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SILENT AMBASSADORS OF THE STATE: SYMBOLS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY ON THE GREAT SEALS AND COINS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

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In her 1990 inaugural address as the first woman president of the Republic of Ireland Mary Robinson spoke eloquently and poignantly on the value of national symbols, in particular their role in reconciliation:

> Symbols are what unite and divide people. Symbols give us our identity, our self-image, our way of explaining ourselves to ourselves and to others. Symbols in turn determine the kind of stories we tell, and the stories we tell determine the kind of history we make and remake.[1]

True, symbols can divide communities, but as Mary Robinson pointed out, they can also help foster a sense of national identity, common history, and shared consciousness; it has been said that the nation is an abstraction that can only be imagined through symbolism. This is especially true in a multinational state like the United Kingdom in which the separate nations of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland (now in the form of Northern Ireland) were gradually, and sometimes painfully, forged together into a single state.

Many of today's flags and emblems across the world, including those of the United Kingdom and its constituent parts, owe much to heraldry. They often first appeared as such, albeit in embryonic form, on those 'silent ambassadors' of the state, the government's great seal and the country's coinage.[2] Initially, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, these devices were considered no more than the immediate possession of the individual ruler. Hence, on his second great seal dating to 1198 (**Plate 1**), Richard I is shown, like many a great prince or baron or knight of his day, as a fully armed equestrian warrior, his shield emblazoned with his own personal coat of arms. However, as such arms were transmitted down through the generations, from one head of a ruling family to the next, so it did not take long for the newly emerging and homogeneous principalities and kingdoms of Europe to become closely associated with, and even identified by, the personal emblems of their leaders. Indeed, by identifying with, and sharing, those same symbols, diverse groups of people were better able to understand such abstract entities as the imagined political community

[1] Quoted in Ewan Morris, *National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (Dublin 2005), p. 1.

[2] To paraphrase the remark by W. B. Yeats that coin and stamp designs were 'the silent ambassadors on national taste'. Speech in the Irish Senate, 3 March 1926.

in which they now found themselves bound together, namely their common weal or 'nation'. Over time those self-same symbols also provided (and still provide) a reassuring sense of continuity with those who, in the past, had felt the same emotional attachments to those devices and the nations they represented.

In England, since the High Middle Ages, the shield of three lions, the lion crest, and the beast on its own, have all come to stand not only for the person of the monarch, but also for his or her extended governance and jurisdiction, and, eventually for the nation itself. As early as the reign of Henry III in the thirteenth century a simple shield of the three lions actually replaced the image of the enthroned king seated in majesty on his double-sided seal for Gascony and very probably also on his departmental seal for the Exchequer; the royal arms certainly appeared on the so-called 'majesty' side of the Exchequer seal of Henry's son, Edward I. Here, they acted as a kind of symbolic *alter ego* for the sovereign. The same is true at a local level, where, for example, during the fourteenth century, a lion appeared on the reverse of custom and cocket seals along with a depiction of the king's crowned head as symbolic representations of the Crown and its authority.[3]

For over six and half centuries at least a part, if not all, of the royal arms has featured on the coins of England and later on those of Great Britain and the United Kingdom.[4] Following Edward III's claim to the kingdom of France in 1340 his new gold coinage of 1344 depicted English lions and French fleurs-de-lys, a lion crest, and a crowned lion sejant guardant wearing a cape of the king's newly quartered arms of France and England.[5]

Edward's splendid new gold noble of 1346 portrayed him as literally commander of the ship of state, both king and country identified by the royal arms on his shield

[3] John Cherry, 'Heraldry as decoration in the thirteenth century', in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford 1991), pp. 123-34 at 131-2; Adrian Ailes, 'Powerful impressions: symbols of office and authority on secular seals', in John Cherry and Anne Payne (edd.), *Signs and Symbols: Proceedings of the 2006 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford 2009), pp. 18-28; and John Cherry, 'Heads, arms and badges: royal representation on seals', in Noël Adams, John Cherry and James Robinson (edd.), *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals* (London 2008), pp. 12-16. For England as a nation see Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: ethnicity, religion and nationalism* (Cambridge 1997), pp. 35-65.

[4] Louis IX had used a shield of arms on a coin (écu) in the 1260s; cf. Barrie Cook, 'The new reverse designs for the U.K. definitive coinage', *CoA* (3rd ser.) 4 (2008), pp. 155-9 at 155.

[5] Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (edd.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London 1987), pp. 491-2; Caroline Shenton, 'Edward III and the symbol of the leopard', in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (edd.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge 2002), pp. 69-81 at 75-6; Spink & Son, *Coins of England and the United Kingdom* (43rd edn., London 2008) [hereafter Spink], nos 1476-80. The caped lion is similar to the boar wearing the arms of Brabant in the Armorial de Gelre, 1370-86 (it may be based on the cape worn by Gelre himself). Cf. also the seal of the mayoralty of Calais: Ottfried Neubecker, *Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning* (Maidenhead 1976), pp. 11, 27, 269; W. H. St John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers* (London 1913), pp. 214-15 and fig. 129.

Figure 1: Gold 'noble' of Edward III, 1346 (BM CM 1988.607.18).
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(see **Figure 1**).[6] The design was copied in Scotland in about 1357, the first time the royal arms of that kingdom, a lion rampant within a flory double tressure, had featured on a coin.[7] Arms representing the nation were also depicted on coins minted in Ireland probably during the second reign of Edward IV (1471-1483). They bore the 'ancient' arms of Ireland – three crowns,[8] possibly associated with that land following their grant by Richard II to his favourite, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, on 3 January 1386 after his creation as Marquess of Dublin in 1385 and before he was made Duke of Ireland in October 1386.[9]

Similarly, heraldic arms and badges have been employed on all the great seals of England since the late twelfth century, on the seals of certain native Welsh princes, and on seals of the Scottish crown prior to its union with the English crown in 1603

[6] Alexander and Binski, pp. 491, 492; John Cannon and Ralph Griffiths, *Oxford Illustrated History of the British Monarchy* (Oxford 1988), p. 274; G. C. Brooke, *English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day* (3rd edn., London 1950), p. 124, pl. xxv 4; Spink no. 1479.
[7] Cook, op. cit. p. 156.
[8] M. Dolley, *Medieval Anglo-Irish Coins* (London 1972), pp. 20-45; John Barry, 'The arms of Ireland and Munster', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 92 (1962), pp. 79-81; D. W. Dykes, 'The Anglo-Irish coinage and the ancient arms of Ireland', ibid. 96 (1966), pp. 111-20; John J. Kennedy, 'The arms of Ireland: medieval and modern', *CoA* (new ser.) 9 (1991), pp. 90-109 at 91 with plate 3(a).
[9] Adrian Ailes, 'Royal grants of arms in England before 1484', in Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (edd.), *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: essays in honour of Maurice Keen* (Woodbridge 2009), pp. 85-96 at 91; Sir Anthony Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain* (Chichester 1972), pp. 53-4. The three crowns shield had also been associated with one of Richard's favourite saints, St Edmund (Barry, op. cit. pp. 80-1), and from *c*.1280 with King Arthur: Gerard J. Brault, *Early Blazon: heraldic terminology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (Oxford 1972), pp. 44-6; Michel Pastoureau, *Les Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* (Lathuile 2006), p. 33.

