ALTHOUGH we know of coin collectors as early as the poet Petrarch in fourteenth-century Florence, it was in the sixteenth century that collecting, stimulated by Renaissance interest in antiquity, became widely established and the first numismatic books began to appear. In the seventeenth century more recent coins as well as the classical came to figure more prominently in the cabinets of curiosities which became fashionable among the nobility and gentry, and the science of numismatics began to develop from the pursuit of collecting. From those earliest stages, knowledge of coins and coinage has owed much to the work of collectors, and the boundary between pastime and study has never been a clear one. Collectors often take pride in having specimens that belonged to famous collections of the past, and so take care to preserve the pedigree of their pieces. But such records are of more than antiquarian interest. To give a few examples, they can be useful in establishing the number of surviving specimens of particular types or varieties; they may help in determining the authenticity of doubtful coins; or they can provide evidence for the contents of hoards dispersed long ago without proper record. Yet relatively little has been written about the part played by collectors and their collections in the history of the subject, and it is not always easy to find the necessary information. The notes in the following pages on collectors and collections of Scottish coins are therefore offered in the hope that they may prove useful to students as well as to collectors of the series.

This essay was originally drafted, in much briefer form, in the 1970s, by the late Lieut.-Colonel J.K.R. Murray. With his usual modesty he doubted whether it merited publication. For several years we both gathered additional information and he agreed that I should produce a longer version which could be published. Because of other commitments I was unable to complete this during his lifetime, but having now done so I offer it as a memorial to Jock Murray, a most accomplished student and diligent collector of Scottish coins, in gratitude for many years of co-operation and friendship, and for his important contribution to the subject of our common interest.

In compiling these notes we have drawn on a wide range of sources, many of which contain much more information than is recorded here. Many leading collectors, especially of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have qualified on other grounds for inclusion in the Dictionary of National Biography, Burke’s Peerage and Landed Gentry, Crockford’s Clerical Directory, Who Was Who, and other such works of reference. Biographical particulars about collectors are sometimes given in sale catalogues, and these are invaluable, especially for those who were not otherwise prominent persons. Various references to leading numismatists and contributions from them occur in early periodicals, and these have recently been collated in an essential work by Mr Harrington Manville, a companion volume to his equally indispensable catalogue of British numismatic auction sales.¹ For further information the reader may find it useful to consult the introduction to Cochran-Patrick’s Records, which contains an excellent survey of the literature of the subject up to his own time;² two historical accounts, of the National Museum and of Scottish numismatics, in the volume marking the


bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; and recent articles in this Journal on Edward Burns and James Wingate.

For the golden age of Scottish coin collecting, in the second half of the nineteenth century, we have fortunately been able to use a considerable amount of unpublished information from contemporary correspondence. Much of this has been obtained from the hundreds of surviving letters written to R.W. Cochran-Patrick by Edward Burns, the Rev. J.H. Pollexfen, Sheriff T. Mackenzie, J. Kermack Ford and other leading numismatists and collectors of his day. Many other letters, from the British Museum, the Scottish Record Office and elsewhere, were written during the time when Cochran-Patrick was collecting material for his various works on Scottish coins and medals and on mining in Scotland. All these letters have been mounted in nine large albums and cover the years 1871–79. Unfortunately many letters must have been lost, since the archive contains only one letter from Burns of 1884, and none of the earlier 1880s. A quantity of letters written to John Lindsay, about Scottish and other coins, also survives. Like the Cochran-Patrick letters, many were in the possession of Hunter of Hunterston, Cochran-Patrick’s great-grandson, to whom we were very much indebted for access to them.

Our main concern has been with those collectors who put together important collections of Scottish coins in a systematic manner. Such collections may have contained fewer than a hundred coins or as many as two thousand. In the main Scottish coins have formed only a part, and usually quite a small part, of a larger British or general collection, the object being merely to have a representative selection of coins occupying one or two trays in a cabinet. Such collections have often contained excellent coins, but they are of relatively little significance for the student since the presence of rare or interesting specimens was often due to wealth or chance. Only seldom has a collector confined his collecting to Scottish coins alone. Of the collections formed by Mackenzie and Cochran-Patrick, only Scottish coins appeared in the sale catalogues, but at one time Mackenzie also had a strong interest in English medieval pennies, while Cochran-Patrick’s collection included Scottish medals and he also had some Greek and Roman coins. Wingate’s collection, although predominantly Scottish, also contained some ancient coins. While most collectors who included Scottish coins in their collections generally had coins covering the whole period from David I or William the Lion to the Union, many others specialised in one way or another. Some, like the Revd. H. Christmas, H.A. Parsons or R. Carlyon-Britton, have had no gold coins, a feature in particular of twentieth-century collections as a result of their greatly increased cost. Other collections, conversely, have been confined to gold, such as those of R.D. Wills, E. Wertheimer and R. Strauss. Again, this is a consequence of high market values, as coins came to be regarded as a suitable medium for investment in inflationary times. Some collectors of the English series, such as H. Montagu, confined their Scottish series to the period after the Union of Crowns in 1603. Others have specialised chiefly in one reign or another – notably S.P. Fay in Mary; H.M. Lingford in James VI and L.V. Larsen in Anne.

It is of course impossible to mention more than a small proportion of those who have been collecting Scottish coins at any period. Most of the names included here have picked themselves because of their prominence as collectors or students, but others have found a place in order to illustrate the attitudes of collectors or their approach to the subject. The number of collectors who are well known to their contemporaries, let alone to later readers, is limited. There are certain collectors whose names have been widely known and on whose activities we have relied for a good deal of our information. These include R.W. Cochran-Patrick, Edward Burns and James Wingate; others are well known to students of Scottish numismatics, notably R.D. Wills, E. Wertheimer and R. Strauss. Again, this is a consequence of high market values, as coins came to be regarded as a suitable medium for investment in inflationary times. Some collectors of the English series, such as H. Montagu, confined their Scottish series to the period after the Union of Crowns in 1603. Others have specialised chiefly in one reign or another – notably S.P. Fay in Mary; H.M. Lingford in James VI and L.V. Larsen in Anne.

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generations, has never been great. But we may assume that collecting on a smaller scale was popular long before our own age. There are reputed to have been at least two hundred coin collectors in France in the 1560s. Outside the landowning and official classes we do not hear much of individual collectors before the nineteenth century. Although the professions are represented – churchmen, doctors, scientists and so on – there is little record of merchants or manufacturers before the Victorian era. From that time onwards, however, we find more evidence of collectors who had built their own fortune, or whose families had done so not long before. More recently, we can see how rising prosperity, increased leisure and wider education have all contributed to enlarging the range of collectors in our own time. With these changes has gone a distinct shift of emphasis in the objectives of collecting. While in earlier times the aim had usually been to put together a select series in the finest state, as numismatic studies progressed there came a greater attention to detailed varieties, and increased competition led to the acceptance of specimens in lesser condition, especially for the rarer items. Such pieces are now well recorded in sale catalogues, but in earlier times there is little detailed mention of rare medieval coins that would excite students today, and in assessing the calibre of an early collection we often therefore have to rely on the presence of the more spectacular gold coins or the rarer silver of Mary or James VI.

