anchor belong to Group D, Class IIa, whereas specimens with the ‘Aberystwyth Bust’ are very rare. I know of only three specimens of Class I and I have not seen more than half a dozen Group E double crowns of Class II with the Anchor mark.

It is rather strange that in her otherwise exhaustive paper on the portraiture of the Stuart sovereigns\(^2\) Miss Farquhar ignored this bust design almost completely and did not tackle the question of the artist’s identity. Since Briot was responsible for the model he must have approved of it and he may have checked and corrected the master punches. But one feels that Briot has no more designed it personally than Rubens has personally painted so many pictures which originated from his school of painting in Antwerp. Just as they were all painted under the strong influence of Rubens’s style but lack that ‘something extra’ of the great artist, the coins of Group E, Class I, lack to a much greater extent than those of Class II the personal touch of Master Briot. It is a well-balanced, well-executed, and quite pleasing portrait design, but not an impressive likeness of the king.

The almost universally accepted term ‘Aberystwyth Bust’ for the Group E portrait is quite justified, although the design did not of course originate from the Aberystwyth mint establishment and was extensively used for Tower silver coins. However, for the London mint the Group E portrait is no more than

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1. Group H.  
one of the major bust varieties: for Aberystwyth it became the standard model and typical of Bushell's mint.

The view that the portrait tools were in fact specially designed and made for Aberystwyth and only given a practical test on Tower dies for a little while is wrong for so many obvious and irrefutable reasons that it would be futile to muster half a dozen arguments against it. It will be sufficient to point to the fact that Aberystwyth was never authorized to strike gold and that a practical test of punches on dies destined to produce gold coins would have been pointless. And one may add that the silver coins struck at the Tower with the 'Aberystwyth' bust are so plentiful that the very volume, as much as the period of time during which the Group E bust was exclusively used in London, rules out the possibility of a test of punches. One does not test punches for several years and there is no reason to assume that a special bust design was ordered for so small and unimportant a mint establishment as Bushell's.

The idea that the Group E portrait was designed for a special purpose and is, in a way, on a plane of its own, having a direct link with Wales and an indirect one with Oxford, can I think be attributed to a departure from what might be described as the usual 'Van Dyck-Briot style'. But that does not alter the fact that the coins are perfectly orthodox and form part of the ordinary indenture. It will be remembered that Briot was getting ready for his second trial and for his 'Anchor Coinage of 1638' at the very moment the Tower mint was retooling. In these circumstances it would not be surprising if he had left the new bust model to another senior engraver to execute and confined his work to checking and correcting the design.


This early variety is extremely rare and seems to be only represented in the National Collection, except for Dr. E. Carter's coin which has an upright Anchor mark on both sides. Class I occurs with privy mark Anchor only, and the bust design corresponds with that of some of the later sixpenny pieces bearing the Tun mark which Francis has listed as his Type 4. A particularly good proof of a shilling piece with this portrait was in the Ryan collection and the illustration permits the study of all the relevant features of the design.²


The difference between Class I and Class II lies mainly in the face punch and the execution of the king’s crown. Also the king’s hair is somewhat differently arranged. King’s Crown 10a is distinctly smaller than King’s Crown 10 and the inner arches are missing so that it gives the impression of being higher and loftier. The Class II profile is nearer to Briot’s usual style than that of

Class I and the face punch may well have been corrected or made by Briot. So far as the king's crown and profile are concerned, there is clearly some resemblance between the portraiture of this Class II and the Oxford portrait of Charles after the arrival of Parkhurst and his team of workmen in that city. This points, prima facie, towards Rawlins's rather than Briot's design, but even if Bust 9 were actually Rawlins's work it would tell us no more than we know already: that Rawlins was strongly influenced by Briot's style and that he could copy the Frenchman's models convincingly. It throws no additional light on the problem as to who was responsible for the Oxford portrait, where Mr. Beresford-Jones very wisely refused to commit himself, as any responsible student would.

If, however, the punches for the king's crown and profile which we find on the double crowns of Class II were in fact made and designed by Briot—or at least corrected by Briot—it would only prove that the 'Oxford Head' of Charles I is from Briot tools which were smuggled out of the Tower. And that is not precisely a new and revolutionary idea! Although Mr. Beresford-Jones's research on the Oxford coinage and my work on the Tower mint issues were conducted quite independently, we had, I think, both hoped that our efforts would solve the problem of the Oxford portrait and the Class II bust of the Tower double crowns of Group E. But it must be openly admitted that we have failed to identify the artist beyond any considerable doubt, and we have only shaken the traditional belief in Rawlins's 'independent' Oxford bust to some extent.