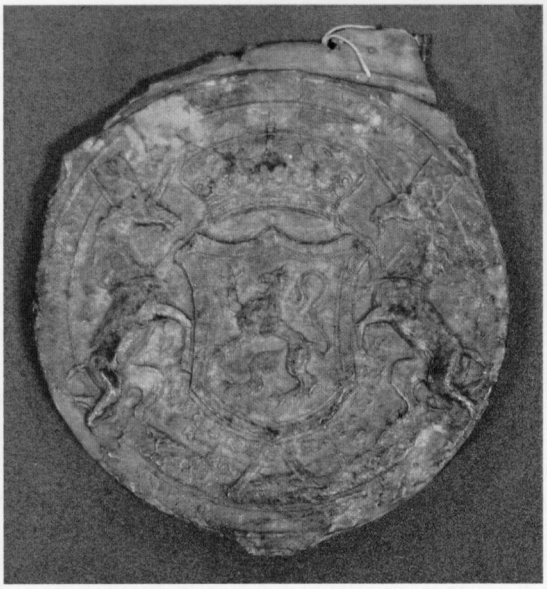

Figure 2: Great seal of Mary Queen of Scots, 1551 (TNA SC 13/I37).

By permission of The National Archives.

and on the great seal for use in Scotland after that date. The first appearance of a lion or lions on the great seal of England dates back to 1189 when a single lion shield was depicted on the first great seal of Richard the Lionheart. As already noted, from 1198 he used the three lions coat on his second great seal, to this day still the royal arms of England.[10]

The lion rampant of Scotland within a double tressure was first used on the seal of Alexander II, king from 1214 to 1249. His son and successor, Alexander III, was the first Scottish king to depict the double tressure as flory on his great seal.[11] Although the unicorn had been used in the fifteenth century on smaller royal seals, and as a supporter on the seal of at least one queen, it did not appear on a great seal for Scotland until the tragic reign of Mary Queen of Scots (see **Figure 2**). A unicorn supporting the royal arms of Scotland is depicted on a particularly handsome coin of James III from 1486.[12] St Andrew, patron saint of Scotland, first appeared on the seal of the Guardians for Scotland (see **Figure 3**) at the end of the thirteenth century, and on coins of Robert III a century later.[13]

[10] Adrian Ailes, *The Origins of the Royal Arms of England: their development to 1199* (Reading 1982), p. 65. Richard bears a lion passant crest on his second great seal.

[11] J. H. Stevenson and M. Wood, *Scottish Heraldic Seals* 1: *Public Seals* (Glasgow 1940), pp. 4, 5.

[12] Mark Dennis, 'The unicorn' in *Emblems of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1977), pp. 20-31 at 28, quoting P. Frank Seaby, *Coins and Tokens of Scotland* (London 1972), pp. 48-9, and Ian Halley Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (London 1955), pp. 64-6.

[13] TNA SC 13/G10 (seal dated *c*.1292); *BM Seals*, no. 14790; W. de G. Birch, *History of Scottish Seals* 1: *Royal Seals of Scotland* (Stirling 1905), pp. 32-3. For the gold lion coin (1390-1406) of Robert III depicting the lion of Scotland and, on the reverse, St Andrew, see I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (2nd edn., London 1967).

Figure 3: Seal of the Guardians of Scotland, *c.*1292 (TNA SC 13/G10).

By permission of The National Archives.

In Wales the rebel leader and self-styled Prince of Wales, Owain Glyndŵr, used the ancient quarterly arms of the native princes of Gwynedd (four lions counterchanged) on his privy seal of 1404 and princely great seal of 1405. On this occasion the lions are shown rampant rather than passant or passant guardant as was more usually the case. Glyndŵr also adopted that more familiar symbol of Welsh national identity, a dragon, as a supporter on his privy seal and as a crest on his great seal.[14]

As far as Britain as a whole was concerned much of the Middle Ages was taken up by attempts of the kings of England to stamp their authority over the other three nations. Edward I initially saw himself as feudal suzerain of the kingdom of Scotland, rather than as king of Scots, and his seal for Scotland (see **Figure 4**, over) displayed not the Scots lion rampant (which belonged to his supposed vassal, the Scots king) but the three lions of England – a powerful visual reminder of the domination enforced by the 'Hammer of the Scots'.[15]

Following Edward's defeat of the last independent prince of Wales in the early 1280s English monarchs became overlords of Wales, and from 1301 the king's first-born son was given the title prince of Wales. For the time-being Wales was regarded

[14] For the arms of the Welsh princes on seals see Siddons, *DWH* 1, pp. 280-301; and for Owain, ibid. pp. 285-86, and David H. Williams, *Welsh History through Seals* (Cardiff 1982), p. 23.

[15] Seal in use 1296-1307. Adrian Ailes, 'Scots heralds and heraldry in The National Archives (UK)', *Double Tressure* 33 (2010), pp. 2-36 at 11, with fig. 12; Hilary Jenkinson, 'The Great Seal of England: deputed or departmental Seals', *Archaeologia* 85 (1935), pp. 293-340 at 324, with plate xcv, no. 2; P. D. A. Harvey and Andrew McGuiness, *A Guide to Medieval British Seals* (London 1996), fig. 33. For Edward's overlordship of Scotland see Michael Prestwich, 'England and Scotland during the Wars of Independence', in Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (edd.), *England and her Neighbours 1066-1453: essays in honour of Pierre Chaplais* (London 1989), pp. 181-97.

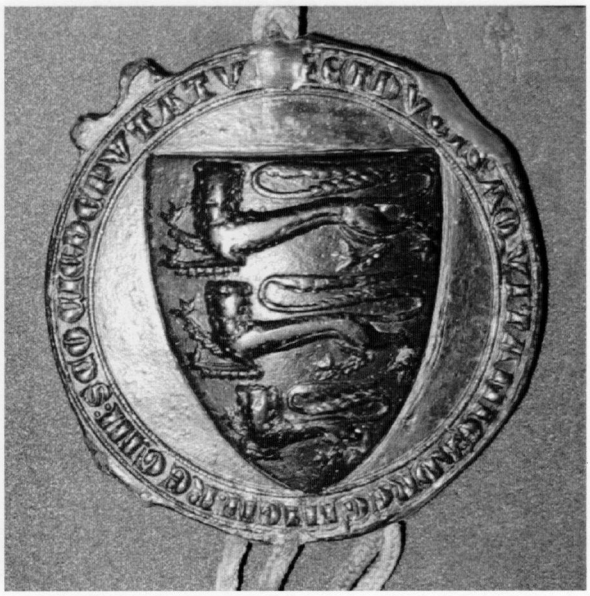

Figure 4: Edward I's seal for Scotland, 1298 (TNA E 39/93/16).
By permission of The National Archives.

as no more than an occupied country, but in 1485 a part-Welshmen, Henry Tudor, defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth, and seized the English throne. Henceforth, the red dragon dreadful, under which standard the future Henry VII had fought on Bosworth field, was added as a supporter to the English royal arms, performing this role on sovereigns and half sovereigns (see **Figure 5a**) of Henry's son and successor, Henry VIII.[16] Two statutes in 1536 and 1543 – the so-called act of union – incorporated Wales into England. The national consciousness of the Welsh went into severe decline and no Welsh emblems were henceforth portrayed on the great seal and precious few on the currency.[17]

The Tudors were also responsible for the introduction of two very English icons into the coinage of the realm: the Tudor rose, which also appeared on the seals of Henry VIII, and (from 1526) St George and the Dragon (see **Figure 5b**).[18]

Edward IV had borne a three-crowns banner on his seal for Ireland, and a crowned Irish harp had (for reasons unknown) appeared on Irish coins of his grandson, Henry VIII as lord of Ireland from 1534, nearly ten years before the country was raised to

[16] A. R. Wagner, 'Heraldry and the British coinage', unpublished paper at TNA MINT 20/3310 [hereafter Wagner 1962], plate A (8), sovereign of 1545. Spink, nos 2289-98 dated 1544-47. For the so-called red dragon of Cadwalader see Sydney Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London 1992) and Carl Lofmark (ed. G. A. Wells), *A History of the Red Dragon* (Llanrwst 1995).