While we cannot point to any collection of Scottish coins that was certainly completed before 1700, we know of several that had their origins in the seventeenth century. One of these, which was largely formed by Francis WILLOUGHBY (d.1672), distinguished ornithologist and original Fellow of the Royal Society, and by his son the first Lord Middleton, was retained by their descendants until 1926. It contained few Scottish coins, but among them was a worn Mary portrait testoon of 1553. Another early collection, put together by the Earls of BRIDGEWATER, was not dispersed until 1972 and the Sotheby catalogue thus gives us a detailed view of its contents. Although there are a few isolated items of later date, up to 1805, the main English series concludes in 1740, suggesting that the true collection was closed during the time of Scroop Egerton, fourth Earl and first Duke, who died in 1745 and had been Lord of the Bedchamber to George I. But the heart of the collection and its greatest individual treasures belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with a remarkable run of rarities from the Civil War period. This suggests that the founder of the cabinet could have been John Egerton (1579–1649), created Earl of Bridgewater in 1617 and sometime MP for Shropshire and Lord Lieutenant of Wales, or his son John (1622–86), who succeeded him as second earl in 1649, and who was at various times Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire and other counties, and High Steward of Oxford University. But it continues in strength from James II to George II and must have been actively tended for at least fifty years after the second earl’s death. One of those involved was probably Jane, widow of the third earl, whom she survived from 1701 to 1716. For in 1705, when Thomas Hearne showed the Dowager Countess round the Bodleian Library, she ‘talk’d very much of coins .... which she seemed to understand well, & declar’d a great affection for learning.’ The English coins in the collection go back to the twelfth century but, apart from a specimen of the rare gold half-demy of James I, there is no Scottish coin earlier than a groat of James V. This, together with the fact that several of the silver coins are worn, suggests that they had been taken from currency rather than from hoards. Among the Scottish rarities were a fine gold three pound piece of Mary of the very rare date 1557, twenty pound pieces of both 1575 and 1576, a worn silver twenty shillings of 1584 (the second known specimen) and beautiful examples of the four and two merks of 1664.

* Hearne’s Collections (Oxford Historical Society), vol. i, p. 36, diary entry for 28 August 1705. The lady concerned was the daughter of the first Duke of Bolton, and in 1673 had married John (1646–1701), who in 1686 became the third earl. I owe this reference and a number of other helpful comments on the text to Mr Hugh Pagan.
the first year of Charles II’s new silver coinage with Thomas Simon’s portrait. There was also a splendid specimen of Briot’s angel of Charles I, often regarded as an English pattern but which documentary evidence indicates was specially produced in Edinburgh for the king’s Scottish coronation visit in 1633. Along with most of the Bridgewater estates, the collection was inherited by the Earls of Ellesmere in the nineteenth century by whom it was for many years deposited for safety in the British Museum.

Unlike the Bridgewater collection, which covered the whole British series including Anglo-Irish and even Anglo-American coins, with English predominant, the collection of James SUTHERLAND (c. 1639–1719) had a strong focus on the coinage of his native Scotland, even though it also included Greek, Roman, English and other coins. Sutherland was the first Scot known to us to have been a serious coin collector, and a number of the Scottish national collection’s greatest treasures came from him, such as the unique James IV crown with St Andrew holding his cross, the 1524 gold medal of John Duke of Albany and the 1558 portrait ducat of Francis and Mary. As can be deduced from Sutherland’s manuscript catalogue, many of his coins unfortunately were included in the duplicates sales of 1873–4.

More is known of Sutherland as a botanist than as an antiquary. But he was clearly a man of many parts, a person of modest origins whose ability and energy impressed his contemporaries and brought him advancement and distinction. Sir Robert Sibbald, who became first Professor of Physic in Edinburgh University in 1685, and had decided some twenty years earlier to establish a botanical garden in Edinburgh, records that he had ‘become acquaint with Master James Sutherland, a youth, who, by his owne industry, had attained great knowledge of the plants and of medals, and he undertook the charge of the culture of it.’ The Physic Garden of which Sutherland became keeper consisted of sites at Holyrood and Trinity Hospital, and in 1676 he was granted an annual salary of £20 sterling. He was formally appointed Professor of Botany in 1695, but ten years later his salary was reduced to £5 on the grounds that he had been neglecting his duties. He thereupon resigned, stating that he had ‘resolved to live more retiredly and to quit the said professor, and apply himself to the study of medals’. In the same year (1705), however, he decided to provide for himself by selling his coin collection to the Faculty of Advocates for an annuity of £600 Scots money and the promise of a decent funeral.7

Like Sutherland’s, a considerable part of the collection of John SHARP (1645–1714) who was Archbishop of York from 1691 until his death, was compiled during the seventeenth century, since we know from a note in his will that he began collecting in 1687. In that year he had been suspended from acting as chaplain-in-ordinary to James II for preaching sermons held to be critical of the king. But he remained active in public as well as church affairs, being sworn of the Privy Council in 1702 and later appointed one of the Commissioners for the Scottish Union. Sharp’s collection was a large general one of British and foreign coins and medals, of which the foreign portion was sold in 1966 and the English coins and medals from Charles I and the Colonial series in 1977. The remainder of the British portion is still in private hands and includes nearly 200 Scottish coins from David I to Queen Anne. The Scottish coins are an erratic conglomeration. The reigns of William the Lion and Alexander III are each represented by twelve coins, James IV and V each by one coin, and so on. The imbalance in the individual parts of the collection may have been due to the difficulty of obtaining a representative series at this period, although hoards no doubt sometimes helped. Thus, of the sterlings of William the Lion, all of the short-cross coinage, the ten of Hue Walter

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are all of the first three of the six Burns classes, and could have derived from a single find. It is also noteworthy that, among only eight coins in all of James II, III and IV, Sharp had three half-groats of James III–IV, a very rare denomination after the fourteenth century. His ten gold coins include a Francis and Mary ducat, long thought to be a forgery, but now considered genuine. Alongside this extremely rare and valuable coin are ten counterfeit bawbees, nonsunts and placks of Mary. The Sharp collection is of particular interest because of the archbishop’s work on the British coinage, and it formed the basis of his Observations on the English, Scottish and Irish coinages. These were written during the last years of the seventeenth century but they were not actually published until 1785, although a number of manuscript copies were made, probably during Sharp’s lifetime.

The earliest printed account of the Scottish coinage is contained in Archdeacon (later, Bishop) William Nicolson’s Scottish Historical Library, published in 1702. In the preface to this work, and in the chapter entitled ‘Of the Medals and Coins of Scotland’, Nicolson pays tribute for their assistance to Sutherland and Sharp, as two of the most notable collectors of the time. This was followed by James Anderson’s Selectus Diplomatiae et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus, which he began in 1705 after receiving a grant from the Scottish Parliament of £8,600 Scots ‘to enable him to print an account of the ancient charters and seals of the kingdom’. Further grants of money were made in later years and the scope of the work was enlarged to include Scottish coins and other matter. There are five plates of Scottish gold coins and eleven of silver, largely drawn from the Sutherland collection. Although the book was not published until 1739, it seems likely that it had been substantially completed during Anderson’s lifetime (1662–1727).

