THE TOWER COINS OF CHARLES I

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The coins of Charles I probably form the most complex series in the whole of British numismatics. Since Hawkins's pioneering attempt to bring shape and order to the series a number of distinguished numismatists have suggested fresh classifications, each one expanding our knowledge and offering us the means whereby we may incorporate the ever-growing number of varieties into a coherent and unified pattern of types. It has been stimulating and fruitful work and in offering my own contribution to the discussion I wish to acknowledge my own indebtedness to my predecessors.1

Successful classification depends on two things: an attention to detail, and an understanding of when differences in detail become significant. The two things go together, and so obvious has it become to me in the course of my researches, that there is so much of the detail of Charles I's coinage which has not yet been sufficiently clearly spelled out, that I have become convinced that there is room for a fresh survey. Only when we have put together as many as possible of the details may we really be sure whether what we see before us is part of a pattern, and so of use to us in formulating an overall classification, or simply an aberration which we may safely ignore.

Any attempt to examine a coinage in as much detail as possible is obviously beset by two problems. To begin with, we must recognize that what may be visible on rare or perfect specimens may well be, and often is, invisible on the general run of pieces. And, secondly, it is apparent that, since the bulk of the material lies scattered in private hands, no one researcher, be he never so diligent, may ever pretend to have the totality of detailed evidence at his disposal. For all this, I believe the approach to be helpful and I intend to examine the Tower coins of Charles I, excluding the angels, in this way.

Because changes in obverse and reverse do not always coincide, I shall treat the two sides of a coin separately, paying attention on the obverse to the portrait, the punctuation, and the inscription, and on the reverse to the shield, the crown (on unites), the plumes (on Welsh silver), and the harp.2

The Obverse. Throughout, I employ a uniform system of numbering and also a novel method of indicating the reading of the legend; these may be explained as follows:

- Portrait. As the charts show, the obverse portraits fall nicely into families, the equestrian portraits having up to four individuals in each, the busts up to five. Thus, in order to identify each portrait, I give the four even numbers - 2, 4, 6 and 8 - to the former, and the odd numbers - 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9 - to the busts, preceded by the family number.

- Legend. This always starts CAROLVS D G and then follows an abbreviation of MAGNAE BRITANNIAE FRANCIAE ET HIBERNIAE. Luckily, each word is always abbreviated from the rear, so that five figures, giving the number of letters in each, tell us the inscription, and the presence or absence of a dot after ET can be indicated. Thus,


2 In 1954 I gave a paper to the British Numismatic Society advocating the separate classification of obverse and reverse and it is the classification which I advanced then which is described here. Dr Kent adopted a simplified form of the numerical method of indicating the obverse inscription, with kind acknowledgement, in BNJ 26 (1956), 420.
MAG:BRIT:FRAN:ET:HIB becomes :3442.3; or, again, MA!BRI!FR!ET HI becomes !2322–2. The absence of . or – after ET means that one cannot determine if the dot was originally there. This system is convenient, requires no memory (unlike the numbered variants used by Francis) and ensures that variants stand out when scanning a list.

Mint mark and Punctuation. These I have always transcribed exactly as they appear and, allowing M for mint mark, a typical reading might be .M.: or .M–! (–standing, as explained above, for an illegible or missing piece of punctuation).

Putting the various ingredients of my description of the obverse of a coin together, they would give a reading as follows:

O4.4 (the portrait). M. (the mint mark). (punctuation) 3322.2 (the legend)

The Reverse. The reverse reading of a coin is always indicated by the symbol /. After this, in order, come numbers for the shield, the crown (on unites), the plumes (on Welsh silver), and the harp.

The reverse legend usually has no complications, but on the first reverses in the silver with the cross fleury CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO is divided in differing ways, and here is also the reason why the mint-mark should not be called the initial-mark as it is sometimes on the left of the fleur, which would seem to be at the end of the legend. In this case starting from the top fleur the number of letters is again used, thus

.M. CHRI / TO AV / SPICE / REGNO becomes .M– 43.255–

Provenances. Where possible reference is given to a specimen which is either held in a public museum or illustrated in a printed publication. In all other cases, denoted by a number, the reference is to a negative held by the author of coins which over many years have been examined and photographed.

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The Equestrian Portraits
The Equestrian Portraits

SCALE 1 INCH

1 cm
THE OBVERSE. THE EQUESTRIAN PORTRAITS ON THE CROWNS AND HALF-CROWNS

4. In the style of the previous reign, a flat ‘cardboard cut-out’ figure, mediaeval in style.

King
in ruff and armour

Crown
central cross and two pellets

Sword
raised to strike, hilt slightly ‘S’ shaped

Body
stiff, front of body and lower leg vertical

Hands
Sword Rein

Horse
plumes on head and crupper; no spike on chanfron — if chanfron exists; rectangular panel behind king’s leg; panel of crupper flat, almost bell shaped, with a crowned rose, seven loops on rein; two straps to saddle cloth

Varieties of 4 found in the half-crowns m.m.lis, distinguished by the position of the rear foot of the horse and the end of the tail.

4.2 Horse’s tail within inner circle, rear hoof well on groundline, and over ‘G’ of MAG (reads HIB)
Another specimen, recorded by Francis as being in the BM, was not seen in 1954.

4.4 Horse’s tail cuts inner circle, rear hoof just on groundline and over ‘M’ of MAG (reads HII)
Neg. 1326/38 23 _M. _43.255. Lockett 2274, Neg. 1327/31 51

4.6 Horse’s tail cuts inner circle, rear hoof just touches groundline and between ‘M’ and ‘A’ of MAG
.M. 04.6 .3322.2/35 23 52.34.14 .M. Neg. 221; /38 23
52.34.14 .M. Neg. 1331.

4.8 Horse’s tail within inner circle, rear hoof clear of groundline and over ‘M’ of MAG, a fat ‘T’ in ET and a narrow ‘R’ in REX to compensate.
_M. 04.8 .3322.2/31 21 _M. _43.255. Neg. 108;/33 23 _M. _43.255._
Neg. 219, 609; /37 22 52.34.14 .M. Neg. 220, Lockett 3392,
Burstall 260; /38 23 _M. _43.255. Spink Sept. 1967 Pl. II 5919;
12 Elaborate new style, not so stiff or flat. (Crown)

King in ruff and armour

Crown central cross, no pellets but halves of front and back crosses shown

Sword raised to strike, hilt straight

Body more relaxed, slopes slightly backwards, lower leg forward, foot now forward of horse’s foreleg

Hands Sword Rein

Horse plumes on head and crupper; clear chanfron with spike; peytral cloth now sweeps round horse’s chest; flankard instead of straps; reins and cloths have elaborate frills; crupper cloth has scroll design

14 Using the horse’s head as the essential criterion, three varieties may be distinguished here; the first gives the impression of a woolly lamb and is scarce, the second, the most common, has a very wooden ‘rocking horse’ appearance the third is more fluid and leads naturally to type 16.

Within these three varieties of equestrian portrait 14, sub groups may be established amongst the half-crowns on the basis of the differing positioning of the sword/crown and the horse’s head and feet vis-à-vis the legend.
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THE OBVERSE. THE EQUESTRIAN PORTRAITS (CONT.)

14.11. M. 332.2 (first variety)

14.22. M. 322.2 (second variety)

14.24. M. 332.2
Neg. 223. Cross-on-Steps 1123.

14.26. M. 322.2

14.28. M. 332.2
Neg. 169 (BM cast)

14.31. M. 332.2 (third variety)
Neg. 227.
Peculiar in that in good specimens the chanfron can be seen to be formed of riveted plates, and the horse's mouth has teeth, neatly indicated. Alas the hand and arm holding the reins is similar to 14.2. The crupper cloth has a vertical pattern, as opposed to the horizontal pattern of the 14s. The sword hand now has fingers, but the crown loses the lower limb of the centre cross, which in consequence looks like a suspended bow tie.

A second variety (16.2 var.) is almost indistinguishable from the first:

As with 14, subgroups may be established amongst the half-crowns, on the same criteria.
16.15 (m.m. lis) Crown and sword as 16.14. Groundline under horse. Hooves over 'G'. Taken from an old rubbing of Mr Ashby’s coin.

16.17 (m.m. lis) Crown below and overlapping right limb of 'X', arch of crown within and touching inner circle. Forehoof, penetrating inner circle, is over colon; rear between 'G' and colon. 16.17. M. :3222-2/39 25 _M. 452525 Neg. 232


16.21 (m.m. cross on steps) Crown and sword penetrate inner circle, sword tip before 'c'. Chanfron touches inner circle, points to 'u'. Forefoot to right of 'u', rear to colon after first 'G'. 16.21. M. :3222-2 Neg. 502

16.23 (m.m. cross on steps) Crown and sword touch inner circle, sword tip before 'c'. Chanfron within inner circle, points to 'u'. Forefoot penetrates inner circle at colon before 'u' rear within, to left of first 'G'. 16.23 M. :3222-2 Neg. 234, 236, 301.

16.27 (m.m. cross on steps) Crown touches inner circle below 'X', sword penetrates before 'c'. Chanfron and rear hoof as 16.23, forefoot within inner circle. 16.27 M. :3222-2 Neg. 113, 235

16.31 (m.m. cross on steps) Crown and sword penetrate inner circle, sword tip between 'c' and 'a' but double struck. Chanfron within and points to centre of 'u'. Forefoot points to 'i' and rear to 'A'. 16.31 M. :3332-2 Neg. 238
16.41 (m.m. cross on steps) Crown and sword penetrate, sword tip to centre of 'A'. Chanfron points to 'i', forefoot penetrates at 'i', rear is at second 'g'.
16.41 M: 3432-3 Neg. 110

16.43 (m.m. cross on steps) Crown within inner circle, sword tip penetrates as 16.41. Chanfron points to 'i', forefoot to left of 'm', rear to left of 'r'.
16.43 M: 3332.2 Neg. 111

16.51 (m.m. cross on steps) Crown and sword penetrate inner circle, tip of sword to right of 'A'. Chanfron within and points to 'i'. Forefoot to right of 'i', rear over second 'g'.
16.51 M: 3332.2 Neg. 112

16.55 (m.m. cross on steps) Crown and sword as 16.51. Chanfron not clear but probably above 'i'. Forefoot to 'r', rear to left of 'n'.
16.55 M: 3332.2 Neg. 1279

16.57 (m.m. cross on steps) Crown just penetrates below 'c'. Sword points to 'i', chanfron to top of 'i'. Forefoot to 'r', rear to second 'g'.
16.57 M: 3332.2 Neg. 237

16.61 (m.m. negro head) Crown just penetrates below 'x' and m.m. sword penetrates to left of 'c'. Chanfron points to 'n', forefoot to colon between 'u' and 'w', rear to colon between 'i' and 'm'. Bad flaw through forefoot.
16.61 M: 3222-3 Ryan, II, 1085, 1086; Lockett, II, 2280.

16.65 (m.m. negro head) Crown within inner circle, below m.m. from 'x' to 'c'. Sword penetrates to right of 'c'. Chanfron as 16.61. Forefoot to 'i', rear to left of 'm'.
16.65 M: 3332.3 Neg. 1354
16.67 (m.m. negro head) Crown penetrates inner circle, between m.m. and 'A'. Sword invisible but would point to right of 'A'. Chanfron points to 'H' but as there is no 'B' the plumes come up to 'R', forehoof to 'Y', rear to 'A'.