Class II is known with privy mark Anchor and includes practically all the double crowns bearing the Triangle mark.

**Group Ea**

The very few surviving portrait tools of Group D, Class IIa, which were used during the Eye mark period of Group Da, had apparently become unserviceable in 1645. It is not really surprising that, in the absence of new bust punches, the old tools of Group E were recut, a little more armour added, and used anew. For during the Group E period proper astonishingly few double crowns had been struck and the master punches were therefore still in such good condition that they could meet the very reduced requirements of the Tower mint until the end of the coinage in the name of Charles I. The king's portrait and crown correspond exactly with that of Group E, Class II, except for those very minor differences one must expect when tools are cleaned and touched up.


Mr. Lockett's coin is the only specimen of Class I which I know of. It has still the long-lived reverse design which was introduced at the very beginning of the Group D period when privy mark Harp superseded Rose. The coin cannot, however, be regarded as a mule in the accepted sense of the word.


2. Lockett Sale, Part IV (Oct. 1956), lot 2226.
The alteration of the shield garnishing on the reverses of the crown-gold coins does not coincide with the change of the privy mark from Eye to Sun, not, at any rate, so far as the double crowns and the gold crowns are concerned. It took place some time early during the Sun mark period and Mr. Lockett's coin is not an isolated case: Dr. Ernest Carter's double crown with that privy mark\(^1\) has the same Shield 4 reverse design. Since these are not coins which have the Sun punch struck over an earlier privy mark, it must be assumed that Shield 4 was still in regular use during the early stage of the Sun mark period. Class I is known with that privy mark only.


The bulk of the double crowns bearing the Sun mark have the late Shield 4a reverse with a shield of a slightly different shape and a much cruder and more simplified garnishing. The crown above (Reverse Crown 9) becomes smaller and has the outer arches jewelled and the inner arches unjewelled. Class II occurs with privy marks Sun and Sceptre.

Group F

That the Briot bust of Group F is found on double crowns bearing privy marks Anchor, Triangle, Star, and (P) cannot be interpreted as a return to the lead of the unite design. All the larger portrait coins adopted Briot's bust model and the double crowns were no exception to the rule.

For reasons which I have already explained,\(^2\) I am including Briot's hammered double crown with Briot's own reverse design in Group F, because I regard it as belonging to the regular Tower coinage rather than to Briot's personal coinage of 1638.


The specimen which appeared in the Ryan sale\(^3\) seems to be the only surviving one. It bears the long Anchor of Briot's design as privy mark and the coin tallies with the unites of Group F, Class I.


The coins with the Triangle mark deserve special attention. The three specimens\(^4\) I have recorded are all from the same obverse die and were evidently struck very early during the Triangle mark period. On the reverse they have, on both die varieties, the Triangle punched over a prostrate Anchor, and on the obverse the Anchor mark seems to have been removed before the Triangle punch was applied to the die. It is important to note that these three

\(^1\) Cf. Group H.

\(^2\) B.N.J. xxviii, 1957, 349/351.

\(^3\) First part, June 1950, lot 512.

\(^4\) Raynes Sale, 1950, lot 253, which was misdescribed in the catalogue; Ryan sale, First Part, lot 485; and Lockett sale, Part IV, lot 2223.
coins—and they alone of the entire double-crown series of the regular issue—have the ‘pure’ Briot legend MAG BRIT FR ET HIB which otherwise occurs only on assured Briot dies. It seems plausible to suggest therefore that the obverse of the coins was struck from a Briot ‘test die’ which was combined with an ordinary Tower reverse die. Two other facts seem to corroborate this:

1. Briot’s personal punch for the Anchor privy mark was considerably longer than any of the Anchor punches used at the Tower mint for the ordinary coinage and it has also quite a different shape. The area of tooling on the obverse die to remove the Anchor mark is suspiciously large and suggests that a punch of the dimensions of Briot’s was obliterated.