Ralph THORESBY (1658–1725), to whom Sharp had addressed his Observations in 1698–9, was the son of a prosperous Leeds cloth merchant, of roundhead allegiance, who had bought a collection of coins and medals from the executors of the Parliamentarian general Lord Fairfax. On his father’s death in 1679 he inherited business and collection, but his antiquarian interests seem to have engaged an increasing proportion of his time, and in 1698 he was briefly in prison for debt following the failure of a business venture. Proud of his Yorkshire ancestry – he was of the same family as John Thoresby, Archbishop of York in the reign of Edward III – Ralph Thoresby made an extensive study of the Leeds area and its antiquities, recorded in his Ducatus Leodiensis, which he began about 1691 and published in 1715. The Ducatus includes ten pages listing his Scottish coins, among them some rare items, such as a Linlithgow groat of James I and a half-groat of James IV. He also had a Crux Pellit copper penny, correctly ascribed to James III, and a 1567 thirty shillings of James VI with the sword type, which (following Nicolson) he recognized as being due to the influence of George Buchanan: two associations that were subsequently overlooked in Scottish numismatic works until the twentieth century. Thoresby’s collection passed to his son Ralph, after whose death it was sold by auction in London in 1764.

Competition for Scottish coins does not seem to have been high in the early and middle years of the eighteenth century. One of the earliest sales to contain a reasonable series of Scottish coins, and indeed the first considerable auction of the British series as a whole, was that of Edward Harley (1689–1741), second Earl of OXFORD, which was conducted ‘by Mr. Cock, at his House in the Great Piazza, Covent-Garden’ in March 1741–2. There were thirty Scottish gold coins from Robert III to William II in lots 358 to 370, and their value seems to have depended largely on their gold content, since for each lot the total weight in pennyweights and grains is given. Martin FOLKES, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and prospective author of a book on English coins, bought several lots,

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including one with a gold coin attributed to James IV and a ducat and two-thirds ducat of James V for two guineas. The eight lots of silver coins went equally cheaply, Briscoe paying £1 15s. for the medieval coins in lot 371 which included eighteen groats, five half-groats, thirteen pennies and two halfpennies. He also paid £3 15s. for the following lot, of coins of Mary, which included ten testoons, seven rials or fractions and ‘Four Coins not in Anderson’s Tables’, while Folkes paid £3 for the following lot, consisting of forty coins of James VI.

The weights of the gold coins were also given in the catalogue of the Museum Meadianum, the collection of Dr Richard Mead (1673–1754), physician to Kings George I and II and Vice-President of the Royal Society, which was sold in February 1755. At the seventh day’s sale Thomas Snelling, the Fleet Street dealer, paid £2 13s. for lot 19, which contained a demy, a unicorn and a half, and a ducat and two-thirds. Mead’s twenty-pound piece of 1576 went for £4 10s. to James West, FRS (1704–1772), a renowned antiquary who served as Secretary to the Treasury from 1741 to 1762, and whose coins were sold with the rest of his ‘Museum of Curiosities’ at Langford’s in Feb.–March 1773. The modest price of Scottish silver coins may again be judged from the cost to John White of £2 15s. for twenty pieces from Alexander to William and Mary (lot 17).

Unlike Lord Oxford’s, several of the grander aristocratic collections of the eighteenth century were retained by family descendants for generations, notably those of the Pembrokes, Devonshires and Butes. The great Pembroke collection, of which illustrations had been published in 1746, was sold in 1848. It had been put together by Thomas Herbert (1656–1732/3), the eighth earl, who was also responsible for gathering many of the pictures, marbles and books at Wilton House, and who became President of the Royal Society as well as Lord President of the Council to Queen Anne and Viceroy of Ireland. Later in the eighteenth century the coins were put in Coutts Bank by trustees and were not discovered until many years later when the cabinets in the cellars started to disintegrate and cleaners found that they were sweeping up coins that had emerged. Although J.W. Martin described the collection as much inferior to that of the Devonshires, the sale by Sotheby in July–August 1848 ran for twelve days, and the catalogue by Thomas Burgon of the British Museum was very good. There were sixteen lots of Scottish silver and billon coins, including a 1553 portrait testoon of Mary, while the twelve lots of Scottish gold included a ryal of 1555, a twenty-pound piece of 1575 and a lion noble of 1584. Although the Scottish series comprised only a very small part of a large general collection, it consisted of choice pieces evidently selected with care.

The Devonshire collection, outstanding in range and quality, had been sold by Christie’s four years earlier, in March 1844. A note in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1849 comments that ‘the slovenly cataloguing of that collection provoked the censure of all who attended at its disposal’ and a manuscript note in a copy of the catalogue says that it was ‘compiled by John Doubleday of the British Museum and not well done.’ Nonetheless it sold for the substantial sum of £7056. Although subsequently added to, the collection was already important by the death in 1729 of William Cavendish, the second Duke, Lord Steward of the Household to Anne and George I and later Lord President of the Council, who had obtained many coins from the collection of Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676–1753).9 The Greek and Roman coins occupied seven days of sale, and the Saxon and English (including the Scottish) a further five days. Again the Scottish section was small but select, nearly a hundred silver coins from William the Lion to Anne and twenty-five gold coins including a half-ryal of 1558 and a twenty-pound piece of 1575.

Unlike the Pembroke and Devonshire collections, that of the earls and marquesses of BUTE remained in the family intact throughout the nineteenth century, and does not seem to have

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been accessible to numismatic authors from Lindsay to Burns. Although considerably expanded by his successors, the greater part of the Bute collection was put together by John Stuart (1718–92), the third earl, a close friend of George III who became his Prime Minister in 1762–3. He had a wide interest in architecture, botany and antiquities, and became President of the Society of Antiquaries of London and a Trustee of the British Museum. A manuscript catalogue of the Bute collection apparently compiled in the late 1760s shows that amongst the British and foreign series there were at that time fifty-eight Scottish gold coins, 144 in silver, thirty-nine “large silver”, and thirty in copper and billon. Jonathan Rashleigh examined the collection about 1850 and recorded that it included fifty-seven Scottish gold coins and sixty-six (?) in silver, the latter figure surely an error. Rashleigh remarked that “The Scotch coins appear to have been selected with an attempt to form a series; also considerable regard has been paid to the condition of the specimens, for most of them are in good preservation, and they form altogether a very fair collection.”

There were many outstanding rarities, including some early sterlings from a hoard found in the Isle of Man before 1769, a unique half-unicorn of James IV, a one-third ducat of James V, a silver forty-shilling piece of 1582 and a gold lion noble of James VI. Despite illustration by Snelling and Cardonnel, Burns did not mention the existence of the James IV half-unicorn, with a capital I in the centre of the sun on the reverse, nor some other important items in the Bute collection such as the unique group II half-groat of James III with unicorn-style cross-ends.