Lockett, II, 2277

16.72 (m.m. castle) Front of crown points to right of left limb of 'x', rear to left of 'c'. Crown penetrates inner circle, sword to left of 'c'. Spike on chanfron points to right limb of 'c' forehoof to upright of 'R', rear to right of 'm'. Only known from a cast forgery in Lingford collection - m.m. castle. Neg. 1355

16.74 (m.m. castle) Front of crown points to left of right limb of 'x', rear to right of 'c'. Crown is within inner circle, sword to right of 'c'. Chanfron and forehoof as above, but rear to left of 'M'.

BM and Lockett, 2278 (double struck)

16.76 (m.m. castle) Front of crown points to centre of castle, rear to right of 'c'. Crown's within inner circle, sword penetrates inner circle to left limb of 'a'. Spike on chanfron points to 'a'. Forehoof to 'F', rear over 'A' ('AG').

Francis, Pl. I No. 5, Lockett, 3395

16.78 (m.m. first anchor) Front of crown in line with left of m.m. just penetrates inner circle. Sword penetrates inner circle points to 'a'. Spike on chanfron points between 't' and 't', forehoof to colon before 'MAG', rear to colon after.

Francis, Pl. I No. 7, and BM

16.8 (m.m. first anchor) Front of crown in line with left of m.m. just penetrates inner circle. Sword penetrates inner circle points to 'a'. Spike on chanfron points between 't' and 't', forehoof to colon before 'MAG', rear to colon after.
A rarity occurring only in m.m. first anchor, very crude, but in some ways neater work. Crown has pearls on arches, crupper cloth has greatly simplified pattern. Horse has horrible saw-like teeth.

(m.m. first anchor) Front of crown in line with right of m.m. is within inner circle. Sword is within circle, point below 'A'. Spike on chanfron points to 'T'. Forefoot points to upright of 'R', rear to 'M'.

18 M. 43222-2 BM, Lockett 4161.
32 The crown portrait which runs from m.m. portcullis to m.m. star turns up at Shrewsbury on the silver pounds and half-pounds. The obvious distinction is its noticeably greater size.

34 The first half-crown portrait which runs from m.m. bell and crown, chubby horse, with wear, king’s hair and collar merge to give an unfortunate ‘balaclava’ effect. Note king’s sash and horse’s rump and tail, both usually obvious.

36 Neat ‘sketchy’ portrait, king’s beard not obvious, curious upright semicircle between king’s foot and horse. Sash now single. Horse has thin snout and the mane wears leaving a gap, rump and tail again characteristic with a curious break effect halfway down tail. Runs m.m. crown and tun.

38 Inelegant far too detailed portrait, armour very obvious, single sash with centre line but a box end, king has square toe, a clumsy scroll sword cross guard. Horse’s tail shoots straight out from body. Comes between 36 and 44 in m.m. tun, but is
brought out again (see Burstall Lot 276) triangle/anchor possibly/tun on obverse, also one with anchor/tun obverse
anchor reverse. These pieces parallel the shillings noted by Raymond Carlyon-Britton and mentioned by Mr Sharp.3

This family would seem to be inspired by the 'Return to London' medal of 1633 though on the medal the horse is prancing
vigorously and the king holds a baton upright, his sword being sheathed. The medal leads in the absence of plumes and
barding, but curiously has the crowned rose painted or tattooed on the horse’s rump which, as in 04 and 24, does not survive.

3 Type 38 comes between 36 and 44 in mm. tun, but is
brought out again in mm. triangle over anchor (possibly over
tun) Burstall Lot 276, also one with anchor over tun
obverse/anchor reverse. These pieces parallel the shillings
noted by Raymond Carlyon-Britton (NCirc 57 (1949) Col.
60) and mentioned by Mr Sharp.
THE OBVERSE. THE EQUESTRIAN PORTRAITS (CONT.)

42. The Scottish Rebellion Medal, included because of its resemblance to 48, ought to occur between 44 and 46, and could have inspired the greater vigour of 46 and the idea of ground under the horse. The same peculiar horse with heavy brows, prominent eyes and nostrils, with flying mane and tangled tail is seen in 48, which also appears at Aberystwyth and Shrewsbury. A remarkably similar style turns up later at the Truro mint, which is curious as the medal is attributed to Simon.

This connection between the Tower and the western mints, can also be seen in harp 56. I mentioned this in 1954, but it was contraverted by the expert on the western mints, who said that no Tower type had been found in the western products. I did not realise, at the time, that he did not know that harp 56 - common on the western shields - existed at the Tower, where it is a rarity. I only know of three coins, all half-crowns portrait 92, m.m. star

(1) 92 ..M- 13222.2/95 56 ..M-7.7.5 Lockett V 482 a6 Pl 136 R.1 No. 6
(2) 92 ..M- 13332.3/95 ..M-7.7.5 (Neg. 348)
(3) 92 ..M- 13222.3/95 56 ..M-7.7.5 (Neg. 0712)

Three differing obverse dies, the missing dot in two, could be due to bad double striking, the harps themselves seem to vary.

44. Starts in m.m. tun and runs through m.m. anchor to triangle, reappears in triangle-in-circle and persists into m.m. (P).

Sword is in line with the front of the saddle cloth, which in worn specimens gives the effect of a lance.

Four pieces have the French title missing, all are probably from the same obverse die, two are m.m. second anchor, two are triangle (altered); the reverses have three different harps.

46. Appears in m.m. triangle and persists into star, a crude but very vigorous portrait, as mentioned above.

48. Again triangle to star, also at Aberystwyth and Shrewsbury, as above. Scabbard would appear to protrude beyond the horse's rump.
It is here with the 40s in m.m. tun we come to dies having a portrait probably made from a single punch, 38 would seem to 
be made from small punches, 44 from one. This is noticeable in the shillings, where 65 and 67 look alike, but whereas in 65 the 
hair is joined at the neck, in 67 it is of one piece (more of which when we come to m.m. tun in the shillings).

In the half-crowns particularly, the image is weakened and appears to have been touched up, the cloaks in the 40s vary 
within a type; and in m.m. tun the early pieces of type 44 have a wider head and crown. This may of course be due to double 
striking.

Here again the inner circle adds to the complications, it may have been put on after the portrait, or vice versa, but in some 
cases the tip of the sword, and the horse's hind hoof, penetrate it unharmed, in some they stay within it, and in others they 
are mutilated by it, or the odd bead of the inner circle appears on the blade of the sword. These variants together with 
variations in juxtaposition can be shown by decimals.

In m.m. triangle in the half-crowns, and triangle-in-circle in the crowns, we have the rarities of the Briot portraits 
appearing on the regular issues, so, on the chart, I have included Briot's patterns and Scottish pieces, as the few worn 
specimens would seem to have features from both. These form the 50s and, again, this is a matter for future study.

Following the 40s in m.m. star and triangle-in-circle we have the welcome intrusion of portrait 92, which, alas, due to the 
increased output is usually badly struck, it persists as a rarity into m.m. (P) with 44.

Here it takes over the crowns, replacing the worn 32, which turns up refreshed - perhaps as a new die from old punches - as 
the pound and half-pound at Shrewsbury.

The 60s are a new and cruder version of 44, usually double struck (at times even triple struck). 62 and 64 are freaks, I only 
know of one 62 and two 64s, though doubtless others exist.
62 is curious, in that it looks like a tryout for 92 on a 44 die. The horse and sword are identical with 44 but the king's armour has been worked over, never in the 44s were the faces so clear, the absence of the horse's tail is probably due to bad striking, but it could be a tryout of the turned tail, the cloak would seem to have been altered towards 66.

In the case of 64, the most striking feature is the sloping rump of the horse; the horse's mane has been altered to the 66 version, as has the cloak.

One could imagine a period of experiment towards 92 using 44 dies, the products abandoned, only to be dragged into use when, in m.m. (P) 92 was promoted to the crowns, and 44 was on its last legs.

66 is the regular die for m.m. (P) and (R). In (R) the 80s begin but in m.m. eye we have 68, a die on its own, only occurring in m.m. eye, probably the best of the 60s when viewed on the coin, but which does not bear enlargement.

The 70s are left, to be used if future work shows a need.

Again with the 80s we have freaks, but in this case the ground is firmer. 82 and 84 were singled out by Lingford, and brought to my notice by the late Mr. Albert Baldwin. Through the 80s the horse degenerates till by 86 we have a thin rope-like tail. 88 is identical except for the king's head, which becomes horrible, though roughly the same as 82 which has the best horse. The cross on the mound of the crown is retained on 82 and 84 but becomes a spike in 86 and 88. Both 82 and 84 are m.m. eye, 84 is obvious because of its peculiar cloak.

This period of the 60s and 80s is the period of the civil war, when production more than doubled, and some of the skilled staff were with the king. The impression of chaos is contravened by careful measurement: the diameter of the inner circle is reasonably constant and variation is about ten per cent, some of this due to double-striking.
Once the horse is cleared of the barding in the 30s it can be seen that the near foreleg is on the ground, the far leg raised behind the horse’s chest. The near hind leg is raised and forward of the far leg. With the half-crowns in the 90s this is altered, and the near foreleg is raised, the near hindleg on the ground and rearward. This applies to 92, 94, and 96; on the crown 98 the opposite is true and it agrees with all the previous portraits. 92 must have been created in or before 1640, as mentioned previously it looks as if 62 could have been involved; now in the 90s we have another ‘intermediate’ piece: 94 is obviously based on 92, it is the same horse’s head, with the lower jaw removed and the nose trimmed, the far side of the horse’s mane, which shows in front of the chest is removed, and the tail is straightened out. What is not so obvious is that the legs of the horse are now in the 96 position. The king’s sword is halfway between the slope of 92 and the upright of 96. Because it is often unrecognized it is probably less of a rarity than might be imagined: there were two in the Lingford collection compared with eight 96s, and the British Museum has one compared with five 96s. It was the only specimen of a Charles I half-crown in the Saffron Walden Museum.
With 96 the change from a three-quarter horse to one in profile is complete. While the king's pose is similar, his sword is now upright and his sash which in 92 was on his left shoulder is now on his right, its usual position. The horse though sideways on is the same height as 92 but shorter from head to tail, or rather from nose to rump, as the tail sticks out more; the head is much smaller, the mane more flowing, and flows over the rein, the tail severely straightened in 94, now flows over roughly the same area. The king's cloak which in 66, 92 and 94 has appeared as twin 'sleeves' like a pelisse, is now a sash tied at the waist.

98 is sometimes regarded as a large version of 86 for the crowns. Actually, as mentioned before, the horse stands on different legs, the mane appears in front of the chest as in 92, and in this case in front of the torse. For most of its length it is tightly bound, and only near the saddle does it flow over the rein. The mane appearing in front of the chest is horribly out of balance, even worse than that of 92, as can be seen in each case by imagining the near side appearing in the same place.

Whereas in 96 the king's head and crown are smaller and neater, in 98 the head is bucolic and the crown spreading. In 98 the king's crown touches the inner circle, his sword passes through it, and the horse's hind hoof is superimposed on it.

