

THE OXFORD MINT AND THE TRIPLE UNITES OF CHARLES I

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At the opening of the Civil War, the king was intent on maintaining the legality of his position, and it was fortunate that he had a mint already established outside London, at Aberystwyth. The expansion of this mint was possible in a perfectly legal way.

The royalist need for a mint was due to the nature of the two main sources of the king's wealth, gold and silver plate, and foreign subsidies. The king could no doubt have sold his plate and paid his troops in foreign coin. But it would have been difficult to find a market for the plate,¹ and to pay in foreign coin would have been bad propaganda, so that it was better to coin the plate and treat foreign currency as bullion. It was not therefore until March 1644 that a proclamation appeared authorizing the circulation of certain foreign coins, namely the ducatoon, rix dollar, cross dollar, piece of eight, quartdecue, double rider of the Low Countries, and double spanish pistole.²

The mint was removed from Aberystwyth to Shrewsbury, but here, according to Clarendon, "They could coin no more than a thousand pounds a week, and the mint was more for reputation than use."³ We note from this that £50,000 a year was considered a nominal amount.

On 29 October 1642, after the battle of Edgehill, King Charles made a state entry into Oxford. The University was royalist though the citizens were not, and it was here that he established his headquarters. For those who know Oxford, the king lived at Christ Church, the queen at Merton, Parliament met in the Upper Schools and in Great Convocation house, the Privy Council met at Oriel, and the mint was at New Inn Hall, on the site of the present St. Peter's Hall.⁴ The king came to Oxford to be within striking distance of London.

As the records of the Oxford mint have all been destroyed,⁵ my first object must be to arrive at a reasonable estimate of its total output. To do this I must assume that it supplied the total amount of cash required for the pay and upkeep of the army and the court. For the amount of this expenditure we have some contemporary evidence.

In a declaration of December 1642,⁶ the soldiers' pay varies between 6s. and 17s. 6d. per week. In February following, the newspaper *Mercurius Aulicus*⁷ prints an offer of 4s. 6d. per day. "Browne the woodmonger, who sets up tickets everywhere to signifie he will give 4/6 per diem to such as will bring Horse and arms of their own to

¹ *Mercurius Aulicus*, issue 7 Feb. 1642.

² C. T. Madan, *Oxford Books*, vol. ii, no. 1551.

³ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, liber v, para. 68.

⁴ F. T. Varley, *The Siege of Oxford*, 1932.

⁵ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, 1817, iii. 101, footnote.

⁶ C. T. Madan, *Oxford Books*, vol. ii, no. 1101.

⁷ *Mercurius Aulicus*, issue 17 Feb. 1642.

serve under him as dragoons." Aubrey quotes the incident of a Croat named Carlo Fantom, who was expelled from the parliamentary forces for persistent ravishing, as saying to the royalists, "I care not for your cause, I come to fight on your behalf, for your half crown and your handsome women." This refers to the 17s. 6d. per week.¹

Taking on this evidence the average rate of pay as 10s. per week, and the army at the figure of 5,000 men,² we shall have a yearly demand for £130,000 for soldiers' pay alone. And in support of this figure there is a royal warrant to the paymaster of the forces, dated 21 December 1643, for the amount of £100,000.

Attached to this warrant there are other warrants, for example, for £600 per week (£31,000 per annum) for the royal household, £7,500 per annum for the royal princes, and sums of £5,000 for match, powder, and ball, £4,000 for artillery, and £4,000 for gunpowder. The total of these warrants is £149,500, and they do not necessarily cover the expenditure of a whole year.³ Moreover they include nothing for the feed of horses or for food for the troops.

Lacking evidence to make a closer computation, I estimate that the Oxford mint must have produced not less than £5,000 or £6,000 a week, that is, £250,000–£300,000 a year, mostly in silver, of course. This estimate would be too low for the amount quoted by Miss Farquhar⁴ as having been advanced to the queen by the Stadtholder (this is stated as being £1,200,000), if this was used as bullion. I might add that the output of the Tower mint at this time was about £500,000 per annum.⁵

This estimate is of particular importance, because when we come to deal with the coins, the question arises how such a very considerable expansion of output was achieved. The coins themselves indicate that this was done by having two *officinae*, which worked side by side, and that while one of them was in effect the transfer of the Shrewsbury mint, the other was worked by men who had come from London.