[17] For the loss of Welsh identity see Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, p. 72.

[18] Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 176; Spink, nos 2172, 2177, 2267, 2270, 2274; Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: authority and image in sixteenth-century England* (Yale 2009), pp. 154-5.

Figure 5: Above (a), Sovereign of Henry VIII, 1546-7 (BM CM 1878.201.2); below (b), 'George' noble of Henry VIII, 1526-9 (BM CM GHB.406).

By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

the status of a kingdom in 1541.[19] The harp had been ascribed to kings of Ireland from as early as *c*.1265-85.[20] The Tudor royal arms (as depicted on Henry's great seal) were not, however, altered to reflect his new status as king of Ireland. Whilst the boy-king Edward VI had depicted banners of the three crowns and a harp on his great seal for Ireland,[21] it was his sister, who, as Queen Elizabeth I, in 1586 was the

[19] Jenkinson, op. cit. (note 15 above), p. 319 with plates xci, nos 3-6, and xcii, nos 1-2. The three crowns had appeared on the great seals of Henry IV, V and VI, but as the arms of St Edmund alongside those of St Edward the Confessor; Dykes, op. cit. (note 8 above) p. 117. Wagner 1962, p. 2; Dykes, ibid.; C. W. Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry* (London 1967), p. 158 with fig. 174; Michael Dolley, 'The Irish coinage, 1534-1691' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (edd.), *A New History of Ireland* III: *Early Modern Ireland* (Oxford 1978), pp. 408-10, quoted in Kennedy, op. cit. (note 8 above), p. 96, plate 7.

[20] The arms are in part B of the Wijnbergen Roll (Kennedy, op. cit. p. 92, plate 4). I am grateful to Steen Clemmensen for help with the dating of part B of the Wijnbergen Roll.

[21] Jenkinson, op. cit. p. 320, and plate xci, no. 5.

Figure 6: Arms of James I of England and VI of Scotland as used in England.

From Ralph Brooke, *Catalogue and Succession of the Kings of England*, 1619.

first to place a crowned harp as a badge for Ireland on a great seal of England; here it accompanied the floral badges of her other two kingdoms, England and France (see **Plate 2a**).[22] For the first time the great seal of an English monarch was taking on a British dimension. Elizabeth also placed three harps on a shield on her Irish coinage.[23]

When the Virgin Queen died childless in late March 1603, her cousin James Stuart – James VI of Scotland – was invited to succeed her as James I of England, the two separate kingdoms now sharing a common monarch. James was particularly keen to be seen, not just as king of England and king of Scotland, but of something bigger and better, king of a Great Britain – a Stuart imperium consisting of the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland; he also continued the English claim to France and its fleurs-de-lys shield. A commemorative medal issued for his accession depicts him as a Roman emperor with the legend 'emperor of the whole island of Britain'.[24] One of his first acts as king was to order new seals and coins incorporating the conjoined arms of both England and Scotland. Unfortunately, his initial instructions for these omitted to mention Ireland, which led to some armorial confusion, and even when the harp was included it was not at first certain exactly how the arms of England, France, Scotland and Ireland should be quartered. Nevertheless, by the time James entered his new capital on 7 May the revised Stuart arms had been finalized. Henceforth the royal arms of England, as depicted on coins and seals, included quarterings for Scotland and Ireland; a new heraldic identity had been born for 'Great Britain' (see **Figure 6**).[25]

James had deliberately delayed his entry into London until after the extravagant funeral of the late lamented queen. This had included banners, standards and badges of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales (four counterchanged lions *passant guardant*), and France, plus banners of the arms attributed to Cadwalader (a *cross formy fitchy*),

[22] A. B. and A. Wyon, *The Great Seals of England from the earliest period to the present time* (London 1887), p. 78. For the iconography of the seal see Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 402-3. See also Elizabeth's seals for Ireland, which depict harps: TNA SP 9/198/1/6 and C 106/53 box 2.

[23] Cook, op. cit. (note 4 above) pp. 156-7, with fig. 2; Kennedy, op. cit. p. 96, plate 12.

[24] Illustrated in John Morrill (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Oxford 2000), p. 86.

[25] Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 79-80; Adrian Ailes, 'Signets and scutcheons: James I and the union of the crowns', *CoA* (3rd ser.) 1 (2005), pp. 15-21.

Figure 7: Second great seal of James I of England and VI of Scotland for use in England, 1605-25.

From Wyon, *Great Seals of England.*

and to the Saxon king, Edward the Confessor.[26] The herald, William Camden, the greatest antiquary of his age and author of a topographical history of the British Isles entitled *Britannia*, first published in 1586, may well have been the driving force behind this grand heraldic panoply of British antiquity.[27]

This use of heraldry to emphasise the new 'Britishness' of the monarch was taken further in James I's great seal as king of England (see **Figure 7**).[28] Not only does it repeat the banners of Cadwalader and the Confessor, representing James' legitimate succession to the ancient kings of the Britons and Saxons, but the former is held by an English lion and the latter by a Scots unicorn. Also included are the new royal arms with their Scots and Irish quarterings. This was, of course, only a union of the crowns and not of the two kingdoms. James' new great seal for Scotland engraved in 1605 bore different arms from his equivalent seal in England, with the Scots quarterings taking precedence over England.[29] This is still the practice on the great seal for Scotland.

[26] BL Ms Add. 35324, fos. 26-39; CA Ms Vincent 151, pp. 534-55; Susan Doran (ed.), *Elizabeth: the Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum* (London 2003), pp. 248-9. For Wales see Siddons, *DWH* 1, pp. 281-7; for Cadwalader, see Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 57, 100, 101; and for Edward the Confessor, Scott-Giles, *Romance of Heraldry*, pp. 33-4, H. C. Curwen, 'Some notes on a penny of Edward the Confessor', *CoA* 5 (1959), no. 38, p. 184, and ibid. 9, no. 65, p. 42; cf. also *R. H. M. Dolley* and F. Elmore Jones, 'A new suggestion concerning the so-called "martlets" in the "arms of St Edward"' in R. H. M. Dolley (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Coins: studies presented to F. M. Stenton on his 80th Birthday* (London 1961), pp. 215–26.
[27] Wyman H. Herendeen, *William Camden: a life in context* (Woodbridge 2007), pp. 393-6.
[28] Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 79-80; *BM Seals*, nos 522, 528.
[29] Jenkinson, op. cit. pp. 324-25, plate xcv nos 3 & 4; Ailes, 'Signets and scutcheons', p. 20.