Of the various collections compiled by the anatomist Dr William Hunter, FRS (1718–83), physician to Queen Charlotte, which formed the basis of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow, the coin collection is the best known and the most justly famous. Not until 1770, when he had been in London for nearly thirty years, did he begin a systematic collection of coins and medals, but during the last thirteen years of his life his account book shows that he spent more than £20,000 on his coins alone. He purchased widely in Britain and on the continent, and at the time of his death it was said that his collection was second only to that of the King of France. He preferred to buy complete cabinets from other collectors, retaining the best specimens and selling the remainder. Except for the medieval and modern issues of continental Europe, Hunter planned to include every series of importance, concentrating in particular on classical coins. His Scottish coins are patchy, but they include outstanding rarities such as the David II gold noble, which cost him £21 in 1780. From the outset Hunter had contemplated a bequest or gift, and by 1781 he had decided on Glasgow University, where he was educated, as the recipient. Only in 1807 were the coins actually despatched there. Since reaching Glasgow the collection has been plundered by thieves on at least two occasions. In the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a possibility that it might be sold so as to raise money for other purposes. In 1875 Cochran-Patrick suggested that unless it could be made accessible to scholars it ought to be sold to the British Museum or National Museum in Edinburgh, but this threat has long since passed away. Out of some 670 Scottish coins in the Hunterian Museum included in the Sylloge of the Oxford and Glasgow collections published in 1986, 417 are noted in the trays as having belonged to Hunter himself. As can be seen from the plates of the Sylloge, Hunter’s specimens are for the most part in unusually fine condition.

After Anderson’s Thesaurus in 1739, Scottish coins featured in Martin Folkes’s Tables of

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11 Some of this increase may have been due to the third marquess (1847–1900), who was noted for his scholarly tastes and who acquired Lindsay’s collection of Irish coins by private treaty from J. G. Lornie (SCBI 32, Belfast Hiberno-Norse, p. 15 and SCBI 8, British Museum Hiberno-Norse, p. 56).
English coins published in 1745 (post-1603 only) and in the plates of the Pembroke collection in the following year. But increasing interest in the subject among collectors as the eighteenth century progressed led to the appearance of the first two publications devoted solely to Scottish coins. Snelling’s View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Scotland was published posthumously in 1774 along with plates of gold, billon and copper coins for which he had not lived long enough to produce an accompanying text. Many of his descriptions were based on coins belonging to Hunter. In treating also the gold, billon and copper series, Adam de Cardonnel’s Numismata Scotiae (1786) counts as the earliest volume on the subject as a whole. Though drawing extensively on Snelling, it is not without originality, as in reproducing extracts from relevant statutes and in recording sterlings of the crescent coinage of William the Lion, hitherto unrecognised, from the Dyke hoard of 1780. Of these he wrote that ‘different collectors have shared in this curious discovery, from the pieces being at first dispersed by the means of itinerant pedlars.’

Other eighteenth-century collections including Scottish coins have left their mark in this series chiefly through the record of individually important pieces from them obtained by later collectors. For example, Cochran-Patrick’s specimen of the one-merk piece of 1579 came from a collection sold in 1874 which had been formed by Hugh HOWARD (1675–1738). The son of a Dublin physician, who had acquired Shelton Abbey, Co. Wicklow, Howard rose to be Paymaster of the Board of Works. On his death his property, including the collection, passed to his brother Robert, Bishop of Elphin, whose descendants were to become Earls of Wicklow. Almost all of the sixty-six Scottish coins in the Howard collection were from the reign of Mary onwards.

Sir William FORBES of Pitsligo (1739–1806), banker and literary figure, had a small collection which was sold by Sotheby in May 1968. Unfortunately it was amalgamated in the catalogue with coins from another source, but a new specimen of the extremely rare gold £6 piece of Charles I’s first coinage (later Murray lot: 32) is the sort of coin that one might see come to light from a long-dormant collection. Little is known of another small eighteenth-century collection, sold by L.H. SCOTT PLUMMER, of Galashiels, in 1929. But it was notable for containing a unique mule crown of Mary12 and an example of the one-third lion noble of James VI, of which only the Antiquaries and Wingate specimens had been known to Burns. The Revd. Richard SOUTHGATE (1729–95) was however a prominent numismatist, whose collection contained a specimen of the excessively rare first coinage of William the Lion, now in the British Museum where Southgate had been a librarian. The last great collection of the eighteenth century was that of Samuel TYSSEN, of Narborough Hall, Norfolk, whose sale was spread over twenty-six days in April and May 1802. Tyssen, of whom there is a charming portrait in the front of his catalogue, is stated therein to have had a ‘fortune extremely ample’, to have collected with ‘indefatigable perseverance’, so that ‘scarcely a day was suffered to elapse without some addition being made to his collection’. Tyssen acquired several good collections en bloc, including Southgate’s. Out of over three thousand lots in his sale, there were forty-eight of silver Scottish coins from William the Lion to Anne, and some notable gold pieces, including a 30s. piece of 1558 and the unique pattern angel of James IV, which fetched £18 16s. 6d.

Since the time of James CUMMYNG, keeper of the Lyon Records and first secretary of the

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12 This coin, later lot 490 in the Beresford-Jones sale (Spink, 7 March 1995), is from an obverse die of the normal variety with unbarred A and a reverse die with barred A. Presumably unaware of this coin, Burns had compared the barred A on the very rare variety (B. fig. 807) with that on coins of James V, but Stevenson argued that it related to the Mary bawbee of his class 1b iii, and should therefore be later than the normal variety of crown, which corresponds with the earliest (Ia) Mary bawbee (BNJ 59, 129). The fact that the obverse die of the Scott Plummer crown is rusty supports the Stevenson arrangement.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who published a paper on the silver coins of the first four Jameses in 1792, there had been few collectors who were students of the series. But although the early part of the nineteenth century was not a period when serious numismatic pursuit flourished in this country, some considerable collections continued to be formed. One of the richest was that of Thomas DIMSDALE, the banker, who had a small Scottish group in a wide-ranging collection sold in July 1824 'at most extraordinary and unheard-of prices'.  

Another belonged to Marmaduke TRATTLE (1752–1831), a West India merchant, who lived at the Rectory house of Allhallows, London Wall, for fifty years, and whose 'residence was the focus of nearly all the numismatists of his age'. Sotheby's catalogue (May–June 1832) claimed, probably with justification, that 'This collection contains more choice and unique Specimens than has ever before been offered for Public Sale in this Country'. Trattle's gold £6 piece by Briot, Dimsdale's 1561 testoon and coins from Tyssen and other distinguished collections of the period, found their way into the collection of Lt.-Col. William DURRANT, of Lowestoft, whose sale occupied nine days in April 1847. His coins were of exceptional quality, at least in part the result of his habit of upgrading the condition of his pieces by switching them for superior specimens when viewing before a sale. But the implication of this is that some of the pedigrees at this period may be unreliable.