In the second place, a few words as to the type of the royalist coinage. The king would no doubt have stopped the Tower mint if he could have done so, and would have prevented his image being set upon their coins.⁶ He wanted therefore to make his new coinage unlike that of his enemies. It was Parliament who were pretending to be the old legal authority, and who were intent on reproducing the old coinage.

The particular variation used by the king was the badge of the Prince of Wales's feathers, usually placed in the field of the coin. I am not going to speculate on why this design was chosen, that has been done by each of my predecessors in turn. I am only going to

¹ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick, 1950, p. 105.

² A. Wood, *Antiquities of Oxford*, 1796, Annals, 2 May 1644.

³ Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, vol. 30.

⁴ *Num. Chron.* 1914. Article *Nicholas Briot*. Miss Farquhar.

⁵ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, 1817, i. 177. The table gives the total for the reign of Charles I £12,096,221. 15s. 3d.

⁶ *Mercurius Aulicus*, issue 8 May 1643.

quote *Mercurius Aulicus*,¹ which makes a plain statement of the intention of the design, when referring to the new seal ordered for the Court of Wards. "Upon the reverse, between the supporters and the scroll, His Majesty hath caused three feathers with a Prince's coronet to be placed, for the better differencing the same from the old seal." I would remark that the heraldic term "differencing" is used.

No doubt the most important change in design to us is the use of the declaration by the king on the reverse of his coins. This is a subject of great importance, which I shall deal with later on, when speaking of the coins themselves.

Thirdly, as to the metal of the coins. It is remarkable that the coinage of the Civil War was never debased. After the one suggestion in 1640, which was rejected, according to Miss Farquhar,² by the arguments of Briot, the idea of debasement seems to have been given up. In fact it was probably a mistake for the losing royalist side to maintain the value of money. The main wealth of the king's party was in land and plate, which would both have appreciated, as would also his foreign subsidies, but the Parliament, which relied on the trade of London, would have been seriously embarrassed. The bad royalist money would have driven the good Tower silver into hoards. However, the king probably felt that inflation was an unworthy and miserable expedient, as indeed it is, and the king was also very much alive, as we shall see, to the propaganda value of good money. Moreover his actual legal position was very strong, and he never thought that he would lose the crown. Even after the fall of Bristol he seems to have thought that he could in the last resort make a personal accommodation.

It must not be forgotten that each side contained a strong peace party. Three times in the first three years there were negotiations, which almost led to a treaty: in March 1643 the Treaty of Oxford, in March 1644 the negotiations at Westminster, and in January 1645 the Treaty of Uxbridge.

I now turn to the triple unite, that beautiful but extraordinary coin, which was double the value of any coin previously issued and the highest value ever issued in the hammered series. This new departure in coinage was not made until the beginning of the Civil War, and one is unavoidably faced with the question why the issue was ever made at all. There are four possible reasons which I propose to consider, and which do not exclude one another.

The first reason is technical. The issue might be due to having too much gold for the capacity of the dies.

Now while this reason may possibly be taken to account for the issue of the silver pound and ten shillings, where the crown dies were virtually taken and used with a thicker flan, it does not apply to the triple unite. The triple unite needed special dies, of the crown size, which apparently wore out very easily, for there are eleven reverse

¹ *Mercurius Aulicus*, issue 16 Jan. 1643.

² *Num. Chron.* 1914. Article *Nicholas Briot*. Miss Farquhar.

dies for triple unites in the year 1643. It is apparent that there was no saving of work here.