Figure 8: Above (a), Half groat of James I and VI, 1621-3; below (b), Crown of James I and VI, 1619-25.

By permission of Spink and Son.

The king's desire to promote the unity of his *imperium* was repeated on his new coinage as King of England which likewise bore England quartering France in the first and third quarters, Scotland in the second and Ireland in the third. From 1610 to the Act of Union in 1707, Scots coins of the Stuarts, like the Scots great seal, gave precedence to the Scottish quartering.[30] After 1603 the crowned thistle (which had first appeared as a floral symbol of Scots identity on a silver groat in about 1470)[31] appeared on the reverse of coins bearing a crowned English rose (see **Figure 8a**).[32] Towards the end of James I's reign coins made from Welsh silver had the so-called 'Prince of Wales' feathers' inserted over the royal shield (see **Figure 8b**), and a crowned harp for Ireland appeared on farthings.[33]

In 1642 the Civil War broke out, which was to affect the whole of the British Isles. In 1649 the king, Charles I, was executed and the country ruled initially by parliament and, from 1653, by a Lord Protector. During the Commonwealth period of the Interregnum the royal arms were replaced on coins by conjoined shields depicting the St George's cross of England and the Irish harp and on the great seal by the

[30] Spink, nos 2610-12, 2643-45; Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 196.

[31] C. J. Burnett, 'The thistle as a symbol' in *Emblems of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1977), pp. 45-52 (illustrated at 51); cf. also Wagner 1962, plate B (19).

[32] Wagner 1962, p. 2; Spink, nos 2627, 2672, 2673; Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 200 and plate xliii 4; Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland 1603-8* (Edinburgh 1986), p. 60.

[33] Spink, p. 244, nos. 2665, 2674-80; Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 196, cf. p. 205. A half groat of Charles I minted at Aberystwyth depicted the Prince of Wales' feathers mint mark covering the whole of the coin (TNA MINT 20/3986).

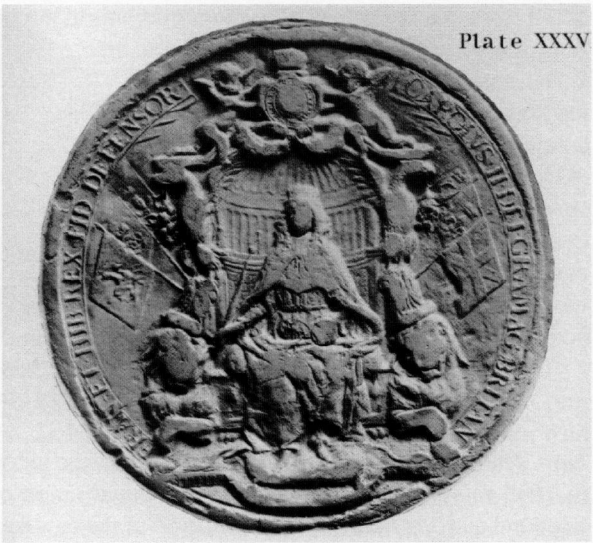

Figure 9: Third great seal of Charles II, 1663-72.

From Wyon, *Great Seals of England.*

same two shields but separated.[34] With the abolition of the monarchy in England and Ireland and the severance of the crowns there was no longer any need for Scotland to be represented. Gone were the lions and lilies of royal absolutism, replaced instead by stark, patriotic reminders of the civilian regime now in power.

After the establishment of a new protectorate under Oliver Cromwell, and in 1654 the formal union of England and Scotland,[35] new arms were designed and displayed on the great seal and republican currency. The new arms of the Protectorate proved a curious mixture of royalist, republican and personal motifs – the lion at the centre of the shield being Cromwell's family arms. The crosses of the patron saints, St George and St Andrew, replaced the royalist quarterings for England and Scotland respectively, though the Irish harp was retained. As can be seen on the Protectorate great seal the Welsh dragon was dusted down and recalled into service replacing the unicorn supporter of the hated Stuarts (see **Plate 2b**).[36] Cromwell famously stamped his personal mark upon Ireland, an outcome reflected in the rather crude imposition of his family shield over the Irish harp on his 1655 great seal for that kingdom.[37]

The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 allowed for the rehabilitation of the royal arms on seals and coins. Banners appearing on either side of the king in majesty on Charles' third great seal issued in 1663 (see **Figure 9**) include St George and the Dragon, a rose crowned, a crowned thistle, a fleur-de-lys crowned, and a crowned

[34] Spink, nos 3208-23; Roy Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell: king in all but name 1653-1658* (Stroud 1977), p. 94.

[35] The formal ordinance uniting Scotland with England was not promulgated till April 1654 after which it was decreed the Scots arms should be borne with those of the Commonwealth; C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum* (London 1911), vol. 2, p. 873.

[36] Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 95-6; *BM Seals*, no. 601; Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain*, pp. 74-5; Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 43-9, 94.

[37] *BM Seals*, no. 17,339; illustrated in Morrill, *Oxford Illustrated History*, p. 251.

Figure 10: Pattern for farthing of Charles II, 1665.
By permission of Spink and Son.

harp. The seal also bore the English version of the union flag. This had been designed in 1606 to symbolize the fraternal and equal union of the crowns of England and Scotland with its distinctive combination of the crosses of St George and St Andrew.[38] The same flag appeared on Charles II's coins, this time on the shield of Britannia, another new symbol of British national identity (**Figure 10**).[39]

The successful invasion by the protestant William of Orange in 1688, and the subsequent flight to France of Charles II's catholic brother and successor, James II, resulted in a slight heraldic hiccup. William was declared joint ruler with his Stuart wife, Mary, by the English authorities in January 1689, but not yet by the restored Scots parliament in Edinburgh. The new great seal of William III and Mary II did not, therefore, include any reference to Scotland so that the Irish harp was repeated in the second quarter of the royal arms instead of the Scots lion. Elsewhere, the Welsh dragon was once again drafted in as the sinister supporter in place of the unicorn. Only after the estates of Scotland had resolved that William and Mary should be declared king and queen of Scotland could the Privy Council on 23 May 1689 order a new great seal to be made reinstating the Scots quarter and unicorn. In the event no such seal was made until after the death of Mary in 1694.[40]

[38] Wyon, *Great Seals*, p. 105. W. G. Perrin, *British Flags* (Cambridge 1922), pp. 55ff. For the Scots version of the Union flag (with the saltire of St Andrew superimposing the cross of St George) see David Masson (ed.), *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland VII 1604-7* (Edinburgh 1885), pp. 498-9; Nick Groom, *The Union Jack: the story of the British flag* (London 2007), pp. 136-8; Galloway, *Union of England and Scotland 1603-8*, pp. 82-4, with plate ii 3; and Timothy Wilson, *Flags at Sea* (London 1986), pp. 16-17.

[39] Spink, nos 3393-5. For Britannia on Roman and British coins see Virginia Hewitt, 'Britannia (*fl.* 1st-21st cent.)', in *Oxford DNB* (updated version as of May 2012 online at *www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68196*), and Katharine Eustace, 'Britannia: some high points in the history of the iconography on British coinage', *British Numismatic Journal* 76 (2006), pp. 323-36, both with abundant further bibliography.