2. All the double crowns bearing privy mark Triangle have the Group E portrait, except for these three coins under review. There can be no doubt that the Briot portrait of Group F was not generally used for the double crowns until the Star mark came into force. And yet these three coins were indubitably struck very early during the Triangle mark period and are in fact from an altered obverse and two overstruck reverse dies of the Anchor issue. That the double crowns bearing privy mark Triangle should firstly have been issued with the Group F bust, that they should subsequently have been switched over to the old Group E bust model, and that they should have finally reverted to the Group F bust when the Star mark came into force, makes no sense.

My contention that the double crowns of Group F with the Triangle mark were struck from a Briot ‘test’ obverse die and issued within the scope of the regular Tower coinage solves this chronological problem. The coins can, in my opinion, be regarded as Briot/Tower mules.

All the other double crowns of Group F, Class II which occur with privy marks Star, Triangle-in-Circle, and (P) have the normal BR I FRA legend of that period and read sometimes HIB and sometimes HI. They tally with the unites of Group F, Class II.

No double crowns with the puzzling privy mark (R) have so far been discovered but that they were struck can hardly be doubted. The question whether they had Briot’s Group F bust or the Aberystwyth bust of Group Ea must be left open. The corresponding sixpenny pieces bearing privy mark (R) are extant with both bust varieties, and the same may have applied to the double crowns with that mark as well.

**Group H**

The Group G portrait of the unites was not adopted for the double crowns, but half-hearted attempts at retooling were made during the year 1645 for the double crowns also. As was the case for the sixpenny pieces, however, it was apparently decided that the existing old punches of Group E were good enough to be recut and that the making of new punches was not a matter of urgency. Actually these recut punches could meet the requirements of the small output of double crowns at the Tower for another three years and the retooling of 1645 remained in an experimental stage.

The Group H bust (Bust 11 with King's Crown 12, Pl. VIII, 22) belongs to this very short period during which experiments with a new bust design were made and it constitutes an important departure from the hitherto predominant Briot style. It is the only double-crown portrait from punches which were unquestionably made after the outbreak of the Civil War; and that Miss Farquhar did not comment on this bust in her review of Stuart portraiture seems at first sight incredible. But it is not really surprising, although the only specimen which has hitherto been recorded is an 'old friend' which we can trace back to the collections of Shepherd, Bieber, Montagu, Murdoch, and Dr. Carter. None of the previous owners seems to have appreciated the importance of this coin from the point of view of the portraiture; it was never illustrated and was rather irrelevantly described in the old sale catalogues. As painstaking a student as Miss Farquhar could not have missed the portrait variety; she simply did not know it existed. I should have missed it myself had it not been for Mr. Albert Baldwin who drew my attention to it.

That the coin is a very early experiment during the Sun mark period is certain. For the reverse has still the old design (Shield 4) which was abandoned soon after the Sun superseded the Eye privy mark (Pl. VIII, 35). Briot was still alive, but whether he was still active at the Tower is rather doubtful and that he had any authority over the king's portrait at that time improbable. The design and the punches are certainly not his and, ultimately, Simon and Wade, who were in charge at the time, are of course responsible for it. From the point of view of style the portrait can no more be assigned to Simon's hand than to Briot's. We have unfortunately no points of comparison with work which can convincingly be attributed to Wade, but it is just possible that the Group H bust design is his. I personally feel that the engraver of this bust is likely to have been a comparatively new acquisition of the Tower mint, because—unlike the Group G unites—the double crown of Group H has a bust which shows no resemblance to the otherwise quite firmly established 'Briot style'. And the old hands at the mint, including Simon himself, were very strongly influenced by Briot's portraiture.

Group H is known with privy mark Sun only and the coin has on the obverse the very small Sun punch which also occurs on some gold crown pieces bearing that mark.

**Briot's Mill Double Crowns of 1631/3**

The existence of five different obverse dies, four of which were exclusively used with the same reverse die, points towards technical difficulties with Briot's minting equipment. This may explain why the issue of double crowns was so very small. The coins are all rare; some of the varieties are very rare and one of them seems to be unique.