The second possibility is that the coin was really a medal. I am afraid that I am ignorant on the subject of medals, but even at this date most medals had loops, either for a ribbon or for sewing on a man's jacket. Moreover there was a medal specifically ordered at the time when the dies for the first issue of the triple unite were being cut. This medal was to have "Our own royal figure and that of our dearest sonne Prince Charles" and also to have the recipient's name engraved on the reverse.¹

Mercurius Aulicus also gives us a description of a medal found on one of the enemy, under date 8 September 1643: "In one of their pockets was found an oval medal of silver gilt, hanged in an orange ribband; on the one side of this is the effigy of the Earl of Essex with a naked sword in his right hand, and over his head an arm out of a cloud, holding a sword drawn, and with this circumscription, In the multitude of councillors there is Peace."²

The third possibility that we have to consider is whether the coins were for ceremonial use, but not as medals. Undoubtedly in Stuart times the Royal family gave and received purses of gold. For example, according to *Mercurius Aulicus*,³ on 14 July 1643 the Queen's Majesty arrived at Oxford: "At Carfax, being in their passage, the Mayor and his bretheren entertained her majesty with an English speech delivered by Master Carter, the Town Clerk, in the name of the city, and presented her with a purse of gold."

And on the 10th of June that year *Mercurius Aulicus*⁴ says: "His sacred majesty, when he heard the offence and spoil which had been done in those churches (by using them to house prisoners of War) gave out of his own purse £150 to cleanse and sweeten them."

And again, the publication of the Vice-Chancellor's speech on 3 January 1643 reveals that "he presented his majesty with a fair gilt cup, and two hundred pounds of gold in it".⁵

The predecessor of the triple unite is the rose ryal of James I, the last issue of which was in 1624, that is to say, eighteen years earlier. In diameter it was 4 cm., or about the same size as a silver crown. The triple unite is the same size as this coin but twice as thick. It is strange that during all those eighteen years the Tower mint never made an issue of value higher than the unite or twenty-shilling piece. There is only a single instance of a pattern struck for a three-pound piece. This pattern was exhibited to the Society in 1941.⁶ It was, however, not a hammered but a milled coin. It weighed 420 gr. but was only $3\frac{1}{4}$ cm. in diameter. The mint-mark, however,

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, 2nd ser., vol. viii, 133.

² *Mercurius Aulicus*, issue 8 Sept. 1643. See *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, 296/114.

³ *Mercurius Aulicus*, issue 14 July 1643.

⁴ *Mercurius Aulicus*, issue 10 June 1643.

⁵ C. T. Madan, *Oxford Books*, vol. ii, no. 1159.

⁶ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, 3rd ser., vol. iii, 363.

was, curiously enough, the Prince of Wales's feathers in a coronet on both sides, as on the Civil War gold. The date of issue was about 1630.

Now the issue of James I rose ryals must have been very large, the number of mint-marks known is at least thirteen, and these coins were still in circulation under Charles II. James I unites were still in circulation under George II, but I do not know whether the rose ryals were.¹

From this, however, it would seem that there was always an adequate supply of the rose ryals of James I during the first eighteen years of the reign of Charles I, and that was probably why the Tower mint never issued a larger coin than the gold unite. From Miss Farquhar's paper it appears that in the case of angels, Charles I used his father's coins when giving touch pieces.²

But on being cut off from his capital city, Charles I may well have felt that it was particularly desirable to be able to show that he could strike a piece of gold of high value, as handsome and impressive as that of his father. And if not highly finished, these coins are certainly handsome and dignified.

This leads to the fourth reason that I have to consider, namely propaganda. The king's appreciation of propaganda, and his skill in it, was in advance of that of his enemies. In fact I sometimes suspect that our own sympathy with the royalist cause may be in great measure due to the way in which it was presented by the royalist party. The king was certainly very conscious of its importance, for "During the wars the University printers furnished his Majesty with a press, to attend his army from place to place."³

He also appointed Sir John Birkenhead to establish the first daily newspaper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, which began on 1 January 1643 and only ended with the fall of Oxford in 1645.