Few collectors at this time had more than an incidental interest in Scottish coins, but a notable exception was the Revd. Joseph William MARTIN, one of the founder members of the Numismatic Society in 1836. Martin was Rector of Keston, near Bromley, Kent, from 1800 until his death in 1859. He was interested only in British coins, seeking to put together a select representative cabinet of the highest quality. The whole Scottish series, amounting to nearly 250 pieces, was evenly represented and contained many of the great rarities. In gold he had a noble of David II, the only type II (left-facing) rider of James III known to Lindsay, a half-crown of James IV and almost all the denominations and types of James VI. In silver he had some outstanding pieces, including the first David I sterling of Stephen's type to be published (lot 412), a Malcolm IV with facing bust, and farthings of Robert Bruce and David II. That Martin had relatively few of the rare mints of the groat series is not surprising in view of a remark in one of his letters to Lindsay: 'My object from first to last has been the promotion of a private gentleman's cabinet, and I have always been much disposed to laugh at those who pay exclusive attention to types, mint marks, towns and mint masters, except as curators of museums.' Martin's letters to Lindsay show the rector to have been not only a discriminating collector, but also a keen and sometimes combative student of the Anglo-Saxon and Scottish series; the two men corresponded extensively in connection with the production of Lindsay's books in 1842 and 1845, and Martin offered many items for illustration in both of them. In 1849, bemoaning (quite unreasonably) the shortcomings of his Scottish collection, Martin wrote to Lindsay 'It is singular but I have always had a predilection for Scotch coins and have paid much attention to them. Neither labour nor expense has been spared.' He remarked that he had been 'by many years the first in the market', and had been collecting for nearly fifty years. As early as 1815 we find him writing to the London dealer Matthew Young, saying that he had been ill for some weeks, complaining that when he invited Mr Dimsdale to stay 'he fought shy and was laid up with a convenient cold', and begging Young to send him some coins. By 1849 he was no longer buying much. 'Living very retired in the country', he wrote, 'I have little chance of procuring anything but what has been refused by the London Cognoscenti.' When he died ten years later, however, the sale of his collection in May 1859

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13 Manville, Periodicals, p. 105.
14 ibid., p. 117.
lasted for five days and confirmed it to be one of the few really distinguished collections of British coins formed in the first half of the nineteenth century.

John LINDSAY, one of the most prolific numismatic authors and correspondents of his day, was a barrister who lived in Cork. He died aged eighty-one in December 1870, but his coins had been sold in August 1867. He contributed several articles to the Numismatic Chronicle, but is chiefly remembered today for his books on the coinages of Ireland (1839), the Heptarchy (1842), Scotland (1845), with its two supplements, and the Parthians (1852). The illustrations in Lindsay’s book on the Scottish coinage are drawn with such accuracy that many of the coins can be identified today. In the prefaces to his books there are many references to the voluminous correspondence which he conducted with other collectors and students of the time. His large collection of British, Greek, Roman, foreign and other coins included 635 Scottish. They are particularly strong from David I to the fifteenth century, Lindsay having been well placed through writing his book to know which were the rarer and more interesting varieties.

There had been little work done on the Scottish coinage in the early nineteenth century before Lindsay’s, but mention should be made of an important article published in 1832 by the Revd. Dr John JAMIESON (1759–1838) in which he established the validity of the attribution of early sterlings to David I. Jamieson had a reasonable general coin collection, which was sold in 1839, including some notable items such as a gold one-third bonnet piece of 1540, but he is better known as the author of a number of works including the Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, and as an active editor who helped to revive the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. He had begun collecting at about the age of ten, but straitened circumstances as a minister in the Secession church, and with a large family, meant that his more ambitious collecting had to wait until he was appointed to an Edinburgh church on a much larger stipend.

Martin’s correspondence with Lindsay shows how difficult it still was in the 1840s to gather together a good representative body of material for illustration, as it had been in the case of the earlier work on Scottish coinage published in the eighteenth century. One of the reasons why Scottish coins had not been very extensively collected or studied before the middle of the nineteenth century was that, although by that time there were respectable collections in the possession of public bodies, they were for practical purposes inaccessible. By 1835, when it appointed a committee to consider the future of its collection, the Faculty of Advocates seems to have had little idea about what to do with the important collection that it had acquired from James Sutherland in 1705. The committee reported that ‘In their present defective state they are altogether unavailable for any of the purposes of a collection of coins’, observing also that they were ‘of so little marketable value’ to be hardly worth selling. In 1842 Martin complained of the Advocates collection that ‘every single piece was wrapped in paper and the box containing the coins stood in a vaulted chamber without light’, while at Glasgow, which had the great collection of William Hunter, ‘the personal attendance of three professors is necessary to view the coins, and when last there they were all in their original wrappers of paper’. He seems to have been justified in his observation three years later that ‘Messrs the Scots seem to me to care very little about numismatics’.

The Numismatic Chronicle for 1838 observes that the prices realised at the sale of Matthew Young’s numismatic books ‘afford good evidence that the taste for numismatic pursuits is gaining ground in the country’. In addition to Martin and Lindsay, several other collectors put together important groups of Scottish coins at this time and during the next ten or twenty years.  

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18 Lindsay’s extensive numismatic and archaeological correspondence is listed in some detail in the sale catalogue of the coin collection and numismatic library of his younger Irish contemporary, the Rev. W. C. Neligan (Sotheby, 10–15 November 1881). The Lindsay letters acquired by Cochran-Patrick were doubtless from this source.
years. They included W. Ferguson, whose coins were sold in 1851, J.D. Cuff (1854), R. Addison (1855), W.W. Hay-Newton (1861), and the Revd. Henry Christmas (1864). Some of these collectors were Scotsmen living in Scotland while others appear to have been persons having little in common with Scotland except for their strong interest in its coinage.

William FERGUSON, an Edinburgh lawyer, supplied John Lindsay with a great deal of information. His coin collection, sold shortly after his death, consisted mainly of English and Scottish coins, with some Greek coins and foreign medals. His Scottish coins numbered about 580 of which sixty-five were gold. All reigns were well represented, particularly William the Lion, Alexander III and Mary (of whom he had about a hundred coins). He had some notable individual coins, including a halfpenny of David II, a Dundee penny of Robert II, and a thorough series of groats of the rare mints from David II to James II (including Dumbarton). He also had some remarkable coins of James VI, including the two-thirds ryal with the error date 1561, two two-merk pieces of 1579 and a one-merk of 1580. Though he had no example of the £20 piece he had two gold lion nobles and a two-thirds lion noble, coins which have always been more difficult although less expensive to obtain. Ferguson was highly regarded by Martin, who in 1849 wrote to Lindsay 'I owe much to William Ferguson of Edinburgh who died in March last ... He had a few rare pieces, of the earlier series particularly a half groat of James II better than mine, but by no means good, and I believe a complete series of Mary testoons with some extraordinary dates. He was a writer to the Signet but I am afraid with very little practice, and although he possessed a good knowledge of Scottish coins, and was an ardent collector, yet from his deficiency of means, he was unable to cope with two or three others, who ignorant of what they purchased, bore off in triumph what he valued because possessed of a heavier purse. Such is often the case and few things more galling to a judicious collector'.