In his excellent and carefully documented book, Sir John H. Craig stated that in contrast to his Edinburgh work Briot confined himself at the Tower to the use of screw presses and flat-faced dies and that he worked with round blanks only. That Briot did not use rollers is a little difficult to reconcile with certain common defects of his mill coins. Many of the earliest unites with the

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1 The Mint, p. 150.
Anemone+B mark are not quite round. They are slightly convex-concave with the edge in one place—and invariably the same place—somewhat bent and forced down. And they are nearly all off centre at the same place. The traces of ‘shaving’ on some unites and on nearly all the double crowns seem to be equally inconsistent with flat dies and a screw-stamping device. Sometimes the ‘shaving’ is only very slight but I have seen quite a few specimens with a series of really deep parallel scratches right across the centre of the reverse, and I think we must exclude filing to reduce heavy blanks in this case. That blanks of mill coins minted after 1662 were at times filed to reduce the weight is of course certain. But, quite apart from the fact that the scratches on Briot’s mill coins are too deep and much too far apart to have been inflicted by even the coarsest file, one cannot possibly believe that the Frenchman would have compromised the aspect of his own special coins a priori by using severely damaged blanks. In any case most of the scratches, if inflicted on the blanks before the coining process, would have been obliterated or smoothed out by the striking, whereas the contours of the ‘shaving’ are perfectly sharp and well defined. We must assume therefore that the damage was caused in the striking process and not before.

Certain defects of Briot’s mill coins are nevertheless puzzling and that the ‘shaving’ does not occur parallel to the die axis is only one of them. Unfortunately we know far too little about Briot’s coining presses beyond the generally accepted theory that the model was basically that of the continental minting equipment, to which Briot had added certain inventions of his own. To probe into the mechanics of Briot’s rollers and presses is outside the scope of this review and would in fact require a separate paper altogether, a paper well worth while which should be written by a practising mint engineer rather than by a numismatist.

As was to be expected we find Briot’s mill double crowns with the Anemone+B and with the Daisy+B privy marks on the obverses (cf. drawings). The former variety, of which I only recorded one obverse die, is, however, much rarer than the corresponding unite and, of the five specimens I have seen, three are damaged and badly scratched (Pl. VIII, 37).

The king’s portrait remains unchanged on the double crowns during the entire period of the mill coinage of 1631/2, but the later issues omit the pearls on the arches of the king’s crown. However unimportant this difference may be from a numismatic point of view, it changes the aspect of the king’s bust quite appreciably.

On one of the obverse dies the usual flower mark is missing and we find only Briot’s initial B. The reverse of the coin offers no helpful clue to its chronological place, for it was struck from the same reverse die as all the other double crowns except one. Since Briot used his initial B punch without a flower mark on some of his earliest patterns, the coin in question could be the first variety. I would, however, rather subscribe to the place Mr. Derek Allen has given it in the British Museum tray and assign it to the end of the coinage. For it seems to me that the absence of jewels on the king’s crown is a fairly certain late feature, whereas the absence of a flower mark is in itself meaningless and points in no particular direction. In any case the exact chronological sequence of the various varieties of Briot’s mill coinage of
1631/2 is somewhat debatable, but it is not really a problem of very great importance. For the chances are that the dies in Briot's engines were used on and off more or less at random. It seems probable that a minting method which was still in a completely experimental stage in England required very frequent changes of dies for the purpose of cleaning and adjustment. In these circumstances the chronological sequence of the varieties is probably impossible to ascertain beyond a considerable measure of doubt and an unusually large margin of error. For it cannot even be taken for granted that coins from the same couple of dies were necessarily minted at the same time.

A subdivision of Briot's mill double crowns into classes seems pointless and I have listed the five varieties in their probable chronological order.


  - Anemone + B • B
  - Reverse B (1)

  The obverse shows the Anemone + B mark and the arches of the king's crown are jewelled. On the reverse this and all subsequent varieties have apex crosses on top of the crown above the shield and diamond stops below the royal initials C-R. The same punch for Briot's harp (cf. drawings) was used throughout the entire period during which the mill double crowns were minted.


  - Daisy + B (1) B

  Except for the Flower mark, which is now a Daisy instead of an Anemone and has also Briot's initial B next to it in the same position, obverse die 2 is absolutely identical with obverse die 1. The reverse is from the same die as Variety 1.


  - Daisy + B (2) • B

  Obverse die 3 differs from the previous ones by having an unjewelled king's crown. Otherwise there are no noteworthy new features in the portraiture and the reverse is from the same die as before.