At the very beginning of the Civil War Charles was clever enough to obtain the Great Seal from London and thus put his enemies into a very difficult legal position, and he was careful to obtain as many members of Parliament as he could to form his own House of Commons at Oxford. He thus gave visible support to his famous declaration, "The Protestant religion, the laws of England, and the liberty of Parliament". This declaration itself was an example of first-rate propaganda.

It seems obvious enough that such a polemist was unlikely to be indifferent to the value of his coinage as propaganda. And a coin that was large and new was eminently suited for his purpose. Charles I was unlikely to make the mistake of using the commonplace half-crown, or the legendary three-shilling piece, in the place of his most valuable and important issue of gold. And, of course, if we look carefully at the literature we find that he chose the gold piece.

A few days prior to the 20th of February 1642/3 a pamphlet was

¹ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, 1817, ii. 325, refers to Charles II and p. 462 to George II.

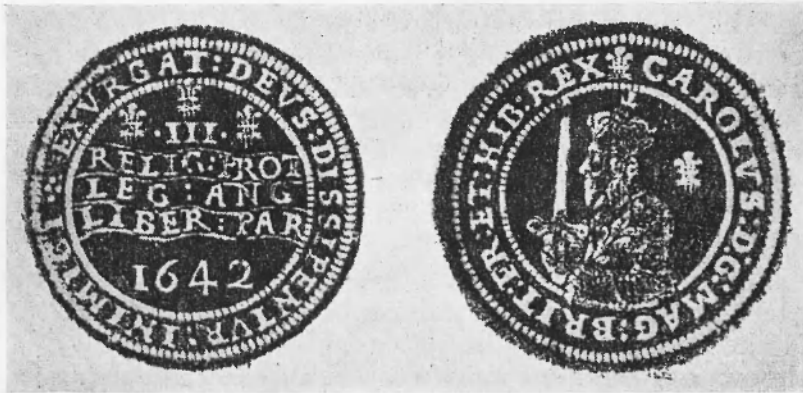
² *Brit. Num. Journ.*, 2nd ser., vol. ii, 114.

³ C. T. Madan, *Oxford Books*, vol. ii, p. 16.

printed at Oxford entitled "A Warning Piece". The British Museum copy reached London on the 20th of February,¹ for Mr. Tomason, who collected the whole of the Oxford publications of that time, dated each one on the title-page as he received it.

This pamphlet contains an attack on Parliamentary inventions, and then goes on: "Not like his Majesty's new coin, with this inscription, Exurgat Deus, Dissipentur Inimici, Religio Protestantium, Leges Angliae, Libertat Parliamentorum. . . ." Here should follow an illustration of the coin referred to, and then the text continues: "Where he doth, by the greatest obligation that ever any Prince can invent, engage himself to posterity, inviolably to observe and maintain, the true Protestant religion, the laws of the land and the privelidge [*sic*] of parliament."

Unfortunately the illustration is missing from the British Museum copy. However, there is an illustration in the copy in the Bodleian at Oxford. And this shows a triple unite of 1642 (below).



This pamphlet is a most important and valuable document. It contains probably the earliest illustration of an actual coin, not a type, that we have. It shows a specimen of *Obv. I, Rev. S. 1.* and so accurately that the cut must have been made from a rubbing.

This illustration has been overlooked by all previous historians, and I feel that its evidence will clear up several points on which assumptions have been made without any foundation whatsoever.

First as to the actual coin illustrated. The mint only moved to Oxford on 3 January,² the woodcut was in print before 20 February, and the coin is described as a new coin. From this we are justified in saying that *Obv. I, Rev. S. 1* was the first triple unite of the Oxford mint. It gives us the starting-point of our series.

In the second place, the words "his Majesty's new coin" clearly point to the fact that the Shrewsbury triple unite, which is unique, was a pattern, not an issue.³

¹ C. T. Madan, *Oxford Books*, vol. ii, no. 1238.

² A. Wood, *Antiquities of Oxford*, 1796, Annals, 3 Jan. 1642.