92 is badly struck, the only 94s I have seen, have been worn, the 96s are struck with more care, as are the 98 crowns.

The problem of badly struck pieces throughout the reign can only be solved by concentrated work on small areas, a society of Charles I enthusiasts who would collect, photograph and pool information would seem to be the answer.

Often one reads a piece of work, all very complete and tied up, and perhaps wishes one could have done something towards it. Here is a work very incomplete, with lots still to be done. I have attempted to show the way in the 10s.
The Bust Portraits (Nos. 1-49)
The Busi Portraits (Nos. 51-99)
Like the equestrian portraits, the number and variety of the bust portraits is remarkable. In part this must be linked with the tremendous volume of output but this cannot be the whole explanation because variety persists even in the years when we know that output was low. At all events, Charles's hair, beard, moustache, nose and so on undergo remarkable changes, so that for the most part we are being presented with a cartoon rather than the real face of the king. A proportion of the coins is double struck, which adds to the distortion.

To ensure reasonable clarity, it may be well to go over the head and shoulders portraits generally, before dealing with the families in detail.

The Crown

The English Crown is usually shown as in the diagram below, having a cross, edge-on, front and rear, (A & C) and one full face in the centre (B). Between these three crosses are two lis (E & F). From these are arches supporting the central mond. A single arch usually means an arch composed of two straps which may be one curve, with the mond clear at the top, or the mond may be set in, each strap forming a separate curve. In this case there is a temptation to talk of two arches, and hence confusion.

As the king faces our left, the left side of his features and crown are shown, if we adopt the scheme shown in the sketch and plan above, the only complete arch shown is that from A to C, this is composed of the front strap A-M (No. 1) and the rear strap M-C (No. 2). Strap No. 3 is seen, end on, above the centre cross B; it is not always shown. Straps 4 and 5 do not constitute an arch, but as the plan shows, are the near halves of the two diagonal arches. These diagonal arches from the lis are now shown in 1, 73, 75, 77, and 79 and in fact there are no diagonal arches to the lis on the present crown. Naturally, we never see the straps to H, D, and G. In the half-crowns the diagonal straps first appear in 28, then 44 and its derivatives 62, 64, 66 but the individual 68 does not have them; 82, 86, and 88 do.

The balls which occur on the straps up to and including 49 have been referred to as 'pearls' or 'jewels'. In scale they must have been the size of large marbles. They could be regarded as ballflower ornaments or crocketts - on the Scottish crown they have this appearance. While the front and back straps of 49 have no pearls, the cross strap has, most illogically, two very clear pearls. Usually on the cross strap they are shown with two border strips but in 9 the pearls are the border with lines between them; in 43 they again form the border, but in 41 pearls are bordered by pearls.

Wear, or bad striking, reduce the balls to lobes, serrations or even spikes:

Features

This must have been a sensitive subject with the king, as the slightest variation of striking, or wear, can produce the most unfortunate results; a line misplaced, only by its own width can make the profile idiotic (those
THE OBVERSE. THE BUST PORTRAITS (CONT.)

Shown below are all 19. Also there must have been a constant battle between the bucolic truth and the desired delicacy.

**Ruffs**

The first family has distinctive ruffs, later the distinctions are harder to pinpoint. Ruffs are replaced by collars in the 40s.

**Collars**

In the 40s-70s one sees the edge of the far side at the throat, two lobes of the near side and two more at the side, perhaps one edge-on behind the neck, the long hair flows over, and a distinctive feature can be the covering of part of a lobe. The design on the lobes starts with the 40s as a six pointed star, which persists through the 60s to 67. In 69 it changes to a leaf-vein motive which persists right through the 70s. With 81 to 85 we have a cartwheel and in 89 a degenerate form of the star returns to degenerate further through the 90s.

**Armour**

The king’s armour, where shown, consists of the shoulder (pauldron) and upper arm (rerebrace) with less clear indications of the breastplate and gorget. The first family has no armour, the 10s and 20s have curved lines, indicating the plates of the rerebrace; the triangular centre of the bust may be the breastplate and the ‘row of buttons’ may be rivets. In the 30s the rerebrace is more obvious, and there are signs of a pauldron. The ornamental breastplate shows as a triple ‘V’ from which the centre line descends. With the 40s the rerebrace disappears for good, and we are left with the pauldron and sketchy indications of the breastplate. In the ‘Briot’ portraits of the 80s a much larger version of the pauldron appears. In 79 the rivets of the gorget show.

**The Types**

1-9. Crowned bust of king, in ruff and ermine mantle, wearing a collar of roses and knots.

1. Large unite die. Crown has a single arch of straps 1 and 2, six pearls on each, slight indication of strap 3 without pearls.

3. Large unite die. High arched crown of five straps 1, 4, 5, 2 carrying pearls 7, 5, 3, 5, 8. Bulbous nose and bucolic features.

7. Smaller shilling die similar to type 3 but not so ornate, straps 4 and 5 are bare, 1 and 2 carry 9 and 8, 3 has an edging of two rows of three. Bulbous nose and bucolic features as type 3.
9. Smaller shilling die, pearls instead of lis on crown band, pearls on all straps. 1 and 2 carry eight, 4 and 5 carry five. 3 has two rows of three as type 7. Little similarity to type 1, except that it is not so bucolic as types 3 and 7.

10. Crowned bust of king in ruff and armour, with cloak at near shoulder. 10s are the larger unite dies, the 20s the smaller shilling, ratio about 17/16. 19 is common to both and could have been 29.

11. Short ‘chubby’ bust. From now until 73 all five straps are present and in 11 the pearls are 7, 5, 2, 5, 6.

13. Longer bust, seems like an unfortunate attempt at 19, straps and pearls as 11.

17. Long narrower bust with fewer pearls on crown 5, 4, 2, 3, 5.

19. The final and best bust of the series, it would seem to have evolved from the former attempts, but alas for theory! A smaller version exists in the sixpences, m.m. negrohead and dated 1626. So in a time before mechanical reductions (or vice versa) a satisfactory copy only turns up in m.m. castle in the unites and not till m.m. heart in the shillings.

21. Short ‘chubby’ bust, a smaller version of 11 with bulbous nose; bust or mond impinge on inner circle; in m.m. castle the bust touches the legend. Concave front of bust, pearls 8, 5, 2, 5, 8.

23. Very much as 21: nose not so bulbous, face longer, body shorter, ruff thinner, front of bust convex, pearls 7, 5, 2, 5, 8.

25. More delicate bust which nearly monopolises the shillings of m.m. first anchor; like 17 in that the head is narrower and the pearls on the crown are sparse, 4, 3, 2, 3, 4.

27. Discovered by Mr Sharp; as 25 but one more pearl on straps 1 and 2, 5, 3, 2, 3, 5. In 25 the mond can be within or impinge on the inner circle, the base of the bust can impinge on the inner circle, or penetrate it to rest on or even divide the legend.

30. Common to all is the more obvious pauldron, the upper plates of the rerebrace, the very large knot of the cloak just above them, and the knot on the far shoulder in front of the bust. 33, 35 and 37 were probably all intended as unite dies; 39 is noticeably smaller, but 33 after appearing as a pattern on shillings gets used for them in the ordinary issue, is not uncommon, but less common than 39 in the shillings. All have a three-line pattern on the breast-plate.

31. A rare pattern, crown, head and ruff very much as 19, except the crown has more jewels to the band, and fewer pearls to the straps (7, 4, 2, 4, 7). Below the ruff comes the three-line pattern or chain, the shoulder knots, a plain pauldron, and the top of the rerebrace.

33. As above, but now the pauldron and rerebrace have a line running down the centre with rivets to each side. Also the folds of the cloak, which in the 10s and 20s was behind the pauldron, appears in front of it and becomes more obvious as the family progresses. As mentioned above, this is probably intended as a unite die, but after use on shilling patterns, gets pressed into normal shilling production. Francis must have classed it as a pattern, as he neither mentions nor illustrates it.

35. Larger portrait, higher arched crown, narrower pauldron and rerebrace rivets but no centre line; the chain-like loop in front becomes a solid loop and part of the pauldron with an extra rivet. Common in the unites, it is found as carefully struck patterns in the shillings. Pearls on straps are 8, 6, 3, 7, 8 and on all 30s, 40s, 50s and 60s there are pearls between the crosses and lis of the crown band. One exception is the Briot pattern 49 which, through engrailed for the pearls, does not have them.

37. Again common in the unites. The features differ slightly, the mond of the crown is lower, causing a dip in the front to back arch, and the pauldron has chevrons instead of curves. Pearls on straps 7, 5, 2, 5, 8. (the near strap might have 3).

39. The smaller shilling die, which also appears on the unites. The common die for the shillings, no rivets on pauldron, pearls on straps 7, 4, 3, 4, 7.

40. Crowned bust of king in lace collar and armour. There is no ruff and no cloak, and nothing tied on the shoulder. The hair flows down onto the pauldron, the Vs on the breastplate are small enough to be the gorget, and there is some indication of a sash on the near shoulder. The dies as before are formed from small punches, and the hair is seen to be divided at the nape of the neck, and it would seem that small 'cover up' punches are used to cover any gap. This applies to dies up to 65, with the exception of the pattern 49.

43. The Briot pattern unite m.m. plumes illustrated by Mr Schneider.

45. The Briot pattern not scarce on unites or shillings.

A curved flaw develops on the 47 die.
THE OBVERSE. THE BUST PORTRAITS (CONT.)

50s. Very much as the 40s but no pearls on the straps of the crown; really one family, distinguished by slight differences in features till we come to 65 and 67, which look so much alike and originate from a different method of die production. As before mentioned, 65 is made up of small punches causing a break in the hair at the nape of the neck, whereas in 67 the hair flows straight through, as it does with all dies thereafter.

Profiles

51. A small, neat, shilling portrait, usually staying within the inner circle. It can impinge, and in one case, due to double striking, penetrates it; usually m.m. harp but persists to m.m. portcullis. A flaw occurs during m.m. harp and is carried by all specimens of m.m. portcullis (as in the illustration). The type is not rare but so far unrecognised.

53. A pattern which I only know from the shillings, there is no inner circle.

55. With 61, the regular die for this family; both 55 and 61 occur in unites and shillings. In the unites 55 runs from portcullis to triangle; in the shillings it occurs in m.m. portcullis with inner circle, disappears for bell and crown and reappears without inner circle in m.m. tun, as a rarity. It has peculiar semitic features but when these are worn it is difficult to distinguish from 61; however, in 55 the front lobe of the collar is nearly clear of hair, whereas in 61 the hair half covers the collar lobe. The tooth ornament in front of the pauldron has smaller and more numerous teeth than 61.

57. A damaged or cut down 55 die, occurs as a unite in m.m. second anchor.

59. Rare and not mentioned before, sharp features.

61. The other regular die, portcullis and bell on the shillings, bell to (P) on the unites but not triangle-in-circle. In the shillings it has the inner circle in portcullis but not in bell or the rare crown specimens.