  - Daisy + B (3) B
  - Reverse B (2)

  On the obverse the coin reads MAGN instead of the usual MAG and Briot's
initial mark B is placed below the Daisy. The unjewelled crown on the king’s head is maintained. Reverse die 2 has a different crown punch above the shield and the position of Briot’s B changes. I know of no specimen other than the B.M. coin.


On the obverse the coin reverts to the normal MAG legend and omits the Flower mark next to Briot’s initial B. It has the unjewelled king’s crown and we find it combined with the same reverse die from which all mill double crowns except Variety 4 were struck.

The Punches

The bust models with the various varieties of the king’s crown are all illustrated and require therefore no detailed description. I have also illustrated two smaller types of letter punches which occur on some of the early double crowns of Group A and Group B (Pl. VII, 1, 3). To infer that the smaller fount has any special significance would be wrong in my opinion, but the variety has an obvious collector’s interest. Briot’s letter punch A with the slanting top will be seen on the illustration of the mill coins of 1631/2 and, on and off, on ordinary Tower double crowns struck after that date.

As we have seen, the reverse design follows the lead of the unites and the shield models with the varied garnishing are all illustrated, as are the crown varieties above the shield.

So far as the royal arms are concerned, the extremely reduced space demanded minute punches, and the fleurs-de-lis for France as well as the leopards for England are mostly rather symbolical. Briot, and Briot alone, managed to cut dies which bring the French and the English arms up properly in the first and fourth quarter on the double crowns of his own coinage, but otherwise one would hardly recognize the heraldic emblems if one did not know them. The fleurs-de-lis are still quite fair on a number of coins, but the late Mr. Forrer’s story that a continental collector once asked him ‘what those German Dachshunds stood for’ is not altogether surprising, even if one looks at the English leopards under a magnifying glass.

In the second quarter of the shield the arms of Scotland undergo much the same changes as those we have noticed on the unites. While the rectangular shield was in use during the Group A and Group B period, the size of the Scottish lion differs very considerably and so does the garnished frame round it (Pl. VIII, 23–26). With the introduction of the oval shield the very small lion punch disappears. The shape of the frame is now adapted to the different shape of the second quarter in an oval shield on Groups C–D–E coins, but the size of the Scottish lion keeps fairly normal proportions. It was only with the increasing tendency to make the frame of the arms of Scotland nearly triangular and consequently smaller that the lion punch was appreciably reduced in size. We find this on the double crowns from the Star mark onwards and the later issues of Group F as well as the coins of Groups Da, Ea,
and H have almost without exception a small Scottish lion inside a triangular frame. There are also changes in the fleurs-de-lis garnishing of the inner frame of the arms of Scotland. As this inner frame is getting gradually smaller, so the punches for the fleurs-de-lis decorations had to be reduced in proportion. Their place against the inner frame becomes increasingly irregular, and finally they are absent on the late issues of the double crowns.

For the third quarter of the shield drawings of all the major varieties of the Irish Harp are illustrated. There is not quite the same profusion of different harp designs as we have seen in the unite series, but the harp punches of the double crowns present other difficulties. After an impressive number of varieties during the Group A period the harp design settled down to basically three models from privy mark Cross Calvary right down to privy mark Heart. There are several punches for each harp variety of course and some of them were broken and occur in various stages of damage. Below are drawings of my Harp b as a typical example:

and they will define about the extreme limits of punch varieties within the same Harp letter. The punches are of basically the same design, but they have a different griffin's head and there are other minor differences of execution. I have grouped them together because they all belong to the same model of harp design and I have listed them under the same Harp Letter b for the reason already explained in dealing with the harp varieties of the unites.¹

Actualy, a more detailed record of the minor varieties would necessitate the

inclusion of practically every single harp punch, and this would involve even
greater difficulties and margins of error than was the case for the unites. The
punch is very small and so often badly struck up that it was frequently neces-
sary to consult up to half a dozen coins in order to obtain the correct shape
of a harp. In this connexion I should like to express to Mrs. Inés Schneider-
Fuhrmann my thanks for the painstaking care she has taken over the drawings
of the Irish harp varieties. They have been checked, corrected, and improved
again and again from innumerable coins and casts over a period of six years
and are, I think, as accurate as they can possibly be.

The illustrations of the five Harp b punches above demonstrate to what
extent comparatively slight damage can change the aspect of a harp design
and how this effect is accentuated by very minor technical differences in the
execution of the punches. Of course, what applies to Harp b is also true for
other harp varieties, but Harp b is a particularly typical case.