³ This coin was undoubtedly struck at Shrewsbury. It bears the Shrewsbury plumes and lettering that is different from that on the coins of Oxford. It was probably a trial piece,

Thirdly, it shows that, in spite of our previous conjectures, the royalists themselves regarded the triple unite as a coin and not as a medal. This confirms the deduction that I have made already.

Fourthly, it finally disposes of that myth of the lost three-shilling piece, which has puzzled some numismatists. This was due to Madan,¹ who was a bibliophile, not a numismatist, looking at the illustration and supposing it was of a silver coin; and to the neglect of coin investigators who did not refer to the original document.

And lastly, it shows the special importance that was attached to these coins by the propagandists of the royalist cause. It singles them out as a separate product of the Oxford mint, and shows that they are worthy of the special and rather detailed treatment that I am giving them.

It now remains to describe the coins themselves, but first I will make a remark on the ending of the series. This was in 1644, and probably in October. The great fire of Oxford occurred not in 1643, as other writers have stated, but in 1644. Previous writers have followed Ruding, who made a mistake. I will quote *Mercurius Aulicus*² for 6 October 1644: "This week had a sad begining, at 2 o'clock this afternoon a fire began on the North West side of the city of Oxford, which burnt many of the townsmens houses, so as they at London are preparing a thanksgiving."

The fire began (to use modern names) in George Street and a north wind caused it to spread and burn all the houses between Cornmarket and New-Inn-Hall Street, as far south as Queen Street.

We know that the University Press in Queen Street had to be evacuated, and that a whole edition of the works of Polycarp was burnt. The press itself was out of commission for a week.

We know that the mint itself was not actually burnt (none of the stone buildings were burnt) but we can hardly doubt that the work there was seriously affected. It is almost certain that the more valuable tools and materials were taken to safety and that there was a stoppage of work. As there are only three reverse dies for 1644, it seems probable that the issue did not continue for the whole year, and therefore the fire may have been the determining factor in discontinuing the issue.

This completes the evidence from contemporary sources.

THE COINS (Pls. V and VI)

In spite of its rather worn condition, the Shrewsbury triple unite appears to be a pattern. The obverse has a large field, 33 mm., and a very small bust of the king. Indeed, a bust of this size was used on one of the single unites, and on this coin the king looks as though he is

and was never issued either because the design was rejected or because the mint was removed to Oxford soon after striking. There is only one specimen known, which is in the British Museum.

¹ C. T. Madan, *Oxford Books*, vol. ii, no. 1238.

² *Mercurius Aulicus*, issue 6 Oct. 1644.

lost, the bust being badly placed. Further mistakes are that the king is hunchbacked, and his sword looks like an enlarged paper-knife. This obverse was not used again, but the puncheons of the king were taken with the mint instruments when they were moved to Oxford.

The reverse of the coin has a much smaller field, only 31 mm. It has the declaration in two lines and is the only triple unite to have this. On the other hand it is the prototype for all future reverses which separate the *exurgat* legend round the coin from the declaration, which runs across it. This coin is known to be Shrewsbury because it has the characteristic rather thin Shrewsbury plumes.

The mint was moved to Oxford in January, which, as the old year began on 25 March, is dated 1642 on the coins, although to our reckoning it is 1643. All the Oxford dies dated 1642—that is, three obverses and five reverses for the triple unite—were therefore to be used between January and March. The mint was obviously planning a very considerable expansion of output.

When classified by their reverses only, the coins fall into two parallel series, one which follows the Shrewsbury reverse in separating the legend and declaration, and which I have labelled with the letter S, the other which joins the two sets of wording on a single scroll, which I believe to be due to the workmen who came to Oxford from London, and which I have accordingly labelled L. The series also shows other lesser distinctions, S having a tendency to make his field smaller than L, to make his letters more wavy, and eventually numbering his reverses by pellets, while L has less control over his letters, and has particular difficulty with the T of PROT and tends to make the diameter of his field larger.