63. A weak version of 61 which appears on the unites with 61.

51 and 59, alike, these two dies are made by different methods; 65 by small punches, 67 by one punch, it is here that the join in the hair ceases. On 65 the band of the crown has six jewels with two pearls between each, the hair breaks at the neck and has a parallel curve at its tip, the collar front has a straight line at the throat with dots above, the first rear lobe of the collar is obscured by hair (as 61) and there is fine edging to the pauldron. On 67 the band of the crown has nine jewels with no pearls, there is no break in the hair, but there is a twist and outward turn at its tip, the collar front has a curved line at the throat with no dots, the first rear lobe is clear of the hair (as 55) and there is large lobed edging to the pauldron.
The hideous portrait below looks like a mis-striking but it occurs too often to be just that; it must be a mis-struck die and very often turns up double struck! Only the nine-jewel crown band and the large teeth on the pauldron identify it as a distorted 67.

Quite a rarity, and so far not found in good condition, but distinct from the rest of the family. The hair brushed forward, and the leaf-vein motif are of the succeeding family, it is a precursor of the 70s but still really a 60, even as 79 is a precursor of the 80s while being a definite 70.

The 'Aberystwyth' family. Strictly speaking, this name is incorrect because, whereas the family as a whole may be identified with the Tower, only three of its members—73, 75, and 79—may be associated with Aberystwyth. 71 and 73 both occur in tun; 73 (with 75) persists into anchor and is akin to the later 70s in that it has no diagonal straps to the crown. The main reason for 71 being 71 is that it exists with the reverse shield of the previous issue and, like that issue, has no inner circle.

Generally the characteristics of the individuals should be obvious from the chart, but (as in 65 and 67) one feature is worthy of emphasis: the lock of hair just above the pauldron.
These differences are only accentuated by wear:

The missing 73 is obvious by its size, and 79 is an odd man out, mistaken by Morrieson to be a 'Briot' type.

71. Small neat bust, the only 70 with diagonal straps.
73. Large neat bust, a rarity in m.m. second anchor.
75. Probably the commonest bust, showing variation in features, and also suffering damage (very early in m.m. second anchor the far collar goes missing and the crown progressively disintegrates). Finally, it turns up as the puzzle pieces published by Raymond Carlyon-Britton. The British Museum holds two similar (not the same) horrors.
77. Distinguished, as shown above, by the 'O' at the base of the hair. With 71, it is an 'Aberystwyth' type which does not occur at Aberystwyth.
79. Common at Aberystwyth, rare at the Tower, in fact very rare in good condition. What is more usual is a horrible mis-struck die; as in 67 this must be a faulty die.

One other little mystery turns up in m.m. second anchor, the specimen in the British Museum is by no means perfect, but it is obviously not one of the five types shown on the chart. It is the first of the Aberystwyth portraits for the sixpences, used on a shilling.

'H.W. Morrieson, 'The Coinage of Aberystwyth, 1637-42', BNJ 10 (1913), 187. 'The sixth and last shilling (Plate II, Fig. 7) . . . The obverse, D, has a bust which might be called Briot's, and is like that on the later Tower shillings with mint-mark triangle (Plate I, Fig. 14)'. He obviously does not know that the same bust, like all other 'Aberystwyth' busts exists at the Tower and the portrait he compares it with is my 83 not 79.
The "Briot" bust: not such a tight-knit family as might appear at first sight.

The Briot pattern, with all its detail, even this varies axially with its legend. The collar is of eight-spoked wheels, though it is difficult to see more than six on the centre one at the bottom; on the shoulder and at the throat it ends in half wheels. The pauldron is double arched, the arches standing clear above a single arch, which is the top of a shaded, spindle shaped truncation. Even in the patterns, the shaded truncation may be indistinct or missing. Forward from the shoulder, the rest of the pauldron shows as a riveted strip, with a toothed lower edge. m.m.; second anchor, triangle.

The same portrait but rarely showing detail, usually badly struck - which brings the imagination into play, giving the impression of a more masterly portrait badly struck - in fact mis-striking sometimes enhances the portrait! Great variety in legend and lettering.

Meticulous, in the worst sense of the word; all the detail is accentuated with little inspiration. The crown is slightly higher. There are about five profiles. The collar, which lost the spokes of its wheels in 83, now gets them all back, but the halves at neck and throat disappear. The rivets which are rarely seen in 83 come back on the pauldron, but the toothed border disappears, the double arch lowers to touch the single arch underneath, and the shaded truncation becomes more obvious. Both the legends and the lettering become stabilised.

These profiles do not benefit by the bad striking. The 'cut down' version (85.3) is not what it seems, as it can occur in the first m.m. triangle-in-circle, the good (85.1) and the bulbous (85.9) in the last m.m. (R). At its worst the long portrait (85.5) is a straight line from forehead to nose, a dent, and another line from lip to chin.

The wheel design on the collar is abandoned and there is a return to the design of the 40s, 50s, and 60s but this time with no clear central star to the lobes; and confusion reigns when these are touched up with meaningless punch marks. The pauldron reverts to the high double arches, loses its rivets, and goes back to the ornamental border. The shaded truncation is replaced by a small arch. The profile is heavy, and the crown is barbarised, in that it sacrifices reality to become a pattern, the upper edge of the band is engrailed, so that the spaces between the crosses and lis are rounded and one has more the impression of four circles, or perhaps two circles to each side of the centre cross, and outside them two comma-retort-alembic shapes. m.m. eye, sun.

A very mixed family, but shown adequately on the chart. 91 is the unite type for m.m. eye, sun; 93 is a modified version for m.m. sceptre; 95 is the shilling portrait for m.m. sun, sceptre; 97 and 99 occur in m.m. sceptre only; 97 would seem to be a smaller version of 95; 99 has broad features, shared only by 69, otherwise one would wonder if Cromwell was indicated!
THE TOWER COINS OF CHARLES I

THE REVERS. CROWNS OVER THE SHIELD ON GOLD COINS

1. (Sch.1; Figs. 25–7) Occurs with shields 46, 47 and 48, m.m. lis to first anchor. Two straps only to crown (1 and 2) pearls between lis and outer crosses, engraved band.

2. (Sch. 2; Fig. 29) Occurs with shield 62, m.m. feathers and rose. Five straps, seven pearls on 1 and 2, three on 3, five on 4 and 5. Band engraved to lis and crosses, pearls between.

3. (Sch. 2; Fig. 30) Occurs with shield 62, m.m. first anchor to feathers, portcullis and second anchor. Five straps, six pearls on 1, five on 2, two on 3, and three on 4 and 5. Engraved to lis and crosses, pearls between, tall lis and crosses.

4. (Fig. 21) Occurs with shield 61 (pattern), m.m. feathers. Five straps, five pearls on 1 and 2, three on 3 and 5, two on 4. Flat band to crown, similar design to 6, pearls between lis and crosses.

5. (Sch. 3; Figs. 28, 31) Occurs with shields 49 and 77, m.m. heart to sceptre. Five straps to crown, five pearls on 1 and 2, three on 3, none on 4 and 5. Flat band to crown, pearls between lis and crosses.

6. (Sch. 4; Fig. 19) Occurs with shield 52 (pattern), m.m. heart. Five straps to crown, six on 1 and 2, three on 3 and 4, two on 5. Flat band, with no pearls, continues at ends.

7. (Fig. 34) Briot pattern, five straps but no. 3 rudimentary, seven pearls on 1 and 2, two on 4 and 5. Engraved band to crown which continues, pearls between lis and central cross.

8. (Fig. 36) Briot pattern, four straps to crown, no pearls on straps. Engraved band to crown, which continues, pearls between lis and central cross.

THE REVERSE. THE PLUMES, DENOTING WELSH SILVER

This use of plumes over the reverse shield starts in the last years of James I (m.m. thistle, lis and trefoil) when the plumes measure about 7 mm across the widest part. Under Charles I wider plumes were introduced, blowing out as it were; an excellent concept tending to an untidy result, approximately, 10 mm. across the widest part.

1. Wide plumes (9.6 mm), wide crown (8.0 mm); two ribbons trail out to over 15 mm. Occurs on crowns m.m. lis and cross-on-steps (Francis, Pl.I/5&6; Cooper, Pl.XVI/VI; Lingford, I, 84 & 86; Lockett, II, 2251 & 2253; Ryan, II, 1060)

2. Like the James I plumes, but wider. Crosses and lis of crown on an engraved band. Crown about 6.5 mm wide, ribbon 10.5 mm across widest part, lower bands not as wide. Occurs on crowns m.m. castle (Francis, II/2; Cooper, Pl.XVII/X & XI; Lingford, I, 87; Lockett, II, 2254; Ryan, II, 1063); on half-crowns and shillings m.m. cross-on-steps, negro head and castle. (see half-crowns m.m. cross-on-steps (Ryan, II, 1085; Lockett, III, 3396), negro head (Ryan, II, 1086; Lockett, II, 2277, 2280), castle (Francis, Pl.I/7), shillings m.m. cross-on-steps (Ryan, II, 1102; Lockett, II, 2300), negro head (Francis, Pl. I/7 & 8; Ryan, II, 1105; Lockett, II, 2301, IV, 4167), castle (Francis, Pl. II/2; Lockett, II, 2302; III, 3413)).

3. Wide plumes (9.5 mm), wide crown (8.25 mm) with plain band, double ribbon 11.25 mm across. Occurs on half-crown m.m. lis (Francis, Pl. I/6; Lockett, II, 2279).

4. As above but no plumes show between crown and ribbon, narrower crown (6 mm), ribbon only 10 mm across, but wider centre plume (3.4mm). Occurs on rare half-crown m.m. plumes 0.24 with rose on crupper (not in Francis: Ryan, II, 1089).

* Schneider, BNF 28 (1955–57), 362–74. Plates XVI, XVII
5. Similar to above but crosses and lis of crown are on an engrailed band, and the ribbon is single and forked at the ends, double fold in ribbon only 1.5 mm high. Not in Francis. Occurs on shillings Ø.23 (Burstable 293; Brettell 80).

6. Smaller version of 3, plumes 8.25 mm across, double ribbon, band of crown has seven jewels not engrailed. Occurs on crown m.m. harp (Francis, Pl. III/1; Cooper, Pl. XVII/XVII; Lockett, II, 2258; Ryan, II, 1068).

7. The smallest of the family, plumes 7.5 mm across, two ribbons 7 mm across, band of crown has seven jewels and is not engrailed. Not in Francis – occurs on shillings m.m. plumes Ø.19. (Lockett, II, 2305).

8. The narrower neater plumes, first the original James I plumes, the obvious inspiration for No. 2, but only 7 mm across, with no engrailed band to crown, and the forked ends of the ribbon equally extended, whereas in 2 the top of the fork extends beyond the bottom. It would seem to be the only type for all denominations. There are minor variations in the ribbon, crown, and the angle of the webb of the plume to its rib. The same plumes, a clumsy crown, the same ribbon but with huge ‘lobster claws’ added. Occurs on crowns m.m. cross-on-steps (Francis, Pl. II/1; Cooper, Pl. XVII/X; Lockett. V, 4469).
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THE REVERSE. THE PLUMES (CONT.)