The letters I have assigned to the various harp models which occur on the
double crowns have been co-ordinated with the harp letters of the unites so
far as this was at all possible. Several harp designs which occur on the unites
were not used for the double crowns and vice versa, and this explains the
great gaps in the sequence of the harp letters of the double crowns.

Harp A of the unites has thus the same basic design as Harp a of the double
crowns, but considering the great difference in size between the harp punches
of the unites and those of the double crowns it is obvious that the design is
often not absolutely identical, mainly because there is simply no scope for
some of the more elaborate decorations on the substantially smaller harps of
the double crowns. Below is an illustration of unite Harp M against the cor-
responding double crown Harp m. This is a typical example of the more
simplified execution of the same design which we find in quite a few cases on
the double crowns.

The references used in the General Lists were
given in Vol. xxviii but are repeated here, as far as
is necessary, for convenience.

AHB A. H. Baldwin & Son Ltd.
Ash. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
BM British Museum
BRB Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels
ECC The late Dr. Ernest C. Carter's collection
Fitz. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
FW Frederick Willis, Esq.
Glen. The Rooms of Glendining & Co. Ltd.
HLF The late Miss Helen L. Farquhar's collection
HSF The author's collection
JCSR Dr. J. C. S. Rashleigh's sale, 1953
LR (Lockett record) Recorded from notes
made by the late Mr. R. C. Lockett
Mont. Montagu sale, 1896/7
OECT O. E. C. Theobald, Esq.
PC-B The late Major P. W. Carlyon-
Britton's collection
Ray. Raynes sale, 1950
RCL The late Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection
Sp. Spink & Son Ltd.
Sy. B. A. Seaby Ltd.
VJER Ryan sale, 1950
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ON PLATES VII AND VIII

1. (ECC) Obverse of Group A with Bust 1 and King’s Crown 1. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class I.
2. (HLF) Obverse of Group A with Bust 1a and King’s Crown 2. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class II.
3. (Sy.) Obverse of Group B with Bust 2 and King’s Crown 3. Privy mark Cross Calvary. Occurs: Class I.
4. (ECC) Obverse of Group B with Bust 2a and King’s Crown 3a. No inner circle. Privy mark Tower (small model). Occurs: Class II.
6. (Sy.) Obverse of Group B with Bust 3 and King’s Crown 4. Privy mark Anchor (upright). Occurs: Class III.
10. (Sp.) Obverse of Group C with Bust 5 and King’s Crown 6a. Privy mark Rose. Occurs: Class 1b of Class I (a+b).
12. (Fitz.) Obverse of Group D with Bust 7 and King’s Crown 8. Privy mark Harp. Occurs: Class II.
17. (Sp.) Obverse of Group E with Bust 9 and King’s Crown 10a. Privy mark Anchor (prostrate). Occurs: Class II.
19. (VJER) Obverse of Group F with Bust 10 and King’s Crown 11, from Briot’s own die. Privy mark Anchor (prostrate). Occurs: Class I and served as model for Class II.
20. (Ray.) Obverse of Group F with Bust 10 and King’s Crown 11. Believed to be from a personal die by Briot. Privy mark Triangle. Occurs: Class II with the Triangle mark only.
23. (HLF) Reverse of Group A with Shield 1 and Reverse Crown 2. Harp a. Privy mark Lis (small model) at end of legend with group of four pellets at each side. Occurs: Class I and Class II.
27. (HSF) Reverse of Group C with Shield 3 and Reverse Crown 3. Harp i. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs with that reverse crown only on a mule of Group B/Group C.
29. (Sp.) Reverse of Group C with Shield 3 and Reverse Crown 5. Harp i. Privy mark Rose. Occurs: Class 1b of Class I (a+b).
32. (JCSR) Reverse of Group D with Shield 4 and earlier variety of Reverse Crown 7. Privy
33. (Sp.) Reverse of Group D with Shield 4 and later variety of Reverse Crown 7. Privy mark Anchor (prostrate). Harp g. Occurs (with Reverse Crown 7): Class II and Class IIa. Also on Group E, Class I and Class II.

34. (VJER) Reverse of Group F from Briot's own reverse die made with his personal punches. Briot's harp. Privy mark Anchor (prostrate) of Briot's design. Occurs: Class I.