[40] Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 110-11; cf. *BM Seals*, no. 628; James Blundell, 'Some variants of the arms of William and Mary', *CoA* (new ser.) 1 (1975), no. 94, pp. 162-5. The early version of the arms can still be seen on a caddinet made in 1688 and now amongst the crown jewels: Anna Keay, *The Crown Jewels: the official illustrated history* (London 2011), p. 66.

Not surprisingly the accession of the joint monarchs resulted in a change to the coinage. Unsuccessful patterns for a new broad coin in 1660 had included a simplified version of the royal arms: Quarterly 1 England (three lions *passant guardant*), 2 Scotland, 3 France and 4 Ireland. Charles was persuaded not to adopt this design, but an early half crown of William and Mary bore a similar shield: Quarterly 1 England, 2 Scotland, 3 Ireland and 4 France with an inescutcheon of Nassau overall. This armorial experiment did not, however, last very long.[41] A further innovation on the coinage was the design of the four national shields (England, Scotland, Ireland, and France) arranged separately in a cross with their base points to the centre. In 1701 William III was the first sovereign to depict the Prince of Wales' feathers between these four shields. In the same year he granted permission for the 'arms of Wales' to be set upon the money coined of silver extracted out of Welsh lead ore.[42]

The Act of Union of 1707, passed under William's successor Queen Anne, proclaimed that England, Scotland, and Wales be joined into one united kingdom, with one name (Great Britain), one flag, new arms, and the same coinage as used in England. Arms and badges were devised to give expression both to the new 'United Kingdom' and to the individual nations of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France (see **Plate 3**). Wales did not feature and English badges were to have preference over Scots. Even where the rose and the thistle were joined on the one stalk to represent the single new kingdom it was specifically stated that the thistle was to be grafted onto the main rose stem; in other words the Scots emblem took second place.[43]

New great seals were of course produced in response to these constitutional and heraldic changes. Here again care was taken to reflect the distinct peoples contained within the new extended boundaries of the nation. The obverse of the new great seal of the United Kingdom (see **Figures 11** and **12**, over) incorporated the English lion supporting a shield charged with the cross of St George, whilst the Scottish unicorn holds a shield bearing the saltire of St Andrew. Nevertheless, to enforce a new overarching sense of Britishness the impaled arms of England and Scotland were prominently displayed as well as the composite union flag and royal standard with its English, Scottish and Irish quarterings. And just in case the message was not clear, the reverse deliberately departed from the centuries-old traditional design of portraying the monarch on horseback, and showed instead Britannia holding a shield prominently displaying England impaling Scotland.[44] The new conjoined and crowned rose and thistle badge of the United Kingdom is also evident. Patterns for halfpennies repeating this new floral device were produced but no such coins entered circulation.[45]

During the Hanoverian period the English lion and the Scottish unicorn gave way to the 'British' lion – which in its turn gave way to Britannia alongside a number

[41] TNA PRO 30/24/44/74; Ailes, 'Signets and scutcheons', p. 19; Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 237, plate lx 1; E. C. Carter, 'A review of the pattern broads of Charles II', *British Numismatic Journal* 20 (1929-30), pp. 207-13; Blundell, op. cit. p. 164.

[42] Half crown and shilling Spink nos 3496, 3517; TNA MINT 7/84; Wagner 1962, p. 2.

[43] Wagner 1962, plate C; TNA PC 1/13/10; PC 2/81 pp. 338-40, 342-33; SP 34/15 ff. 26-27.

[44] Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 114-16; *BM Seals*, no. 633.

[45] Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 239, plate lxii 2.

The third great seal of Queen Anne, 1707.
Above (*Figure 11*), obverse; below (*Figure 12*), reverse.
From Wyon, *Great Seals of England*.

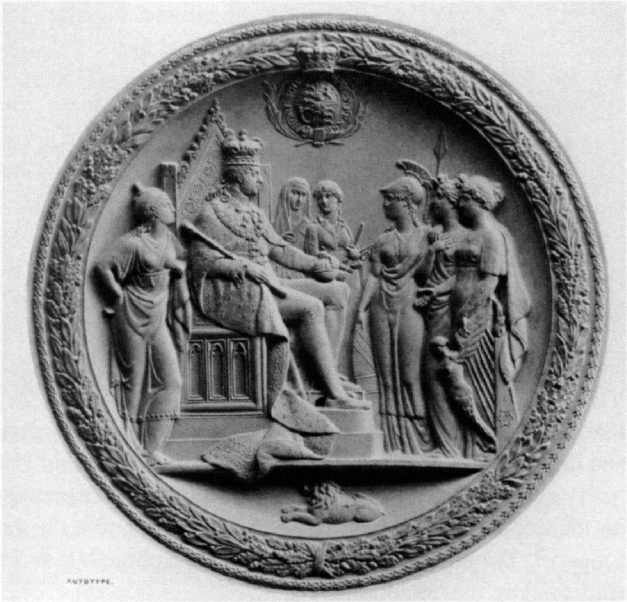

Figure 13: Great seal of George IV, 1821-31.

From Wyon, *Great Seals of England*.

of allegorical figures such as Justice, all crowding round the throne as if to ingratiate themselves with the newly-crowned monarch.[46] Similarly the royal arms on a shield gave way to that most potent symbol of Britishness and one which was being increasingly exported across the globe: the union flag. This was revised in 1801 to incorporate the so-called St Patrick's cross following the Act of Union with Ireland that year. The claim to France and its fleurs-de-lys were finally dropped and the royal arms amended. New badges were approved by the king including this time the red dragon for Wales, though the principality again did not feature in the new flag, arms, or coinage (see **Plate 4**).[47]

England was clearly perceived as the dominant partner in this union, as is symbolised by the prominence of its three lions in the royal arms, the St George's cross taking centre stage on the union flag, the English rose providing the main stem for the floral badge of the United Kingdom, and, from 1817, St George featuring on the new gold sovereign.[48] One result was that, unlike the Scots and Welsh, the English started to see themselves as British and little else, a trend that continued until the late twentieth century. This merger into a greater whole and the subsequent loss of separate identity were reflected on both seals and coins. For example, three females appear on the new great seal for George IV, who ascended the throne in 1820 (see **Figure 13**).[49] One is Hibernia for Ireland, who has a shamrock on her head and supports a

[46] For what follows see Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 116-28. The impaled arms also appear above the portrait of Anne seated in majesty.

[47] The union flag was not amended on the great seal until 1815 (Wyon, *Great Seals*, p. 127). The new arms and flag were approved in November 1800. TNA HO 38/9; PC 2/157, f. 1.

[48] Spink, no. 3785.