Outstanding among those with a heavier purse was James Dodsley CUFF, FSA (1780–1853), who lived at Clapham New Park, London, and was employed in the Bank of England for nearly fifty years. He was elected treasurer of the newly formed Numismatic Society and was later Vice-President; several articles by him appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle. In an Obituary Notice it is stated that 'His rich collection of Saxon and English coins ... was ever open to the numismatic enquirer', that he was 'courteous, communicative and liberal' and that he was at all times ready to render assistance. In 1842 Martin described Cuff as 'the great Leviathan of the present day'. He certainly had a most impressive and expensively compiled collection. In addition to his Anglo-Saxon, English and Scottish coins, he had some Roman and Greek, Anglo-Gallic and Colonial, and an extensive numismatic library. His Scottish coins, which did not come up until the fifteenth day of his sale in June and July 1854, numbered about 640 in all, of which eighty-six were gold. He had good early coins, including David I, and a rich series of the later period, with a gold 20s. piece of 1543, two-merk pieces of 1578 and 1579, a beautiful 40s. piece of 1582, and two gold lion nobles. We may infer that Cuff took a strong interest in his Scottish coins, for his copy of Cardonnel contains numerous comments in his neat hand, as well as a number of drawings of Scottish coins. Besides this, there was in Burns's possession in 1875 a large volume of drawings and clippings of Cuff’s, some relating to Scottish coins.

Robert ADDISON, of Appleby, Westmorland, collected English and Scottish coins and medals as well as Roman coins in gold and silver. His collection, sold in December 1855, included more than four hundred Scottish coins, many of them bought at the Pembroke sale, notably an unusually fine Mary portrait testoon of 1553, now in the Royal Scottish Museum, after passing through the 'Nobleman' and Pollexfen collections. There has been some controversy about the identity of this nobleman, whose collection was sold at Sotheby's in November 1880. Contemporaries were aware that the collection had been formed by a Lord HASTINGS, but a suggestion that this was the second Marquess of Hastings (1808–40) must be discounted, for it had actually been made by Sir Jacob Astley, Bart., FSA (1797–1859),
Scottish Coin Collectors

who became sixteenth Baron Hastings in 1841 and was well-known for his antiquarian interests. He was listed among the leading collectors of the time by William Till in 1837. 19 Although his collection contained only about 160 Scottish coins, many of them were of outstanding quality, such as the sterling of Malcolm IV and the David noble from the Martin collection, the gold 20s. piece of 1543 and the silver 40s. of 1582.

The Revd. Henry Christmas (later Noel-Fearn) lived in Clapham, Surrey. After university he was ordained in 1837 and later on was appointed Professor of British History and Archaeology in the Royal Society of Literature. He became FRS, FRGS and FSA, and was the author of numerous publications on various learned topics, which are listed in early editions of Crockford’s Clerical Directory. A student-collector, he became a member of the Numismatic Society and served as its Secretary, but resigned during the period of drastic decline in membership in the 1850s. His contributions to the Numismatic Chronicle included articles on Anglo-Gallic, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Hanoverian coins, on the copper coinage of the British colonies in America, and on Irish coins of copper and bronze. When his collection was sold in February 1864, the catalogue stated that he was ‘discontinuing the pursuit’. The Ashmolean copy of the sale catalogue has a manuscript note saying that Christmas has done the cataloguing, but ‘has much overstated the condition of the coins, comparatively few being fine’. The collection was an extensive one of British, Anglo-Gallic, Anglo-Hanoverian, Colonial and foreign coins, including many patterns and proofs. His Scottish coins numbered about 330 and, unusually for this period, the collection was relatively weak of later reigns such as James VI, while it contained a fairly extensive series of medieval groats. Like Ferguson, he had a Dumbarton groat of Robert III, and several specimens from the rarer medieval mints. As befitted its owner, the collection appears to have been put together with a more than usual degree of scholarly attention, which perhaps explains any deficiencies of condition.

William Waring Hay Newton (1795–1860) of Newton Hall, Haddington, a descendant of the Marquesses of Tweeddale whose grandfather had added the surname of Newton on inheriting the estates of that family, bequeathed a considerable collection of Scottish coins and medals and other articles to the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. In his sale in March 1861 there were Greek, Roman, English, Scottish and foreign coins and medals. Although Wingate described Hay Newton’s Scottish collection as ‘select’, the quality of the coins as listed in the catalogue do not strike one as being particularly outstanding, partly no doubt because of his bequest of good material to the museum. There were about 120 Scottish coins in the sale, with a proportion of gold.

The prices realised at auction during the first half of the nineteenth century do show that interest in Scottish coins was limited, and this appears to have continued until the 1860s. Writing in 1868, James Wingate said ‘For some years anterior to the Hay Newton sale, Scottish coins, as is well known, were little sought after, but at the disposal of that small but select cabinet, the prices realised were greatly in excess of the market rates of previous years’. When the prices fetched at the Hay Newton sale can be compared with those of comparable coins at the Martin sale, it can be seen that Wingate was not mistaken in saying this. The appearance of Lindsay’s book must have made some impact, although this was not at once discernible: for example, in the Cuff sale in 1854 two £20 pieces of James VI went for £11 and £5 while five years later it was still possible to purchase one for as little as £6 12s. 6d. In 1875, however, a similar coin realised £35 10s. and this upward trend continued. When several collectors were competing for a limited supply of interesting coins, such as the more unusual mints of Alexander III which were very rare before the discovery of the Brussels hoard, prices

reached levels that were sometimes not repeated until the 1950s. Nevertheless, prices generally remained very low compared with those obtained today, even after allowing for inflation. Writing in the 1890s, Hazlitt was still able to say ‘One hundred representative Scottish coins in all metals should be obtainable for £150, and such a total of specimens would comprise every denomination, there being about ninety’. Meanwhile, however, increasing interest was beginning to place pressure on the number of coins available to collectors. Early in 1874 Burns wrote to Cochran-Patrick ‘I believe Scotch coins to be far rarer than is generally supposed. A few years ago some pieces were a not infrequent occurrence in sales. They are now hardly or ever seen. Some have got located in museums, and others are appropriated among a larger body of collectors. Just let the number of collectors be doubled or trebled and there will be no making up anything like a complete series of Scotch coins at any price’. The Fortrose hoard of Robert III groats was discovered soon after Burns wrote this, and in the twentieth century there have been a number of major finds that have greatly increased the availability of Scottish coins for collection and study.

Part of the pressure on the coin market in the 1870s, to which Burns was referring, must have been due to the appetite of collectors such as Cochran-Patrick himself and, more particularly, Thomas Coats, who was to become Burns’s much respected patron. On the supply side, however, there were large and important sales, of museum duplicates in 1873-4 and of the Wingate collection in 1875, which between them released some two and a half thousand Scottish coins onto the market. In 1872 the Faculty of Advocates, with a view to raising money with which to finance the printing of a catalogue of their library, decided to sell their coins, not itself an unreasonable idea since, although occasionally augmented in a haphazard manner, the Sutherland collection had been virtually unused for a century and a half. The coins were valued at £783 12s. and were bought by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The purchase was completed in 1873, the price including £50 for the coin cabinet – a gross underestimate, for this remarkable piece of furniture was sold nine years later for £3,500. The Antiquaries already had a considerable coin collection; moreover, they needed to raise money to repay loans made by their Fellows for the purchase of the coins, so in 1873 and 1874, at two sales held in Edinburgh, they disposed of the ‘duplicates’ resulting from their recent purchase, a total of nearly 1700 Scottish coins, plus a large number of Roman, English and other coins. The Scottish Antiquaries had another disastrous sale in London in January 1899, when they sold a further 600 Scottish coins from their collection. Few of these so-called duplicates would be regarded as such today and the National Museum in Edinburgh still mourns the loss of the numerous fine coins which would now be in the Scottish national collection had these sales not taken place.