35. (BM) Reverse of Group Da with Shield 4 and Reverse Crown 8. Privy mark Eye. Harp g. Occurs (with Reverse Crown 8): Group Da, Group E, Class II, and Group Ea, Class I. Also Group F, Class II. Also Group H.


42. (HLF) Reverse of Briot's mill double crown of 1631/2. Reverse Die 1. Privy mark B (1) above reverse crown. Occurs with Obverse Dies 1, 2, 3, and 5.

43. (BM) Reverse of Briot's mill double crown of 1631/2. Reverse Die 2. Privy mark B (2) beside reverse crown which has more elaborately drawn arches. Occurs with Obverse Die 4.
### Double Crowns of Charles I

*The Principal Combinations of Bust and Shield Varieties Within the Groups*

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### DOUBLE CROWNS OF CHARLES I

**Principal Bust and Shield Varieties Classified by Groups**

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**Notes:**
- Busts are classified by groups.
- Shield varieties are also categorized.
- The table lists combinations of busts and shields.
### THE TOWER DOUBLE CROWNS

**GROUP A**

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- **Class I**: Small, square lettering on obv. Size and shape of privy mark varies. A group of four pellets occurs to both sides of privy mark (RCL). One specimen (B.M.) has XX behind king's head but this appears to be an effect of double striking. Also known from a sixpenny obverse die reading: MAG BRI FR ET HI (Murdoch Sale, Lot 52).

- **Class II**: Occurs with a somewhat smaller variety of Reverse Crown I. King's crown sometimes pierces the inner circle but does not displace or divide the legend. Group of four pellets occurs to both sides of privy mark on Rev. (HLF), from same reverse die as RCL's coin above.

- **Cross Calvary**: Known with privy mark struck over Lis (PC-B). Execution of Harp b punches varies.
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<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>Obv. Pl. VII, 4, 5; Rev. Pl. VIII, 25</td>
<td>1. MAG BR ET HI (Sy.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. BR (Ash.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. MA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. MAG BR ET HI (Sp.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. MA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>Obv. Pl. VII, 6; Rev. Pl. VIII, 25</td>
<td>MAG BR FR ET HI (Sy.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class IVa+b</td>
<td>Obv. Pl. VII, 7; Rev. Pl. VIII, 25 (IVa) Rev. Pl. VIII, 26 (IVb)</td>
<td>1. MA/BR ET HI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. MA/FR ET HI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. MA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. MAG BR ET HI (Sp.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. MA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULES</td>
<td>Obv. Pl. VII, 8; Rev. Pl. VIII, 27</td>
<td>MAG BR ET HI</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GROUP B/GROUP C**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feathers</td>
<td>Obv. Pl. VII, 8; Rev. Pl. VIII, 27</td>
<td>MAG BR(FR ET HI</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (HSF)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 (HSP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detail: top</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detail: bottom</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pellets in the</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>field</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaded inner</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaded + wire-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lined circle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverse crown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shield</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron's crown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GROUP C

Known with privy mark struck over Feathers on either side or both sides.

On the obverse, the legend is never divided. On the reverse, the privy mark is always at the end of the legend.
### GROUP D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Shield</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Mint Mark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>(Obv. Pl. VII, 11 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 30) MAG BR FR ET HI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>(Obv. Pl. VII, 12 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 31-33) 1. MAG BR ET HIB, 2. MA BR HI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIa</td>
<td>(Obv. Pl. VII, 13 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 31-33) 1. MA BR ET HIB</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIb</td>
<td>(Obv. Pl. VII, 14 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 31) MA BR ET HIB</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVa</td>
<td>(Obv. Pl. VII, 15 : Rev. VIII, 35) MAG BRI FR A ET HIB</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8 q (VJER)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inner circle is always beaded on both sides. The privy mark is always at the end of the reverse legend.

- **Harp**: Privy mark Harp-with-Scroll on both sides. Crowned C-R initials placed high against first and second quarter of the shield.
- **Portcullis**: Privy mark Harp has scroll on obverse and is plain on reverse.
- **Tun over Portcullis**: Known with privy mark struck over Harp on both sides or on obverse only.
- **Bell**: Size and shape of Bell punch varies. On some specimens a new variety of the punch for the arms of Scotland appears and is adopted for all subsequent double crowns of Group D.