9. As above, but smaller 'claws' and here there are minor varieties; the lis and centre cross would seem to have been roughly added to a band which originally was decorated with pearls. The 'claws' give several minor variants:

9.3 has no upper claw on the right (BM. cast), shilling, m.m. cross-on-steps
9.5 large upper right claw, straight lower right claw, shilling, m.m. lis (Ryan, II, 1101). 9.7 right claws have developed into a greyhound, half-crown, m.m. cross-on-steps (Farquhar, 43), m.m. negro head (Neg. 1354).
9.9 a double band for the central part of the ribbon both claws turn up and can have 'ears'. Occurs on shillings, m.m. lis (Francis, PI. I/6; Lockett, II, 2298). A variety of 9.9 exists with the lower claw flat as 9.3 and 9.5.

10. Only known to me from Mr Sharp's illustration. An odd man out, but linked by the 'narrow plumes' and the plant two line band: the centre cross has almost become part of the web of the central plume, the lis are reduced to pearls, the ribbon could be as the James I type.

11. Same plumes, same band width to crown, but does not spread; part of an engraved band connects the centre cross to lis, giving a link with 9 especially as the left lis is often missing. Ribbon as wide as 9 before the claws were added, but ends are smaller. Left ribbon degenerates, 11.7 (Neg. 17); 11.9 (Lockett, III, 3416). Occurs on half-crowns m.m. first anchor (Lockett, IV, 4161), heart (Francis, PI. I/6; Lockett, II, 2281; Ryan, II, 4089); shillings m.m. castle (Francis, PI. II/3; Lockett, IV/4169; V, 4488; first anchor (Francis, PI. II/3&4; Lockett, III, 3414), heart (Francis, PI. III/5: Lockett, III, 3416; 11.9; V, 4491), plumes (Lockett, V, 4492).

12. Same plumes, but now with a single trailing ribbon, band of crown is engraved, including the outer crosses. Occurs on shillings m.m. heart (Ryan, II, 1111), plumes (Francis, PI. I/6; Lockett, IV, 4171). 12.7 As above, but ribbon cut short. Occurs on shillings m.m. heart (Lockett, II, 2304) plumes (Lockett, III, 3417).

The last group, of smaller plumes, about 7 mm across, but of the earlier 'blown out' concept, like 7, but in all these, the ribbon passes behind the central plume, the crowns have no engraving, and very small crosses and lis, in worn condition. They can be difficult to separate.

13. Starts with a blaze of glory, taking over m.m. plumes on crown, half-crown, shilling and sixpence, persisting on the first three for m.m. rose; half-crowns are known for m.m. harp. It has a single, forked ribbon, passing behind the centre plume, and with a sharp bend on each side of the plumes, spread of plumes, about 8 mm. Occurs on crowns m.m. plumes (Francis, PI. II Nos. 3 & 4; Cooper, PI. XVII Nos. 12 & 13; Lingford, 90; Lockett, II/2255; Ryan, II/1064), rose (Francis, PI. II No. 5; Cooper, PI. XVII Nos. 12 & 13; Lingford, 92; Lockett, II/2256, III/3386); half-crowns m.m. plumes (Burstall, 270), rose (Burstall, 271; Lockett, III/3400, V/4474; Ryan, II/1090), harp (Burstall, 274; Lockett, II/2284, III/3401); shillings m.m. plumes (Francis, PI. III No. i; Burstall, 298; Lockett, II/2307, III/3418, V/4495; Ryan II/1115), rose (Francis, PI. III No. 2; Lockett, II/2308); sixpences m.m. plumes (Francis, PI. I No. 11).

14. Two ribbons, with a sharp fold on each side of the plumes, the whole is smaller than 13 and a narrower, single band to the crown. Without jewels makes the crown seem to be higher up the plumes. There are two dots like punch marks at the base of the centre cross and the left lis, and these show when other features are worn away. The left lower ribbon is curled, but this is only visible on good specimens, and almost impossible to distinguish in printed reproductions. Starts with 13 but only on the sixpences, where in m.m. plumes they are the first Welsh plumes to replace the date. Occurs on half-crown m.m. harp (Francis, PI. II/4); shilling m.m. harp (Francis, PI. IV/1; Lockett, II, 2315; Farquhar, 54), bell (Lockett, II, 2316); sixpence m.m. plumes (Lockett, II/2336, III/3430; Burstall, 323); rose (Neg. 1120).

14.5 Wear on the left ribbons makes them appear to be a single forked ribbon not really a variant, but if the right side is obliterated can look like a totally different type. Occurs on half-crown m.m. rose (Francis, PI. II/1); portcullis (Francis, PI. III/2; Lockett, II, 2290); shilling m.m. bell (Francis, PI. IV/2; Lockett, III, 3423; Ryan, II, 1124).

14.7 Not so common, the same trouble but on the right side. Occurs on shilling m.m. crown (Neg. 0217).

15. Peculiar in that it first appears in worn condition, the plumes looking like feather mops with little webb on the upright ribs of the side plumes and none on the centre plume. There are two ribbons, and the crown has a double band with jewels like 13. An unusually good specimen shows the centre cross as a carefully worked trefoil, but this soon turns into the usual cross. It replaces 13 on the sixpences for m.m. rose, which is the last m.m. for sixpences with Welsh plumes. It then occurs with extended ribbons on the crowns of m.m. portcullis, where varying amounts of webb are added to the bare uprights but the left limb of the centre cross is cut off in line with the centre rib. Damage which showed on the lower right ribbon in the sixpences is neatly hidden by placing it behind the scroll of the shield (the one on the left is behind the ribbon). These types with the elongated ribbons only occur on the crowns m.m. portcullis and are given even decimals to distinguish them. 15.5 is the same as 15.4 but with the shorter ribbons as is 15.7 to 15.6.

Sharp, Plate IX No. 77.
Finally, a much repaired variety, still recognisable by the break in the lower right ribbon, serves crown, half-crown and shilling, to the end of Tower Mint plumes in m.m. tun. 15.4 and 15.6 follow is chronologically, but have been numbered so that their shortened versions 15.5 and 15.7 fall into sequence with the other short ribbons in increasing amounts of Webb on the plumes. 15.1 occurs on half-crown m.m. bell (Francis, Pl. III No. 3); sixpence m.m. rose (Francis, Pl. I No. 12). 15.3 occurs on half-crown m.m. bell (Lockett, II n/i Pl. 89 R.2 Nos 3 & 4); crown (Francis, Pl. III No. 5; Lockett, II n/i Pl. 89 R.3 No. 2; III n/i Pl. 112 R.4 No. 5), tun (Lockett, III n/i Pl. 112 R.4 No. 6); shilling m.m. crown (Burstall, 308; Lockett, II n/i Pl. 90 R.6 Nos. 3 & 5). 15.4 occurs on crown m.m. portcullis (Francis, Pl. III No. 2; Cooper, XVII No. 18; Lockett, II, 2259; Lingford, I, 100). 15.5 occurs on half-crown m.m. bell (Lockett, III n/i Pl. 112 R.4 No. 4). 15.6 occurs on crown m.m. portcullis (Persons, 418). 15.7 occurs on half-crown m.m. bell (Francis, Pl. III No. 4), crown (Ryan, II, 1098). 15.9 occurs on half-crown m.m. tun (Francis, Pl. III No. 6; Lockett, II, 2293); shilling m.m. tun (Lockett, III, 3424; Burstall, 309).

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Occurrence of Plumes denoting Welsh silver

[Diagram of plumes and occurrences]

Crown  Half-crown  Shilling  Sixpence
The Fleurs

The fleurs, Nos. 1–19, are illustrated below. Where these occur on the shillings and sixpences with the plain shield, they give their number to the shield. No. 10 is given to the fleurless shield which occurs under the Welsh plumes.

1. The central fronds are fern-like, with single bracts. The leaves are bifid, with outward turned sides. This is the fleur which occurs on the thirty shilling ryal of James I (1619–25); with lower bracts it occurs on shield 67.
2. Inspired by 1, but with two bracts to the fronds and with cleft side leaves (trifid). It is about as common as 3 on the first shield of the crowns and half-crowns (20s & 30s). Probably does not occur on the second shield of the crowns. Predominant on the second shield of the half-crowns, and on the shields of the shillings.

3. Single-bract fronds with cleft side leaves in two segments. It is about as common as 1 on the first shield of the crowns. Probably the only fleur on the second shield. As common as 1 on the first shield of the half-crowns, but not on the second shield.

Extremely rare on the shillings (can be seen with portrait 21 on sheet 90, (first coin at top left hand corner) of coins not illustrated in the Lockett sales, m.m. cross-on-steps). On both crowns and half-crowns it is usually just touching the outer loop of the ornament, whereas 2 passes through to meet the side of the shield.

4. Single-bract fronds, flat-topped leaves with sloping sides. There is a circular axil between the leaves and the fronds, and a circular join between the two fronds. Shillings only. Starts with m.m. cross-on-steps also on sides and bottom, but with plumes No. 2 at the top of the rare shilling m.m. negro head (Lockett, IV lot 4167; Francis, Shillings Pl. I No. 3).

5. This has a single bract and a rudimentary side leaf. Shillings only, as 4 but scarcer.

6-12. These are found on the sixpences. 6 is an attenuated form of 5, but graceful. With 7 starts m.m. lis in the sixpences. 8 is a larger version of 7. 9 and 11 come in during m.m. cross-on-steps. 12, a larger version of 11, occurs in m.m. fist anchor, looks like the fleur from the crown, and pattern shilling (m.m. key) of Elizabeth I.

13. More an ornament than a fleur, occurs with shield 66 on the crowns, also with 62 on a half-crown, obverse 28 in m.m. plumes.

14. The rare lyre type from the sixpence with obverse portrait 73 m.m. tun.

15. Starts on shillings and sixpences with the 'Aberystwyth' portraits in m.m. tun, runs through second anchor to m.m. triangle. In the shillings with portraits 71, 73, 75 and 77 also in m.m. triangle with portrait 83.

16. Much scarcer than 15, looks like a mistake in copying. Occurs as a distinct type on good specimens, but can occur through damage to 15; also runs from tun to triangle with portraits 71, 75 and 77, and on both shillings and sixpences.

17. Starts with portrait 77 in m.m. triangle; occurs with 79, and continues with 83, 85, 87 and 95.

18. Runs with 17 (rather as 16 does with 15) and can occur on the same shield.

19. Appears in m.m. sceptre with portraits 97 and 99, on a smaller shield, and with harp 54.

The 20s (silver crowns)

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The stub which appears at the sides of the shield does not seem to be an integral part of the shield, as it does with the half-crowns; with the crowns it is a thin line, very much the stalk of the fleur, and need not be truly in line with the centre line of the shield, but it does occur in 22 when the fleur stalk does not connect with it.

Fleur 2 usually passes through the outer loop to meet the bar, while fleur 3 is just touched onto the outer loop.

21. The first shield with stub and fleur 2. Cooper, II: CHRISTO.AVS PICE.R EGNO (Lockett, II/2250, IV/4155: Lingford, 74; Cooper, 40; 46).

22. The first shield with stub and fleur 3. Cooper, IV: CHRISTO.AVS PICE.R EGNO (Lockett, V/4466: Lingford, 75; Cooper, 45).