The focus of Scottish industry and commerce in the second half of the nineteenth century was on the Clyde, and the two greatest private collections of Scottish coins of that period, those of Wingate and Coats, were founded on the prosperity of this region. The collection of James WINGATE (1828-77) of Linnhouse, Hamilton, was generally regarded as the outstanding cabinet of Scottish coins of its time. John Gray’s obituary notice describes him as ‘a man of singularly generous impulse, and in all his dealings guided by a sense of honour almost chivalrous in its integrity’. He had carried out research in his earlier years into the fauna of the West of Scotland and had presented his collections in this field to the Andersonian Museum. His fortune, derived from his business as a marine insurance broker in Glasgow, enabled him to put together one of the finest collections of Scottish coins that has ever been formed. Among many choice and rare items were nine coins of David I, the unique early Berwick sterling of William the Lion, a St Andrews penny of John Balliol reading I Di

and a very good run of groats, including the excessively rare early type of James IV with crowns in two angles of the reverse cross. Although it was not quite so rich in the sixteenth century, there were nevertheless, for example, a James V crown with the Per Lignu reading, a 1558 gold £3 piece of Mary, and a 1569 one-third ryal and two lion nobles of James VI. At the age of forty Wingate published an illustrated catalogue of his collection, which shows that he was no mean draughtsman, and many of his coins can be identified today with reasonable certainty from his drawings. But publication of the Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland in 1868 represented the culmination of Wingate's numismatic efforts, and a few years later – as it turned out, less than two years before his sudden death from an attack of pleurisy – he resolved to sell his coins so that they could be available for others. When Burns first heard in August 1875 that Wingate proposed to sell his collection, and in London at that, he wrote to Cochran-Patrick: 'I thought that the experience of the museum sales might have shown him that the place for disposing of a first class collection of Scotch coins was in Edinburgh. The buyers, with the exception of Mr Pollexfen (for Mr. Ford is of no account in a sale) are in Scotland, and it is quite a different thing seeing the coins for themselves, and being subjected personally to all the glamour of a sale, to sending of commissions to London dealers.' Burns suggested to Cochran-Patrick that he and Thomas Coats should try to buy the whole collection between them by private bargain but nothing came of this. In the preface to the sale catalogue Sotheby’s described it as ‘the most important collection [of Scottish coins] ever disposed of in this House’, containing as it did ‘the most valuable coins of the Scottish portion of almost all the cabinets sold, either privately or by public sale, during the last ten years’. There was much wheeling and dealing beforehand by Burns, Cochran-Patrick and Coats. In the event the sale was highly successful from the seller’s point of view. The intervention of Samuel Addington, who was determined to buy the rarest pieces at any price, greatly contributed to this. Coats made numerous purchases through his agent, although Cochran-Patrick secured relatively little. The collection included some 850 Scottish coins, and together with Wingate’s ancient coins and numismatic books, it fetched a total of £3263. The catalogue itself had no illustrations, but there are references throughout to the plates of Wingate’s book.

Although BURNS had sold his own collection, including a decent general British series and some notable Scottish pieces, at Sotheby’s in December 1869, his theory that Edinburgh was the best place to sell Scottish coins may well have been true at the time he was writing, at least for those collectors who had only Scottish coins to sell. Some useful collections of Scottish coins were in fact sold in Edinburgh in the 1880s, and it looks as if Burns may himself have had a hand in this, since he was responsible for the cataloguing of several of them. Two of these, in March 1883 and November 1884, were of coins belonging to George WAKEFORD of Maidstone, part of whose collection had already been sold through Sotheby’s in 1875 and 1879. In the Revd. G.F. Crowther’s copy of the 1884 catalogue is a revealing manuscript note: ‘Mr. Wakeford is a marine store dealer. In looking through lots at Sotheby’s he was detected substituting an inferior specimen, & forbidden the room. For this reason his coins were not sold in London.’ The catalogue refers to him as a ‘Collector of many years’ standing, now retiring from the pursuit’, although he did not resign from the Numismatic Society, which he had joined in 1875, until 1901.21 The collection was very rich in the English milled series, but there were some important pieces among the 136 Scottish lots, such as an Aberdeen groat of David II with the intermediate head, a two-merks of 1579 and a 30s. piece of 1584.

Along with Wakeford’s coins in March 1883 were sold the first collection of Sheriff

21 D. J. Rampling, ‘Edward Burns and the Forty-Shilling Piece of James VI’, NCirc, April 1996, 85-6, publishes two letters from Burns to Wakeford (19 Dec. 1883 and 27 Jan. 1884) about Wakeford’s interest in acquiring a 40s. piece from A. B. Richardson, which suggests that he had not entirely given up collecting at that point.
Mackenzie and some coins belonging to Robert CARFRAE, of Montrave Villa, Murrayfield. The latter, of the firm of Bonnar and Carfrae, decorators, of 77 George Street, Edinburgh, was for many years a collector of pictures and antiquities, a prominent figure in the Society of Antiquaries, and curator of its museum. A letter of Burns to Cochran-Patrick dated 15 May 1874, in connection with the second of the Antiquaries sales, describes how George Sim, the Curator of Coins, had dealt with sorting out the Roman coins to be sold, with all the rest falling to Burns, and with Carfrae acting as general referee. Carfrae seems to have disposed of some of his best Scottish coins to Coats prior to the sale of 1883, for example his David II noble and the 1580 two-merk piece which Burns described as the only one known to him. Carfrae must either have retained some of his Scottish coins, or have begun collecting again, since after his death in September 1900, at the age of 81, his coins were sold at Sotheby’s in July 1901 and included 76 lots of gold and silver coins from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. Another collector who disposed of Scottish coins privately during his lifetime, and whose name is featured in Burns’s work, was William TAAP, of 2 Teviot Road, Edinburgh. In November 1874 he wrote to Cochran-Patrick ‘some time ago I parted with a number of my rarest coins and my collection (never a large one) is now not so much worth notice. Still it is possible that there may be some remaining that you might like to see & which it will give me much pleasure in shewing to you at any time that may be convenient for you when in Town.’ The coins that Taap still had at the time of his death were sold at Chapman’s in October 1884. Although some of them were not in good condition, he still had some considerable rarities, such as a Robert II groat with saltire behind the head, a James III portrait groat with star stops and a 40s. piece of 1699.