[49] Wyon, *Great Seals*, p. 129; *BM Seals*, no. 690.

large harp. Another is Caledonia for Scotland, who has a thistle in her hair and wears a tartan scarf. The other is presumably England, but is depicted as Britannia sporting a union-flag shield and not the cross of St George. Indeed, is the lion on her helm the lion of England or that new dominant breed: the British lion? Whilst Scottish and Irish national feelings have been given clear symbolic expression, doubtless aided by the renewed interest in Celtic antiquarianism then in vogue, English identity remains uncertain, perhaps lying too close to the centre of power and, therefore, not to be encouraged. Three similar ladies sporting a large harp, union-flag shield, and thistle at their respective feet, are depicted on William Wyon's unsuccessful 'Three Graces' pattern crown of 1817, produced for the king's late father, George III.[50]

During the first half of the twentieth century the St Andrew Society petitioned hard for greater Scottish representation on British coins.[51] On the accession of Edward VIII in 1936 the Royal Mint was all too aware of the depth of feeling north of the border. Despite objections from Sir Gerald Woods Wollaston, Garter King of Arms, and Oswald Barron, soon to become Maltravers Herald Extraordinary, the Mint eventually agreed to a separate Scottish shilling. This depicted the Scots crest (though not on the Scots crown), the St Andrew's saltire, and a thistle. It was circulated in 1937 following the accession of the new king, George VI, and his Scottish wife; a second shilling bore the 'English' crest.[52]

In 1953, after agreement with the Secretary of State for Scotland and Lord Lyon King of Arms, the new Scots shilling bore the crowned arms of Scotland, though only after the designer, William Gardner, had been asked to remove the thistles he had placed on either side of the shield; perhaps it was felt that they cluttered the design (see **Figure 14**).[53] The introduction of decimalization in 1971 resulted in a complete redesigning of all the UK coinage. In advance of this the 1968 coin of five new pence bore the Scottish thistle and Scottish crown, the first time the latter had ever appeared on the coinage of the United Kingdom.[54] Since then the Scots lion within a flory double tressure and the thistle have both featured on £1 coins.[55]

The Welsh too (principally through the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion) argued for greater symbolic representation; all the more, in fact, since neither the un-

[50] Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 239, plate lxii 7. For Celtic antiquarianism see Robert Colls, *Identity of England* (Oxford 2002), p. 43, and Murray G. H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester 1999), pp. 36-7 (and p. 86 for the legal revival of tartan).

[51] TNA HO 45/7111.

[52] TNA MINT 25/2; G. P. Meyer, *The Proposed Coinage of King Edward VIII* (London 1973), pp. 13-14; Ailes, 'Scots heralds and heraldry' (note 15 above), pp. 24-6. The English crest might also be taken to be the crest of the United Kingdom.

[53] TNA MINT 25/2; MINT 25/3; MINT 20/2262 and see also MINT 20/473 where there is also discussion on Lyon joining the Mint Advisory Committee in 1952; Spink, nos 4063, 4082, 4083, 4139, 4140; Ailes, 'Scots heralds and heraldry', p. 27.

[54] TNA MINT 20/3988 (memo of 13 and 14 Feb. 1968); Spink, no. 4233. See also TNA MINT 20/3986 for various Scottish designs for the new decimal coinage.

[55] Spink, nos 4222, 4335, 4337.

Figure 14: Designs submitted by William Gardner of 'Scottish shilling' for Elizabeth II, 1953 (TNA MINT 20/2262).

By permission of The National Archives.

ion flag nor the royal arms make any reference to their country – as is still the case.[56] The reason for this omission was put succinctly, if rather bluntly, by Sir Albert William Woods, Garter King of Arms, in a memo to the Home Office in 1898: Wales was 'not a Kingdom merely a Principality or appendage of England'.[57] As late as 1962 Sir Anthony Wagner, Garter, who was in favour of including the Welsh dragon on coins, could state that 'there are no current arms for Wales (though there is a badge) because it is not a political entity'.[58] Despite petitions in 1910 to the new king, George V, to include the red dragon into the royal standard and coinage, no such change was made. Instead, a compromise was reached whereby the ancient quarterly arms of the native princes of Gwynedd and later of Wales (*Quarterly gules and or four lions passant guardant counterchanged*) surmounted by the prince's coronet was to replace the inescutcheon of Saxony on the arms of the Prince of Wales (later Edward VIII), while the badge of Wales – a red dragon on a green mound – suitably differenced with a label of three points for the first born, was to be incorporated into the prince's armorial achievement. The new design was approved by the king in February 1911.[59]

The badge to which Garter Wagner was referring in 1962 was that approved by Queen Elizabeth II almost a decade earlier, consisting of a dragon on a party white and green shield within a Welsh motto meaning the red dragon inspires or 'gives the lead' (see **Plate 5**).[60] It has never appeared on a seal or coin. Features of the handsome

[56] TNA PC 8/706; MINT 20/1473; MINT 20/2263. In letter dated 27 February 1968, the Duke of Edinburgh, as chair of the Royal Mint Advisory Committee on the design of the new decimal coinage) noted that there were no specific references to Ulster (presumably as opposed to Ireland as a whole) and Wales on the arms of the United Kingdom (TNA MINT 20/3977).
[57] TNA PC 8/706. [58] Wagner 1962, p. 3. [59] TNA PC 8/706.
[60] TNA PC 2/709 f. 271. Winston Churchill (then Prime Minister) thought the design odious: TNA CAB 195/11.

new badge of the Welsh Assembly, in particular the arms of Gwynedd, along with a splendidly dynamic dragon and a regal portrait of the Queen in majesty, nevertheless do appear on the Assembly's one-sided seal approved in 2011.

In 1937 the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, Sir Robert Johnson, feared, as he put it, the 'men of Harlech' descending upon him.[61] But Oswald Barron was not to be put off, disapproving of the Welsh daffodil being added to the coinage, and, to be fair to the great Barron, even at the accession of our present Queen there was still confusion over the most suitable floral emblem of that land.[62] Nevertheless, a leek was incorporated into the design of the 1953 crown, florin and sixpence, and it has since appeared in its own right on a new pound coin of 1985.[63] A recent £1 coin, designed by Timothy Noad, solves the Welsh floral problem of daffodil or leek by displaying both. It was not until decimalization, however, that the Prince of Wales' feathers and Welsh dragon returned to the coinage.[64]

As for Ireland, that land's turbulent road to home rule resulted in an independent Irish state being born with a new tricolour flag, new arms (being the ancient Irish harp), and new coinage which, apart from the common harp reverse, deliberately did not include any heraldic or religious symbols with all their emotional and political baggage.[65] The former arms of Northern Ireland granted in 1924, with supporters approved the following year, never featured on a great seal or on the coinage of the United Kingdom, since they were not the arms of a sovereign.[66]

As already stated, these arms have never appeared on a great seal – so the first great seal for Northern Ireland depicted instead George V on horseback in front of a large shamrock; this seal also included a small rose and thistle.[67] A draft design for the great seal of the province at the beginning of the present queen's reign depicted the royal arms as used in Northern Ireland – the arms of the United Kingdom with an inescutcheon of Ulster, or a cross gules, the arms of the Norman family of de Burgh, earls of Ulster (see **Figure 15**).[68] In 1968 J. H. James, the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, wrote that he had received 'bleats from Northern Ireland' complaining of the province not being represented on the forthcoming decimal coins. Since the harp, red hand of Ulster, and shamrock were all too partisan, he suggested the flax as a pos-

[61] TNA MINT 20/1473.

[62] TNA MINT 25/2.

[63] Spink, nos 4136, 4138, 4141; TNA MINT 20/2263. The Duke of Edinburgh suggested the leek replace the Welsh dragon on early (unsuccessful) designs of the new 50p piece (letter of 25 Apr. 1968 in TNA MINT 20/3977). The leek appeared on pound coins in 1985 (Spink, no. 4331).