23-25. The first shield without stub and fleur 2. Cooper, I: CHRISTO.AVS PICE.R EGNO. Lockett, III/3382 which is Cooper 43, here the fleur stalks are indistinct but present between loop and bar. Burstall 252, and
THE TOWER COINS OF CHARLES I

THE REVERSE. THE SHIELDS (CONT.)

Parsons 413 with Lockett, V 4467/4468 and Lingford 80 all show the right stalk clearly, but no left stalk, a blob appears on the loop near the bar where it should be. The right stalk when visible is close to the bottom of the loop, if invisible this would be 25. It is not claimed that these three types are in fact separate, but until more is known, it will be convenient to use 23 for the shield showing stalk between loop and bar on both sides, 24 showing on right only, and 25 for not showing on either side.

26. A return to sanity, the first shield, without stubs, and with fleur 3 just touching the loops. Cooper, VIII: CHRI STOAV SPIGE REGNO (Lockett, III, 3384; Cooper, 49).

28. The second shield, which does not have side stubs, and is always with fleur 3 which as usual just touches the loops, but has longer stalks than previously. Cooper, VII: CHRI STOAV SPICE REGNO (Lockett, II, 2252; Lingford, 83; Cooper, 48).

In both 20s and 30s, the first shield would seem to be a new design, while the second shield, brought in later, is from the previous reign; it persists without fleurs, to become part of the 40s.

Cooper follows the Francis numbers: Cooper I is Francis 23, 24, 25; Cooper II is Francis 21; Cooper III is not illustrated and Cooper doubts its existence; Cooper IV is Francis 22; Cooper V is from a Ruding plate (Cooper doubts its existence; it looks like a natural, but mistaken, attempt to 'tidy up' and can be disregarded); Cooper VI is without fleurs and therefore comes in the 40s; Cooper VII is Francis 28; Cooper VIII is Francis 26.

The 30s (half-crowns)

Here again we have two shields, the first has the same base and lower side ornaments as the first shield of the crown, but has a loop at the top, in place of the stiff leaves. Unlike the crown it would always appear to have the side stubbs projecting from the central cross of the shield. With fleur 2 these connect right through to the fleurs; with fleur 3 there is a gap between stub and fleur (which is just put onto the loops). With obverse portrait 4 the fleurs divide the top loop (31 and 33) and with obverse portrait 14 the fleur passes behind the loop (32 and 34).

There are six peculiar shields of the half-crowns, all of the second type, three being from coins with the first obverse 4. The first (35) has an edge line all round the design, and the lower side ornaments have the 'inverted drop' interior of the first shield inserted. In each case the left-hand loop through which the fleur joins the shield, is reduced to spurs on each side of the stem of the fleur, and the right hand loop is squat. Also the right hand top corner ornament in the second shows signs of the ornate type. In the second (36) the lower side ornaments come up to a curl, and the motif at the top peeps from behind the fleur stem.

Four other pieces, both of which have the peculiar side loops, and show even more clearly, the curious hollow top right hand ornament, have half of the trifid top ornament to the left of the top fleur, and half of the loop ornament to the right (37). The first of these occurs with the obverse portrait 4, and has the additional peculiarity that the right fleur has been put onto the upper scroll, instead of the loop (37.5).

After which the rules apply; fleur 2 joins the centre cross of the shield (38), fleur 3 is just put onto the loop, leaving a gap (39). The trifid ornament loses its left limb and is most common in its damaged state (38.5). This damage persists when the shield reappears without fleurs in the 40s.

The 40s (unites, crowns and half-crowns)

41. This is the second shield of the 20s without its fleurs, as it appeared in the previous reign. The top ornament is replaced by the plumes which denote Welsh silver.

42. As 41 but the top ornament persists, and can be seen under the plumes, the scrolls at the top seem larger.

43. The second shield of the 30s without its fleurs, usually without, but can be with Welsh plumes.

44. 45 without its top loop, when it is replaced by plumes.

45. With its loop it can occur with or without plumes.

These are two shields which occurred in two sizes in previous reigns. In Charles I's reign new versions were made of 41 and 43 which became the first shields of the 20s and 30s. In the 20s the original shield was used to supplement the copy, but in the 30s both shields were used from the start. The originals were used from the start of James I's reign on crowns and half-crowns without plumes. 44 and 45 start in the reign of Elizabeth, where they appear on the sovereigns of twenty shillings, with a crown above, and on the crowns and half-crowns where they occur over a fleured cross (fleur 11). They persist during the reign of James I, crowned as before on the gold, but on the silver crowns and half-crowns, the Welsh plumes replace the fleured cross.

They were removed from the gold for the reign of Charles I and in the crowns 41 and 42 appear with the fleured cross or with plumes on Welsh silver. On the half-crowns 43 starts with fleurs as 38 and 39 in m.m. lis. One specimen of 39 is known with m.m. cross-on-steps, it is joined by 44 with plumes and 45 with or without plumes, 46 occurs with plumes for m.m. lis (Lockett, II, 2279) and cross-on-steps (Lockett, III, 3396). 44 with plumes occurs with obverse portraits 16 and 18 in m.m. anchor, and with obverse portrait 24 in m.m. heart and feathers.
The Shields (Nos. 51-99)
47. The ornamental shield of the unites.
48-49. Unite shields (Schneider 3 and 3a, 27 and 28 on plate XVII). Shield 48 starts with bust 21 in m.m. cross-on-steps and runs through to m.m. feathers. Shield 49 occurs in m.m. feathers. The H-symbol at the top of 48 is replaced by a crown-like ornament on 49, which also occurs at the bottom and replaces the scrolls at the top corners. The same motif at the sides is replaced by a barrel scroll which is the main ornament of later shields. At the sides of the base, the bend which balances the scroll is removed and the line pointed. The removed bend becomes a tail which develops a scroll head, again a preview of an ornament occurring in later shields.

50s
From the reverse shield on the shillings of Phillip and Mary, which is as 52 but the lis formed by the two top scrolls and centre leaf is more like a trefoil.
51. 52 without the centre leaf at the top, occurs with plumes in m.m. heart with obverse 31.
52. as above occurs with obverse 35 in m.m. feathers without the Welsh plumes (shilling) and m.m. heart (unite).
53. 52 with a rose above (between the C.R.) on a half-crown.
54. From this type to 57 is a series of attempts to hide the rose, in this case a large lis is stamped over the smaller one, and vegetation put round to hide the rose petals.
55. A long necked lis with filaments and dots, also dots at the side of the shield.
56. A lis with filaments and smaller dots.
57. A lis with two sprigs only.
58. The upper limbs of the two top scrolls are greatly enlarged, the original scroll showing underneath; a large centre leaf added to form a lis.
59. As 58 with shorter central leaf, and a filament on one of the side leaves.

52 would seem to be the normal shilling shield for m.m. plumes continuing into m.m. rose. This shield also occurs with Welsh plumes on shillings and half-crowns, the centre leaf not being completely obliterated by the centre stem of the plumes. 53-59 all occur on the half-crowns of m.m. feathers and rose.

This family is often accompanied by a pattern of dots at the top and even down the sides of the shield. With the next two families it is accompanied by the initials C.R.

The 60s
Very similar to the 50s, the main differences being in the top and bottom scrolls.
61. A curious piece, would not be noted if it were not such a fine specimen. The top line from the side scrolls sweeps over the shield and forms the lower band of the crown. Occurs on unites (Schneider XVII No. 21).
62. The normal version of 61, can appear crowned on the unites or plain on the shillings in m.m. plumes and rose.
63. as 62 but with detached lis above, quite common in m.m. rose.
64. Unsuccessful attempt to incorporate lis into shield, fairly common in m.m. rose (both 57 and 58 are shilling shields).
65. Large lis now successfully incorporated into shield design used on the half-crown m.m. rose.
66. The first crown shield of this type, a larger version of 62 with small side fleurs 13 (which can occur with 62 in m.m. plumes with obverse 28, a half-crown). Cooper XII, XIII.
67. The same shield as 66 with the side fleurs replaced by our old friends from the previous reign, fleur 1, which inspired fleurs 2 and 3. The top may have plumes as 66 always has, if not the same fleur is placed here. At the bottom a large rose petal appears, with side petals, which are also added to the three fleurs. A rose is removed from the first half-crown 0.4 from the first of the 30s, 24 and from the previous family of shields 53, at last it is allowed to remain. Cooper, XIV-XVI, P10 XVII, P8 XVIII.
68. An ornate version of the family, the shield of the famous Juxon medal.
69. Smaller version of 68 used on pattern unites and shillings.

The 70s
A mixed bag, hardly a family.
71. Heavily ornate, could have been inspired by 68. Occurs with plumes in m.m. plumes on a half-crown obverse 28 and in m.m. plumes and rose on shillings obverse 39.
72. The half-crown shield for m.m. harp and portcullis. Scrolls at the top sides, wreath motif at bottom side.
THE TOWER COINS OF CHARLES I

75. The shilling shield for m.m. harp and portcullis; wreath motif at top and bottom sides.
77. The unite shield scrolls at top and bottom sides (Schneider XVII No. 31). Runs from m.m. harp to eye.
79. The unite shield, scrolls at top sides, but top, bottom and bottom side ornaments go back to the square unite shield 49, and the bottom side ornaments stay with us through the 80s and 90s. Occurs in m.m. sun and sceptre.

The 80s and 90s
These are all one family.

81. This is the crown shield which occurs with the last three obverse portraits, i.e. all crowns of m.m. portcullis and after to the end of the reign (Cooper XIX). When there are plumes, they are just added without alteration of the shield.
82. This is the half-crown shield which takes over from 75 with m.m. bell; with m.m. crown it gives way to 91. Like the crown die, it has four bars (three slots) on the barrel scrolls.
83-87. The shield of the shillings. Three bars (two slots) on the barrel scrolls.
83. Has three bars between the bottom scrolls. Plain tail to the bottom side ornaments.
84. Has an upright bar between the bottom scrolls.
85. Has nothing between the bottom scrolls. Both 84 and 85 have scroll tails to the bottom side ornaments.
86-87. Have attenuated bottom side ornaments, with long tails.
86. Has bars between bottom scrolls.
87. Has an upright line between bottom scrolls.
88. The shield with top scroll removed for use with plumes.
89. Very superior version of 88 with four bars (three slots) to the barrel scrolls.
91. The odd man out, in that the bottom scrolls are not angular. The half-crown shield which takes over from 82 for m.m. crown and persists till m.m. triangle where it occurs with obverse portraits 44 and 46.
93. Takes over from 91 in m.m. triangle, this and the following shields are half-crown shields, it occurs with portraits 46 and 48 and persists to m.m. star. A larger, rounder shield with four bars (three slots) to the top and bottom barrel scrolls, crowds the reverse.
95. Smaller neater shield, which takes over in m.m. star and goes on to m.m. triangle-in-circle. On the diagram looks like 84, but the lower side ornaments are plainer with the outer parts detached, and as a half-crown shield it is larger than 84, a shilling shield.
97. Starts with m.m. (P) bottom side ornament loses its tail and gains the bottom angular scroll instead. Like 95 it has an upright line between the bottom scrolls.
99. Takes over in m.m. eye as 97 but three minute lines (horizontal) in place of the upright line between the bottom scrolls.