The obverses, on the contrary, are used in common with both sets of reverses. And I am indebted to Mr. Dolley for the explanation that while the reverses were kept to distinguish the work of the two *officinae*, the obverses were handed in after each minting to the Master, as a control against forgery. I have therefore used a single series of roman numerals for the obverses.

Obverse I. The bust of the king shows improvement on that of the Shrewsbury triple unite, although new puncheons have not been cut. Owing to the lack of a skilful engraver at Shrewsbury, it was impossible to cut a single large puncheon for the king's bust. Separate puncheons were used, therefore, for the head, the body, the sword, and the palm branch. A slight rearrangement of these, or the replacement of only one of them, gives a different bust of the king.

It was not until the arrival of London workmen in 1643 that a single puncheon could be cut for the king's bust. (I am indebted to Mr. Schneider for much information on this subject.)

On this obverse the field is very much smaller and is much better filled. Indeed, the king's elbow now overlaps the bottom edge while his crown touches the top.

Obverse II is very similar to no. I. But there are some improve-

ments. The bust fits more accurately into the field, so that the top of the crown and the elbow are both clear of the circle. Only one example of this obverse is at present known.¹

Obverse III. The old Shrewsbury puncheons were set in a new die with a slightly smaller field, 32 mm. The bust has been much better placed and shows a great improvement on the Shrewsbury pattern. It was used with the same reverses as Obverse I, and therefore probably overlapped with it for part of this period of three months. It was also used with one of the reverses of 1643.

Obverse IV. This was a pattern struck with the first of the S reverses for 1643. I therefore regard it as an attempt by S to produce a head-and-shoulders bust. It was rejected, and an obverse by L was used.

Obverse V. This has a head and shoulders in completely different style, and therefore I regard it as by L. L's obverse was accepted, and there is no question of its superior artistic merit. The sword is longer, the hunchback has gone, and there is much greater freedom in the treatment. Technically, however, this is not a satisfactory bust, because it is almost impossible to find an example with a good portrait.

Obverse VI. The design is remodelled but is by the same hand as no. V. The figure appears to have considerably more room, the sword is better. But the principal improvement was in technique, for this obverse strikes well and was used for all the rest of the year 1643.

Obverse VII. The diameter of the coin is reduced in 1644. The figure of the king is similar to that of the issue of 1643 but the crown breaks the surrounding circle.

Obverse VIII. Diamond stops are used and the crown does not break through the circle, though the left hand does. This bust is probably contemporary with Obverse VII.

The curious feature of these two obverses is that the diamond-stop obverse never occurs with the diamond-stop reverse, and the round-stop obverse no. VII never occurs with one of the round-stop reverses. In fact there is a die link, but it is not the link that we should expect.

REVERSES

Shrewsbury type. *Exurgat* legend divided from declaration.

S. 1. The declaration is in three lines, the thicker Oxford plumes are used. The space in the circle has four pellets, as in the illustration of the pamphlet.

S. 2. Similar to S. 1, but the letters are better managed. The legend has a colon each end and the space is filled with five pellets.

¹ One specimen of this coin is known. See Royal Academy catalogue, Kings and Queens Exhibition, 1953, p. 53, item 151.

- S. 3. Similar to S. 1 and 2, but the circle almost meets and the space leaves room for only two pellets.
- S. 4. Similar to the above, but the lettering is not so well controlled and the space in the circle holds seven pellets. This reverse occurs only with Obverse II.
- S. 5. The reverse is redesigned to a scroll pattern, but the legend and declaration are kept on separate scrolls. The legend ends with a colon.
- S. 6. The design is repeated, but distinction is made by using small letters for the declaration and placing pellets beside the figure III.
- S. 7. The design is repeated, using large lettering, and in order to distinguish it from S. 5 a pellet is added to the colon, giving three pellets.
- S. 8. The design is repeated, but a fourth pellet is added.
- S. 9. Similar to S. 8 with four pellets but of coarser workmanship. Distinguishable by having pellets beside the figure III.
- S. 10. The scroll is made continuous for a smaller flan. Diamond stops are used, but legend and declaration are still separated by the use of four pellets and a diamond. The abbreviation OX appears under the date 1644.
- S. 11. Similar to S. 9, but ordinary stops. Five pellets are used to separate legend and declaration. And OXON appears under the date 1644. This ends the Shrewsbury series.