[64] Spink, nos 4235, 4338. For suggested dragon designs for the new decimal coins in 1971 see TNA MINT 20/3986 and 3977. As early as 1963 the Mint had considered using the Welsh dragon on decimal coins (TNA MINT 25/4).

[65] For the controversies surrounding the national symbols of Ireland and Northern Ireland and their role on coins and seals see Morris, *National Symbols and Political Conflict* (note 1 above).

[66] Morris, ibid. pp. 112-14; Wagner 1962, p. 3; Susan Hood, *Royal Roots – Republican Inheritance: the survival of the Office of Arms* (Dublin 2002), pp. 120, 125-6.

[67] Morris, ibid. pp. 112-13.

[68] TNA MINT 20/2352.

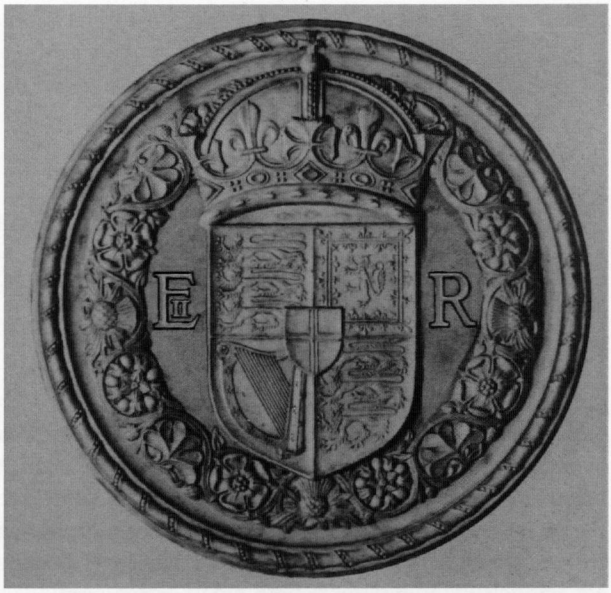

Figure 15: Draft design of seal for Northern Ireland for Elizabeth II, 1952 (TNA MINT 20/2352).

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sibility. In 1971 a grassy compartment with two flax plants each bearing three flowers was added to the (soon-to-disappear) arms of Northern Ireland and in 1986 the plant duly appeared on the £1 coin for Northern Ireland.[69] Whilst the heraldic emblems of England, Scotland and Wales featured on later reissues of pound coins, a non-heraldic Celtic cross with a pimpernel flower at the centre and surmounted by an ancient torc (representing the Broighter collar) was drafted in to provide another non-sectarian design for the province.[70]

As for the English, notwithstanding the identity crisis alluded to above – English or British? – their country has fared reasonably well on coins over the last half century, though a certain ambiguity still remained. For example, whilst the new 1971 decimal coinage included very clear denominations for Scotland and Wales, the presumably English coin – the new ten pence piece issued in advance in 1968 – depicted a cross between an English lion passant guardant and the crowned lion statant crest of the United Kingdom.[71] Moreover, whilst the St Andrew Society and the Honourable Society for Cymmrodorion had for many years fought hard for specific Scottish and Welsh emblems on the coinage of the realm, the Royal Society of St George only seems to have become numismatically animated when it was rumoured that Britannia

[69] TNA MINT 20/3977; Spink, no. 4332; Morris, *National Symbols and Political Conflict*, pp. 211-12. CA record Ms I.83/231 (6 Jan. 1971). The Unionist Prime Minister of Northern Ireland not surprisingly opted for the red hand to represent Ulster on the decimal coinage (TNA MINT 20/3977).

[70] Spink, no. 4339.

[71] Spink, no. 4231. It is, of course, possible the crowned lion is the 'English' supporter from the royal arms taking a break from his supporting duties.

Figure 16: 'English shilling' of Elizabeth II, 1953.
By permission of Spink and Son.

– generally regarded as a truly British (rather than specifically English) symbol – was to be dropped from the new decimal coins.[72] However, all was not lost. Richard I's three lions appeared on an English shilling in 1953 (see **Figure 16**) and have since reappeared on a pound coin.[73] An especially beautiful Tudor rose graced the first 20 pence coin,[74] and a grand old English oak featured on another £1 coin, whilst the latest English £1 coin depicts both.[75] St George continues to fight with his dragon on sovereigns and other high value gold and (from 2013) silver coins.[76]

The union too has had its recent numismatic moments. As Chancellor of the Exchequer during the lead-up to decimalization in 1971, Roy Jenkins was keen that the new 50 pence piece should be representative of the United Kingdom as a whole. Rejected designs for the new 50 pence piece included one with the royal arms of the United Kingdom and another with a union-flag shield surrounded by the floral emblems of the four countries (see **Plate 6**).[77] The figure of Britannia was eventually to triumph, complete with her own union-flag shield. She sits offering an olive branch of peace whilst a rather tame-looking, or perhaps more accurately a quietly contented post-colonial looking, British lion reposes behind her staring into an uncertain future.[78] Many years later there was genuine national consternation when it was decided to replace the grand old lady on the 50 pence piece. Today Britannia survives braving the winds and waves on various high value denominations and in 2013 it was decided

[72] TNA MINT 20/3977 (letter of 13 March 1968).
[73] Spink, nos 4139, 4340. [74] Spink, no. 4230. [75] Spink, nos 4333, 4340.
[76] Spink, nos 4204, 4271, 4251, 4400, 4402, 4403. In 2013 the Royal Mint issued its first £20 (silver) coin which depicts St George and the Dragon.
[77] TNA MINT 20/3986 (letter of J. H. James, Deputy Master of the Mint, dated 11 March 1968) and MINT 20/3977. Interestingly, the shamrock was still being suggested to represent Northern Ireland. The previous Chancellor of the Exchequer, James Callaghan, had initially been keen to select parliamentary, English, Scottish, and Welsh designs for the new decimal coinage (TNA MINT 20/3986). On the designs and the designer behind them, see Catherine Eagleton, 'Christopher Ironside and the designs for the decimal coinage', in Kevin Clancy (ed.), *Designing Change: the art of coin design* (Llantrisant 2008), pp. 22-37.
[78] Spink, nos 4223, 4225. For the decision to keep Britannia on the decimal coinage see TNA MINT 20/3977.

Figure 17: Five pence of Elizabeth II, 2008.

By permission of the Royal Mint: crown copyright.

that a new coin would be issued every year designed by a British artist and featuring this iconic personification of the island nation.[79]

The royal arms of the United Kingdom in whole or in part have featured on several coins throughout the present reign including three of the decimal £1 coins.[79] Indeed, the redesign of the United Kingdom's definitive coinage in 2008 consisted entirely of a single shield of the royal arms of the United Kingdom split across the various denominations, the £1 coin depicting the complete royal shield acting as kind of jigsaw-box-lid clue to putting the arms back together again (see **Figure 17**).[81] This ground-breaking (if not shield-breaking) design has, it is true, not won universal favour, and Wales is not included, despite all the efforts of the last fifty or so years to celebrate in symbolic terms the different sentiments, cultures and identities of the constituent nations.[82] The emphasis it seems is back on the union – dare one might say 'Britishness' – in an age of 'citizenship' and devolved governments. But whatever the case, the new coins do maintain the centuries-old tradition of using heraldry to help convey a sense of national unity and identity, whilst still reflecting the individual nations contained within the union.