THE REVERSE. THE IRISH HARPS

11. Crown m.m. lis Francis, Pl. I No. 2; Cooper Pl. XVI No. IV.
12. Crown m.m. eye Francis, Pl. V No. 4; Cooper, Pl. XIX Nos. 32-34.
13. Crown m.m. portcullis Francis, Pl. III No. 2; Cooper, Pl. XVII No. 18.
14. Unite m.m. plumes Schneider, Pl. XVII No. 28.
15. Double Crown m.m. heart Schneider, Pl. VIII No. 26.
Sixpence m.m. triangle-in-circle Francis, Pl. II No. 11.
21. Half-crown m.m. cross-on-steps Lockett, III, 3396; Ryan, II, 1085
Shilling m.m. cross-on-steps Lockett, II, 2300 Ryan, II, 1102
m.m. negro head Ryan, II, 1105.
22. Unite m.m. lis Glendining 13.3.1974, 33a, 19.4.1975, 25.
Half-crown m.m. lis Lockett, III, 3392; Burstal, 260.
Shilling m.m. lis Francis, Pl. I No. 1.
m.m. cross-on-steps Neg. 0055.
23. Unite m.m. lis Lockett, II, 2176; Glendining 24.11.1976, 148.
Half-crown m.m. lis Lockett, II, 2274; Checkley, 156.
Shilling m.m. lis Francis, Pl. I No. 2.
24. Double Crown m.m. lis Schneider, Pl. VIII Nos. 23.
25. Unite m.m. lis Schneider, Pl. XVII Nos. 25, 26.
m.m. cross-on-steps Lockett, IV, 4122, 4123.
m.m. negro head Lockett, II, 2179; III, 3352; V, 4436, 4437.
m.m. castle Schneider, Pl. XVII No. 27.
m.m. first anchor Lockett, II, 2181; III, 3355; IV, 4127.
Half-crown m.m. lis Francis, Pl. I Nos. 1 & 6.
The Irish Harps

m.m. cross-on-steps Francis, Pl. I, No. 3.
m.m. negro head Francis, Pl. I No. 4.
m.m. castle Francis, Pl. I No. 5 & 7.
m.m. cross-on-steps Lockett, III, 3410.
m.m. negro head Francis, Pl. I Nos. 7 & 8.
m.m. castle Francis, Pl. II Nos. 1 & 2.

26. Crown
m.m. cross-on-steps Francis, Pl. I No. 4; Cooper, Pl. XVI No. 8.
m.m. cross-on-steps 238

Half-crown
m.m. cross-on-steps 25 (B.M. cast No. 5)
m.m. negro head Lockett, III, 3412 n/i Pl. 113b R5 No. 1.

31. Unite
m.m. lis Lockett, III, 3349 n/i Pl. 100 R.4 No. 1.
m.m. cross-on-steps Lockett, II, 2177, IV, 4124 n/i Pl. 130 R.2 No. 1.
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<td>m.m. castle Francis, Pl. II No. 2; Cooper, Pl. XVII Nos. 10, 11.</td>
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<td>m.m. first anchor Lockett, II, 2303 n/i PI. 89 R.1 No. 5, R.2 No. 1.</td>
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<td>m.m. cross-on-steps Lockett, III, 3367, V, 4455.</td>
<td>m.m. castle Farquhar, 53.</td>
<td>m.m. castle Lockett, II, 2210; V, 4456.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shilling</td>
<td>m.m. heart Lockett, III, 3370.</td>
<td>m.m. first anchor Lockett, V, 4458.</td>
<td>m.m. first anchor Lockett, V, 4458.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unite</td>
<td>m.m. eye Glendining, 20.5.1969 Lot 11.</td>
<td>m.m. sun Schneider, Pl. XVII No. 33.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Lockett, II, 2204; Ryan, I, 466.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-crown</td>
<td>m.m. eye Burstall, 283.</td>
<td>m.m. sun Francis, Pl. V No. 7.</td>
<td>m.m. eye Burstable, 283.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shilling</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Francis, Pl. V No. 8.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Francis, PI. V No. 7.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Francis, Pl. V No. 7; Arch Bp. Sharp, 60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unite</td>
<td>m.m. eye 0324.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Francis, PI. V No. 8.</td>
<td>m.m. sun Noble, 642.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>m.m. lis Lockett, IV, 4121.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Francis, PI. V No. 8.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Francis, Pl. V No. 7; Arch Bp. Sharp, 60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shilling</td>
<td>m.m. cross-on-steps Glendining, 16/6/1977 (Bower) 349.</td>
<td>m.m. first anchor Lockett, IV, 4161.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Francis, PI. V No. 7; Arch Bp. Sharp, 60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixpence</td>
<td>m.m. cross-on-steps Lockett, II, 2325, 2326 n/i PI. 91 R.6 Nos. 2 &amp; 4.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Lockett, II, 2324 n/i PI. 91 R.6 No. 1.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Lockett, II, 2324 n/i PI. 91 R.6 No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shilling</td>
<td>m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. IV No. 3.</td>
<td>m.m. second anchor (L) Lockett, V, 4478 n/i Pl. 135 R.4 No. 3.</td>
<td>m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. IV No. 3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unite</td>
<td>m.m. second anchor (L) Lockett, V, 4478 n/i Pl. 135 R.4 No. 3.</td>
<td>m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. IV No. 3.</td>
<td>m.m. second anchor (L) Lockett, V, 4478 n/i Pl. 135 R.4 No. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-crown</td>
<td>m.m. first anchor Lockett, IV, 4127.</td>
<td>m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. IV No. 3.</td>
<td>m.m. second anchor (R) Lockett, III, 3425 n/i PI. 114 R.5 No. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shilling</td>
<td>m.m. first anchor Lockett, IV, 4127.</td>
<td>m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. IV No. 3.</td>
<td>m.m. triangle 0881.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unite</td>
<td>m.m. heart Lockett, V, 4441.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Lockett, V, 4443.</td>
<td>m.m. sceptre Lockett, V, 4443.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-crown</td>
<td>m.m. plumes Lockett, V, 4443.</td>
<td>m.m. rose Lockett, V, 4446-47.</td>
<td>m.m. rose Lockett, V, 4446-47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shilling</td>
<td>m.m. harp Lockett, IV, 4132; Ryan, I, 449.</td>
<td>m.m. portcullis Lockett, IV, 4133.</td>
<td>m.m. portcullis Lockett, IV, 4133.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Half-crown</td>
<td>m.m. first anchor Lockett, IV, 4161.</td>
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THE REVERSE. THE IRISH HARP (CONT.)

m.m. heart Francis, Pl. I. no. 8; Lockett, II. 2281.
m.m. plumes Lockett, V. 4472 n/i Pl. 134 Row 5 No. 3.
m.m. rose Lockett, V. 4474; Ryan, II. 1090.

Shilling
m.m. first anchor Francis, Pl. II No. 3; Lockett, III. 3414.
m.m. heart Francis, Pl. II No. 5; Lockett, III. 3416.
m.m. plumes Francis, Pl. II No. 6; Lockett, IV. 4171.
m.m. rose Francis, Pl. II No. 2; Lockett, II. 2306.

62. Unite
m.m. bell Lockett, V. 4451; Farquhar, 10.
m.m. crown Lockett, II. 2191; IV. 4134; V. 4452.
m.m. tun Glendining, 20.5.1969, 10; 19.11.1975, 493.
m.m. second anchor Lockett, II, 2195; IV, 4135; V, 4453.
m.m. triangle Lockett, II, 2196; Ryan, I, 458.
m.m. star Lockett, II, 2197; V, 4454; Ryan, I, 460.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Lockett, III. 3365.
m.m. (P) Glendining, 31.1.1951 (Cunningham) 319.
m.m. (R) Lockett, II, 2201; Ryan, I, 463.
m.m. eye Lockett, II, 2202.

Half-crown
m.m. rose Francis, Pl. II No. 1, Lockett, III, 3400.
m.m. crown Francis, Pl. II Nos. 7 & 8.
m.m. tun Francis, Pl. III Nos. 1, 6 & 7; Lockett, II, 2293.
m.m. second anchor Francis, Pl. III No. 8; IV No. 1; Noble, 638.
m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. IV Nos. 4 & 7; Lockett, V, 4480A.
m.m. star Spink Sept. 1977, P408 No. 8307.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Francis, Pl. V No. 6.
m.m. (P) Francis, Pl. V No. 1; Lockett, 3406 n/i Pl. 113, R.1.
m.m. (R) Lockett, III, 3406 n/i Pl. 113, Rowl, No. 3.
m.m. eye Farquhar, 46.

Shilling
m.m. bell Seaby Apr. 1959, Pl. XIX, No. 4673.
m.m. crown Francis, Pl. III No. 7; Pl. IV No. 3.
m.m. tun Francis, Pl. III No. 8; Pl. IV No. 4.
m.m. second anchor Spink Nov. 1979, P. 540 No. 10252.
m.m. triangle Seaby Aug. 1977, Pl. 94 No. E1014.
m.m. star Francis, Pl. V No. 4.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Lockett, II, 2323 n/i Pl. 91 Row 4 No. 3.
m.m. (P) Francis, Pl. V No. 5.
m.m. (R) Lockett, II, 2323 n/i Pl. 91 Row 5 No. 1.
m.m. eye Francis Pl. V No. 6.

63. Unite
m.m. second anchor Glendining 15.7.1953, Pl. IV Lot 49.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Glendining 13.3.1974, Pl. 4 Lot 34.
m.m. (P) Lockett, II. 2200.

Half-crown
m.m. second anchor Francis, Pl. IV No. 2.
m.m. triangle Lockett, II, 2288 n/i Pl. 88 R.5 No. 4.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Lockett, III, 3407 n/i Pl. 113 R.2 No. 5.

Shilling
m.m. tun Francis, Pl. IV Nos. 5 & 7.
m.m. second anchor Lockett, II, 2320 n/i Pl. 91 R.2 No. 5.
m.m. triangle anchor Seaby Jan. 1978, Pl. 7 No. E67.
m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. V No. 1.

64. Half-crown
m.m. second anchor Checkley, 159.

65. Shilling
m.m. tun Lockett, II, 2318; Noble, 642.

65. Unite
m.m. second anchor Lockett, II, 2195.

Half-crown
m.m. triangle-in-circle Glendining 24.11.1976, Pl. XV Lot 169.
m.m. star Lockett, II, 2294 n/i Pl. 89 R.4 No. 1.
m.m. (P) Lockett, III, 3406 n/i Pl. 112 R.5 No. 6.
m.m. (R) Francis, Pl. V No. 2.

Shilling
m.m. second anchor Glendining 12.6.63 (Graham), 288.
m.m. triangle Lockett, II, 2321, 2358.