#### Bust punches

**GROUP Da**: Bust punches of Group D, Class Ila recut and very slightly altered.

- **Eye**: Occurs with privy mark struck over (R) (?). Montagu Sale, Lot 332. The last variety of the punch for the arms of Scotland (cf. Group F, privy mark (P), remarks column) appears.
### GROUP E

**Class I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dia.</th>
<th>King's crown</th>
<th>Obv. Pl.</th>
<th>Rev. Pl.</th>
<th>Other marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>VII, 16</td>
<td>VIII, 32, 33</td>
<td>MA BR FR ET HI (ECC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dia.</th>
<th>King's crown</th>
<th>Obv. Pl.</th>
<th>Rev. Pl.</th>
<th>Other marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10a</td>
<td>VII, 17</td>
<td>VIII, 32, 33</td>
<td>MA BR FR ET HI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Triangle**
  - 9
  - 1. MAG BRI FRA ET HIB (Sy.)
  - 2. BR (Sp.)
  - 3. MA FR HI (VJER)

**Group Ed**

**Class I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dia.</th>
<th>King's crown</th>
<th>Obv. Pl.</th>
<th>Rev. Pl.</th>
<th>Other marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>10a</td>
<td>VII, 18</td>
<td>VIII, 35</td>
<td>MAG BRI FRA ET HIB (RCL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dia.</th>
<th>King's crown</th>
<th>Obv. Pl.</th>
<th>Rev. Pl.</th>
<th>Other marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>10a</td>
<td>VII, 18</td>
<td>VIII, 36</td>
<td>MAG BRI FRA ET HIB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Sun**
- **Sceptre**

*Inner circle always beaded on both sides. Obv. legend undivided. Privy mark invariably at end of reverse legend.*

*Known with privy mark struck over Anchor on either side or both sides. Ryan Sale Lot 485.*

*Irish harp distorted by double striking. It is Harp g or Harp r.*

*Occurs with crowns sideways above C-R initials (OECT).*
GROUP F

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bust</th>
<th>King's crown</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Shield</th>
<th>Reverse crown</th>
<th>Irish harp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>(Obv. Pl. VII, 20, 21: Rev. Pl. VIII, 33, 35)</td>
<td>MAG BRIT FR ET HIB (Ray.)</td>
<td>10 (Ray.)</td>
<td>11 (Ray.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privy mark struck over on reverse</td>
<td>Privy mark on obverse perhaps over Briot's Anchor punch (removed on die). Obverse probably from Briot's personal die. Raynes Sale, Lot 253 (misdescribed). This is presumably a Briot/Tower mule.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privy mark struck over Triangle on rev.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known with privy mark struck over Star on both sides. Occurs with privy mark (φ) on reverse. Harp IX doubtful.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known with privy mark struck over (φ) on obverse. The punch for the arms of Scotland changes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the obverse the legend is always undivided and the inner circle beaded.
On the reverse the privy mark is always at the end of the legend and the inner circle is beaded.
### GROUP B

Bust | King's c ow | Obv. | Rev. | Shield | Reverse crown | Irish harp
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
(Obv. Pl. VIII, 22 : Rev. Pl. VIII, 35) | MAG BRI FRA ET HIB (ECC) | 4 (ECC) | 8 (ECC) | z (ECC)

Sun . . . . | 11 (ECC) | 12 (ECC) | Beaded inner circle on both sides. Obverse legend undivided. Privy mark at end of reverse legend. Lion punch for Scotland as Group F, Privy mark (P).

### BRIOT'S MILL DOUBLE CROWNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Privy marks</th>
<th>Obverse die number</th>
<th>Briot's double crown bust</th>
<th>Assumption+B</th>
<th>Daisy+B</th>
<th>No flower mark</th>
<th>Reverse die number</th>
<th>Privy mark B</th>
<th>Reverse crown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flower+B .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ash</td>
<td>Ash</td>
<td>Ash</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>MAG BRITAN FRAN ET HIB</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flower+B .</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>MAG BRITAN FRAN ET HIB</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flower+B .</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>MAG BRITAN FRAN ET HIB</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flower+B .</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>MAGN BRITAN FRAN ET HIB</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B . .</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>MAG BRITAN FRAN ET HIB</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All reverse crowns have apex crosses. All coins have diamond stops below the C-R initials. Only one Harp punch of Briot's design occurs (cf. drawings).