London type. There is a continuous scroll for legend and declaration.

- L. 1. The design has a flourish and there is a tendency to crowd the letters and then leave a blank. The blank is obviously not intentional. The date is 1642.
- L. 2. Similar to L. 1. The gap is rather wider. The T of PROT falls over. The date is 1643.
- L. 3. There is less flourish. The gap between legend and declaration is closed a little—a colon has been put in to fill it up. There are single stops in EXURGAT legend and colons after PROT and ANG.
- L. 4. Similar. The gap is only a little closed and the T is still falling over. (Ryan 521.) There are colons in EXURGAT legend but none after PROT and ANG.
- L. 5. The gap is closed almost entirely, but the T of PROT still falls over. There is a colon before LEG.
- L. 6. The gap is closed and the T of PROT is upright. There are colons before LEG and after PROT and ANG.
- L. 7. The design is improved by the use of small lettering, used in the smaller coins that follow. Daisy stops are used, and the abbreviation OXON appears under the date 1643.

L. 8. The design is adapted to the small flan, but the T of PROT shows signs of falling over. Ordinary stops are used, and OXON appears under the date 1644.

OXFORD DIES ARRANGED IN ORDER OF ISSUE (Pls. V and VI)

Obverses

	<i>Bust</i>	<i>Portrait</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Circle</i>	<i>Combinations</i>
I.	1st Oxford	Waistline	HIB	Elbow breaking	S. 1; S. 2
II.	2nd Oxford	"	HIB	Elbow touching	S. 4
III.	Shrewsbury	"	HI	Elbow within	L. 1; L. 2; S. 1; S. 2; S. 3
IV.	Pattern	Head and shoulders	HIB	Elbow breaking	S. 5
V.	Scarf	"	HI	Crown touching	S. 5; S. 6; S. 7
VI.	No scarf	"	HIB	Crown within	S. 7; S. 8; S. 9; L. 3; L. 4; L. 5; L. 6; L. 7
VII.	"	"	HIBER.	Crown breaking	S. 10; S. 11
VIII.	"	"	HIBER.	Crown touching	L. 8

Reverses

	<i>Pellets</i>	<i>Declaration</i>	<i>Date</i>
S. 1.	Four	Three lines	1642
S. 2.	Five between colons	"	1642
S. 3.	Two	"	1642
S. 4.	Seven	"	1642
S. 5.	Two	Two scrolls	1643
S. 6.	Two	" small letters	1643
S. 7.	Three	" large letters	1643
S. 8.	Four	"	1643
S. 9.	Four	Two scrolls, pellets beside ·III·	1643
S. 10.	Diamond and four	One scroll	1644 OX
S. 11.	Five	"	1644 OXON

	<i>Gap</i>	<i>Stops in gap</i>	<i>T of PROT</i>	<i>Privy Mark</i>	<i>Date</i>
L. 1.	Wide	Pellet	Falling	None	1642
L. 2.	"	None	"	None	1643
L. 3.	"	Colon	"	: PROT : ANG :	1643
L. 4.	Narrow	"	"	None	1643
L. 5.	Closed	"	"	: LEG :	1643
L. 6.	"	"	Upright	: PROT : LEG : ANG :	1643
L. 7.	"	Daisy	"	: PROT : LEG : ANG :	1643 OXON
L. 8.	Wide	Pellet	Falling	: PROT : LEG : ANG :	1644 OXON



Shrewsbury



I



II



III



IV



V



VI



VII



VIII



Shrewsbury



S1



S2



S3



S4



S5



S.6



S.7



S.8



S.9



S.10



S.11



L.1



L.2



L.3



L.4



L.5



L.6



L.7



L.8