As for the great seal of the United Kingdom, this has tended in recent centuries to focus more on the Crown as a unifying factor, as symbolised by the person of the monarch, rather than by heraldic devices.[83] Even Britannia has quietly left the

[79] For example, Spink, nos 4281, 4283, 4293; *www.royalmint.com/shop/2013_Britannia_Gold_Proof_ Twentieth_Ounce_Coin* (accessed August 2013).

[80] For example, Spink, nos 4136, 4137, 4221, 4277, 4334, 4604.

[81] Cook, op. cit. (note 4 above); Spink nos 4620, 4631, 4651, 4671, 4691, 4711, and the £1 coin 4604. On the design process, see Matt Dent, 'Making an impression', in Clancy, *Designing Change* (note 77 above), pp. 66-79.

[82] See Kevin Clancy, 'Receiving change: reaction to the new designs', in *Designing Change*, pp. 94-107.

[83] Small tweaks to the Scottish great seal ensured a higher heraldic profile for that country. Up to the time of Queen Victoria the great seal of Scotland portrayed the Scottish version of the union flag, and in 1926 the king approved a new great seal for Scotland in which the motto was changed to NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT, the motto of the Order of the Thistle (Groom, *Union Jack*, pp. 136-7; TNA MINT 24/10).

Figure 18: Second great seal of Elizabeth II, 2001.
By permission of the Royal Mint: crown copyright.

sigillographic stage.[84] However, in July 2001 a new great seal was designed which, whilst maintaining the image of the sovereign seated in majesty on the obverse, has dropped the traditional portrait of the monarch on horseback on the reverse. Instead, the reverse is given over entirely, and without accompanying legend, to those ancient symbols of national identity that so successfully embody the whole of the United Kingdom and its constituent parts: the royal arms (see **Figure 18**).[85]

[84] Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 131ff.

[85] This paper was delivered as a lecture to the Heraldry Society in February 2013 and is an extended and revised version of the paper published in *Genealogica & Heraldica: identity in genealogy and heraldry* (Stuttgart 2012), pp. 24-34. I am grateful to Clive Cheesman for comments on an earlier draft and additional references, and to Timothy Noad. Note that seals and coins are not shown to scale.

PLATE 1

Reverse of second great seal of Richard I, 1198 (TNA DL 10/47).
See page 1.

By permission of The National Archives.

PLATE 2

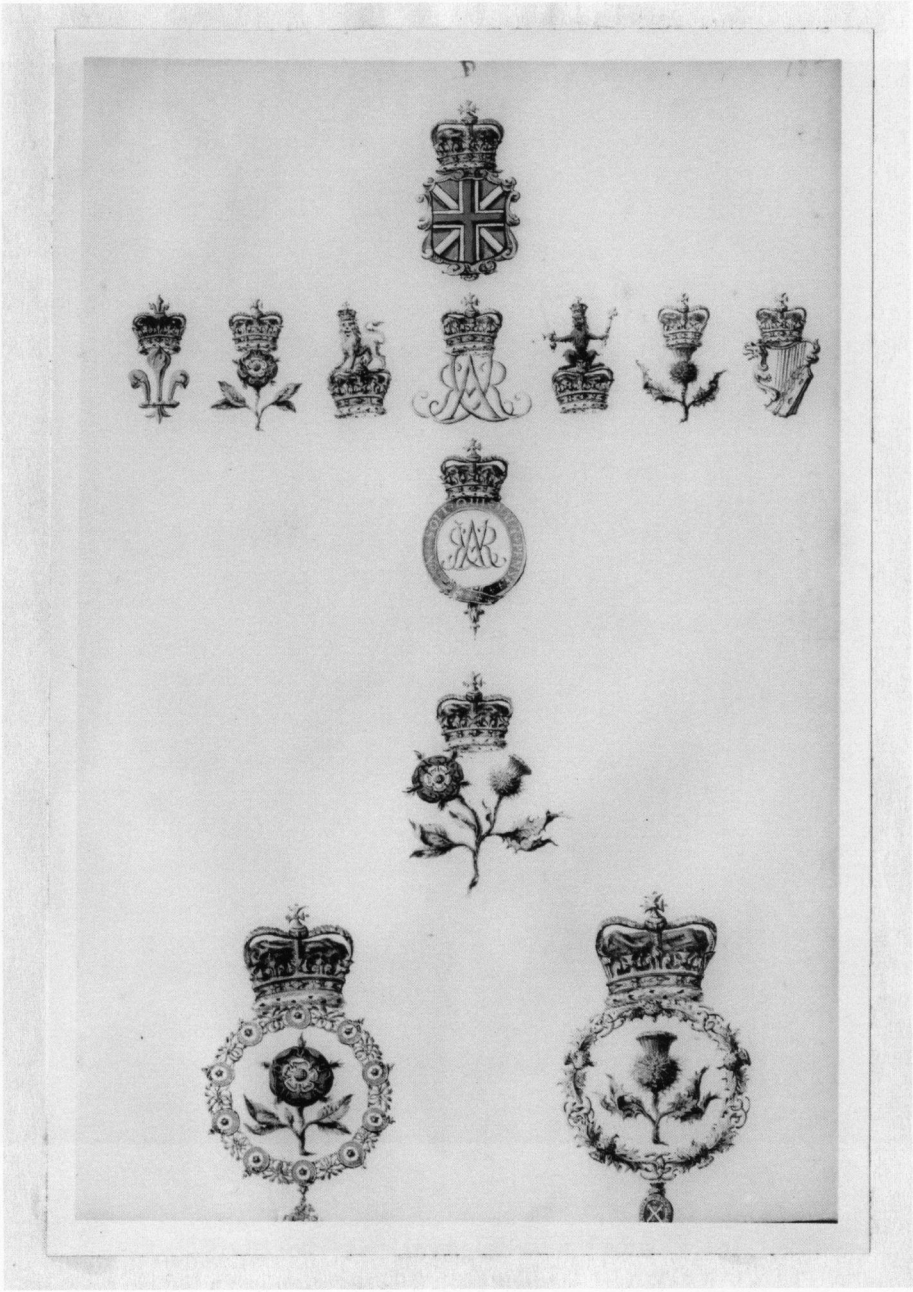
Above (*a*), second great seal of Elizabeth I, 1586-1603 (TNA SC 13/N3).
See page 8.

By permission of The National Archives.

Below (*b*), second great seal of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, 1657-59.
See page 11.

(Wyon, *Great Seals of England*)

PLATE 3



Badges of the United Kingdom, 1707 (TNA MINT 20/3310).
See page 13.

By permission of The National Archives.

PLATE 4

Badges of the United Kingdom, 1801 (TNA HO 38/9).
See page 15.

By permission of The National Archives.

PLATE 5

Badge for Wales, 1953 (TNA PC 2/709 f. 271).
See page 17.

By permission of The National Archives.

PLATE 6

Designs submitted by Christopher Ironside for Elizabeth II decimal fifty new pence, *c*.1968 (TNA MINT 20/3977).

See page 20.

By permission of The National Archives.