66. Unite
m.m. sun Glendining 24.11.1976, Pl. XV Lot 168.

Double Crowns
m.m. second anchor Schneider, Pl. VIII No. 33.
m.m. triangle Schneider, Pl. VIII No. 35.
Sixpence
m.m. tun Lockett, III, 3434 n/i Pl. 116 R.1 Nos. 2 & 3.
m.m. second anchor Lockett, III, 3434 Pl. 116 R.1 Nos. 4, 5 & 6.
m.m. triangle Lockett, III, 3434 Pl. 116 R.1 No. 7.
67. Sixpence
m.m. bell Lockett, III, 3433 n/i Pl. 115 R.5 No. 8.
m.m. triangle Lockett, III, 3406 n/i Pl. 112 R.5 No. 2.
m.m. star Lockett, II, 2294 n/i Pl. 89 R.3 No. 3.
68. Half-crown
m.m. sun Schneider, Pl. VIII No. 36 (minature 65).
m.m. portcullis Noble, 622.
m.m. bell Lockett, III, 3363.
69. Double Crown
m.m. portcullis Francis, Pl. III No. 1; Cooper, Pl. XVII Nos. 14–17.
m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. IV No. 1; 2; Cooper, Pl. XVIII Nos. 24, 25.
m.m. star Francis, Pl. V No. 1; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 28.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Lingford, I, 132; Ryan, II, 1078.
m.m. (P) Francis, Pl. V No. 2; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 29.
m.m. (R) Francis, Pl. V No. 3; Cooper, Pl. XIX Nos. 29–31.
m.m. eye Lingford, I, 124.
71. Unite
m.m. portcullis Noble, 622.
m.m. bell Lockett, III, 3363.
72. Shilling
m.m. second anchor Lockett, III, 3406 n/i Pl. 112 R.5 No. 2.
m.m. star Lockett, II, 2294 n/i Pl. 89 R.3 No. 3.
73. Crown
m.m. sun Schneider, Pl. VIII No. 36 (minature 65).
m.m. portcullis Noble, 622.
m.m. triangle Lockett, III, 3363.
74. Crown
m.m. harp Francis, Pl. III No. 1; Cooper, Pl. XVII Nos. 14–17.
m.m. portcullis Francis, Pl. III No. 2.
m.m. harp Schneider, Pl. XVII No. 31.
m.m. star Francis, Pl. V No. 1; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 28.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Lingford, I, 132; Ryan, II, 1078.
m.m. (P) Francis, Pl. V No. 2; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 29.
m.m. (R) Francis, Pl. V No. 3; Cooper, Pl. XIX Nos. 29–31.
m.m. eye Lingford, I, 124.
75. Unite
m.m. harp Schneider, Pl. XVII No. 31.
m.m. star Francis, Pl. V No. 1; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 28.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Lingford, I, 132; Ryan, II, 1078.
m.m. (P) Francis, Pl. V No. 2; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 29.
m.m. (R) Francis, Pl. V No. 3; Cooper, Pl. XIX Nos. 29–31.
m.m. eye Lingford, I, 124.
76. Double Crown
m.m. harp Lockett, II, 2217.
m.m. portcullis Lockett, II, 2339 n/i Pl. 92 R.4 Nos. 1–4.
m.m. portcullis Lockett, II, 2339 n/i Pl. 92 R.4 Nos. 5 & 6.
m.m. bell Farquhar, 63.
77. Sixpence
m.m. harp Lockett, II, 2217.
m.m. portcullis Lockett, II, 2339 n/i Pl. 92 R.4 Nos. 1–4.
m.m. portcullis Lockett, II, 2339 n/i Pl. 92 R.4 Nos. 5 & 6.
m.m. bell Farquhar, 63.
78. Crown
m.m. plumes Francis, Pl. II Nos. 3 & 4; Cooper, Pl. XVII Nos. 12 & 13.
m.m. rose/plumes Cooper, Pl. XVII Nos. 12 & 13.
m.m. rose Francis, Pl. II No. 5.
m.m. bell Francis, Pl. III No. 3; Cooper, Pl. XVII No. 15.
m.m. crown Francis, Pl. III Nos. 5 & 6; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 22.
m.m. tun Francis, Pl. IV Nos. 2 & 3; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 23.
m.m. second anchor Francis, Pl. IV Nos. 4 & 5; Cooper, Pl. XVIII Nos. 24–26.
m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. IV No. 6; Cooper, Pl. XVIII Nos. 24 & 25.
m.m. star Francis, Pl. V No. 1; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 28.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Lingford, I, 132; Ryan, II, 1078.
m.m. (P) Francis, Pl. V No. 2; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 29.
m.m. (R) Francis, Pl. V No. 3; Cooper, Pl. XIX Nos. 29–31.
m.m. eye Lingford, I, 124.
79. Half-crown
m.m. harp Lockett, II, 2217.
m.m. portcullis Lockett, II, 2339 n/i Pl. 92 R.4 Nos. 1–4.
m.m. portcullis Lockett, II, 2339 n/i Pl. 92 R.4 Nos. 5 & 6.
m.m. bell Farquhar, 63.
80. Shilling
m.m. portcullis Lockett, II, 2339 n/i Pl. 92 R.4 Nos. 1–4.
m.m. portcullis Lockett, II, 2339 n/i Pl. 92 R.4 Nos. 5 & 6.
m.m. bell Farquhar, 63.
81. Crown
m.m. harp Francis, Pl. II Nos. 3 & 4; Cooper, Pl. XVII Nos. 12 & 13.
m.m. rose/plumes Cooper, Pl. XVII Nos. 12 & 13.
m.m. rose Francis, Pl. II No. 5.
m.m. bell Francis, Pl. III No. 3; Cooper, Pl. XVII No. 15.
m.m. crown Francis, Pl. III Nos. 5 & 6; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 22.
m.m. tun Francis, Pl. IV Nos. 2 & 3; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 23.
m.m. second anchor Francis, Pl. IV Nos. 4 & 5; Cooper, Pl. XVIII Nos. 24–26.
m.m. triangle Francis, Pl. IV No. 6; Cooper, Pl. XVIII Nos. 24 & 25.
m.m. star Francis, Pl. V No. 1; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 28.
m.m. triangle-in-circle Lingford, I, 132; Ryan, II, 1078.
m.m. (P) Francis, Pl. V No. 2; Cooper, Pl. XVIII No. 29.
m.m. (R) Francis, Pl. V No. 3; Cooper, Pl. XIX Nos. 29–31.
m.m. eye Lingford, I, 124.
82. Unite
m.m. portcullis Lockett, II, 2312; Ryan, II, 1122.
m.m. plumes Schneider, Pl. XVII Nos. 29 & 30.
m.m. rose Lockett, IV, 4131 n/i Pl. 130 R.2 No. 4.
m.m. harp Neg. 246.
83. Crown
m.m. portcullis Lockett, III, 3399 n/i Pl. 112 R.1 No. 5.
m.m. harp Neg. 246.
84. Shilling
m.m. plumes Schneider, Pl. III No. 1; Burstal, 298.
m.m. second anchor Lockett, II, 2217.
Occurrence of Harps on Reverse Shields

- m.m. triangle Lockett, II, 2222.
- m.m. star Lockett, II, 2224; III, 3373.
- m.m. triangle-in-circle Lockett, II, 2225.
- m.m. portcullis Francis, Pl. I No. 15
- m.m. bell Lockett, II, 2339 n/i Pl. 92 R.5 Nos. 2–5.
It would seem that I have pushed the study of Irish Harps into perverse detail, as a claim to have isolated about fifty varieties might be thought extreme. It does, however, demonstrate the detail which would be needed to approach completeness, and further the peculiar mixture of random and precise use of the dies. As I have stated before, this is not a complete work, it is an attempt to provide scaffolding for future work, and to demonstrate the detail which can be worked on, on a narrow front. In many of the fifty varieties given, a study of the variants of a variety, or its degeneration could help to give a sequence, and provide innocent amusement for those who delight in detail.

The first three peculiar types occur for one m.m. only on the crowns (11 lis, 12 eye, 13 portcullis). 14 (from the gold of the previous reign) is used on the unites of m.m. plumes, the smaller version 15 appearing on the double-crowns m.m. heart and the sixpences of triangle-in-circle.

22, 23 & 25 are all common in m.m. lis, 25 persisting to m.m. castle - first anchor on unites, yet only the freak 26 appearing on the crowns but not on the unites.

31 is on all denominations in m.m. lis, in cross-on-steps on all but the shillings which have their own freak version, 32. 35 occurs on half-crowns and shillings in m.m. cross-on-steps, and on unites of m.m. plumes.

The 40s are mainly for unites and shillings, and even more for the double-crowns and sixpences, but while common on the sixpences, they are too common to be illustrated in sale catalogues. 44 is the usual parliamentary harp for unites, half-crowns and shillings in m.m. eye, sun and sceptre.

The first three 50s originated in the previous reign and have variants. 54 occurs on the smaller 19 shield in m.m. sceptre, 55 on on the half-crowns and shillings in second anchor and triangle, 56 is the west country type rare on Tower coins, but obviously like the 'Aberystwyth' dies, a Tower die used elsewhere. 57 is the unique 'satyr' harp, so unusual to be dubious but carefully examined by experts and pronounced genuine.

The first two 60s are probably the commonest for most of the reign, but never seem to occur on the crowns, they are inspired by a type from the previous reign but 61 and 62 are original, while 63 and 64 would seem to be made from the one set of punches differently placed (the right top ornament) and from the previous reign. 62 has varieties as has 65, the latter characterised by the large 'jug handle' ornament at the top right. 66 and 67 are small varieties for double-crown and sixpence and 68 is a large rare wanderer from the previous reign. 69 is a double crown variety illustrated by Mr Schneider.

71 occurs in m.m. harp to crown and again in triangle to star, it disintegrates losing first the ball in the left scroll, and later part of the sounding board, giving a rudder-like appearance. The small version 72 is doubtful,
THE REVERSE. THE IRISH HARPS (CONT.)

occurring on late specimens of double-crown and sixpence – the drawing is a ‘restoration’ from very poor specimens. 74 starts the break in the 81s on the crowns in m.m. harp. It is followed on the crowns in m.m. portcullis by 13, and 74 moves to the half-crowns and is even found on the shillings. The unite and shilling harp is 75 slightly smaller and with ornamental pillar, 76, even smaller, is used on double-crowns and sixpences. The 80s are from the previous reign, and here the more usual type is 81, where the top ornaments can be of equal size. In 82 the left ornament is longer and the ‘S’ on the right shorter, but the most obvious distinction is the pillar, which is shorter in 82, and supported at the base by a curious curved spur, beautifully illustrated in Mr Schneider’s work on the unites.

83 is the smaller sixpenny version. 85 starts with 81 and 82 in m.m. plumes where it is found on half-crowns and shillings, it persists into m.m. rose on the shillings.

The 90s also start in m.m. plumes, 91 on half-crowns and shillings, and persisting into rose on the half-crowns. 92 occurs on the unites, half-crowns and shillings for plumes, rose and harp, and persists in the unites and shillings into portcullis. 93, 94 and 95 are smaller versions for smaller denominations.

CONCORDANCE FOR UNITES AND SHILLINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Osborne</th>
<th>Schneider</th>
<th>Sharp</th>
<th>Francis</th>
<th>Seaby Catalogue</th>
<th>North</th>
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<tr>
<td>1/47 C1</td>
<td>A 1/4</td>
<td>2/25</td>
<td>2689 2147</td>
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<td>3/47 C1</td>
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<td>1/25</td>
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<td>1/46 C1</td>
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