An exceptional approach to coin collecting, apparently adopted by certain collectors in Fife, was noted by Burns in a letter to Cochran-Patrick on 5 November 1874. After viewing a collection of Scottish coins being offered for sale he wrote: ‘Noel Paton’s coins, as I informed Chapman’s managing clerk, are without exception the most execrable collection ever brought to public sale. The Fife people seem to think that the poorer condition in which they can get their coins, the more likely they are to be genuine. The late Rev. Mr. Muir of Dysart, as I was informed on Monday, in Lyon and Turnbull’s Saleroom, collected on this principle. Lornie has long been notorious for the rubbish he palms off upon anybody that he can get to take them. And the late Mr. Noel Paton’s collection, as if to prove the rule, contains hardly a coin of even respectable quality, except what is false – and there are various false coins of which no intimation of their being such is made in the catalogue.’ The Lornie mentioned by Burns was John Guthrie LORNIE, a J.P. who lived in Kirkcaldy and was a director of the Fife Linoleum and Floorcloth Company. He did have some rare coins and several of them are referred to by Burns, such as a Dundee halfpenny of Robert II; but he was not a man for whom Burns had much regard. On one occasion, after Cochran-Patrick had written to Burns expressing an interest in a David I sterling belonging to Lornie, Burns remarked disparagingly: ‘I have no doubt Lornie will dispose of his David, but he will sell nothing to me. He is so greedy, and I may add so ignorant, that if I offered him £5 for the David (which it is worth) he would think it worth £10. And as he will not name a price himself, no business passes between us.’ The residue of Lornie’s coin collection was sold at Sotheby’s in November 1917, and the catalogue appears to confirm Burns’s strictures. The Scottish coins were few in number: of eight gold coins three were forgeries, and the silver coins were clearly a lot of junk.

The years between the appearance of Lindsay’s View in 1845 and Burns’s monumental Coinage of Scotland in 1887 were the most fruitful period in the history of Scottish

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22 Percy Webb’s copy of Carfrae’s Greek sale (Sotheby, 23–5 May, 1894) gives the name of the firm then as Moxon and Carfrae. The collection was stated to have been formed during the past thirty-five years, i.e. from 1859.
numismatics. Many collectors who did not write on the subject themselves nevertheless contributed to the process in discussion and correspondence, or by notifying new varieties to others. Lindsay’s book stimulated interest in the series, and supplements followed in 1859 and 1868 as collectors notified the author of new types and varieties. Burns being among those thanked by Lindsay in his preface to the second supplement for supplying numerous notices of unpublished Scottish coins and tokens. Cochran-Patrick’s publication of the documentary evidence appeared in 1876, providing for Scottish coinage the equivalent of what Ruding had done for the English coinage earlier in the century. This paved the way for Burns to work on his great project during the next ten years. Although his book was based on the collection of Thomas Coats, extensively supplemented by that of the Antiquaries, Burns made great efforts to include reference to relevant material in other private collections, and the extent to which he did so is a measure of the keenness of their owners to communicate information about rare coins or new varieties in their possession.

Thomas COATS (1809–83) of Ferguslie House, Renfrewshire, and his brother, Sir Peter (1808–90), were thread manufacturers at Paisley, of the firm which was known more recently as Coats, Patons and Baldwins. Thomas Coats had been a keen buyer at the important sales, and by 1875, when Burns first saw his collection, it was already one of considerable strength. Burns was invited to stay at Ferguslie during the summer of 1875 to catalogue the collection, which was to be greatly improved a few months later by extensive purchases at the Wingate sale. In the following year Burns made a selection of Coats’s Scottish coins, tokens and medals for exhibition at the meeting of the British Association, held in Glasgow in September 1876, for which a special printed catalogue was prepared. When Coats died his collection remained in the possession of the family until 1921, when his son, Sir Thomas Glen-Coats, Bart., presented it to the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh.23 This great collection consisted of 1990 coins, of which 245 were gold, and it was a proviso of the gift that it should be kept together in all time coming as a separate entity and be accessible to students. Burns had a high regard for Thomas Coats, in whom he found an admirable patron for his work on Scottish coinage. His book contains a touching tribute to the man whose collection and encouragement had made the work possible. But Burns did not get on with John Gray, who acted as Coats’s agent until his death early in 1879. For some reason (perhaps involving professional jealousy), Gray took a strong dislike to Burns and treated him with great discourtesy. For this and other reasons the feeling of dislike was reciprocated.

Several of the general British collections sold in the 1880s included a reasonable representation of Scottish coins. For example, that of John L. HENDERSON, FSA Scot, of Kelvinside, Glasgow, sold by Sotheby in June 1888, included forty lots of Scottish coins, among them a James IV unicorn with Roman letters. More important were the collections of J.K. Ford and the Hon. Robert Marsham. John Kermack FORD of Southsea (d. 1884) was one of the leading collectors of Scottish coins who resided outside Scotland. He joined the Numismatic Society in 1877, but contributed nothing to the Chronicle. Burns had a high opinion of Ford, describing him ‘as a gentleman of great numismatic sagacity’. Some of Ford’s coins had been sold by Dowell of Edinburgh in March 1868, but his final collection was sold by Sotheby in June 1884. It was a very extensive one of Greek, Roman, British and foreign coins and medals, as well as a large number of war medals. Despite Burns having said that Ford was of no account in a sale, he had obtained coins from many important collections and his Scottish portion comprised nearly five hundred coins. An unusual feature was the presence of no less than five specimens of the rare Edinburgh half-crown of 1709. There were

23 For the Coats family see Burke’s Peerage, Coats Bt. and above a million of money’ (NCirc 1996, 85).
no copper coins, and very few of billon, but there were some notable pieces among the silver and gold. Ford had a Robert II penny of Perth with B behind the head, a James V crown with annulet stops, and the unique 2s. piece of 1581, destined for the Coats collection, for which the French dealer Rollin and Feuardent paid £55 10s. From a letter Burns wrote to Cochran-Patrick in April 1884 we learn that Burns catalogued the Scottish coins in this sale.

The Hon. Robert MARSHAM (1834–1914) was the son of the second Earl of Romney by his second wife; in 1893 he assumed the additional name and arms of Townshend. After a few years in the Diplomatic Service he served for ten years in the Kent Militia Artillery. He became Deputy-Lieutenant and JP for Kent, and also a London JP. He had a variety of antiquarian and other interests and was a fellow of several learned societies. He sold his large collection in November 1888, having lost interest in the subject. It consisted mainly of British coins, including Anglo-Saxon, from numerous important collections, which he had purchased over a period of some twenty-five years. He had more than two hundred Scottish coins, with a good selection of types and varieties. Among them were a gold £3 piece of 1558, and the very rare half-testoon of 1559. Marsham’s gold £20 piece of 1575 fetched £62, the highest price for such a coin in the nineteenth century. It was bought by Adam Black RICHARDSON, grandson of Adam Black, the founder of the publishing firm, who lived at 16 Coates Crescent, Edinburgh, and was described by Burns as ‘a gentleman of independent fortune’. He became the Curator of Coins in Edinburgh in 1888, and published a catalogue of the Scottish coins in the National Museum in 1901. Richardson was also a major collector in his own right. There were no Scottish coins in his sale in 1895, but although we have no direct record of Richardson’s Scottish collection, it can to some extent be reconstructed by two different means. Annotated copies of sale catalogues of the period show Richardson bidding in his own name, often for coins in outstanding condition: thus from Marsham he bought gold and silver coins from Robert III to Charles I, including the £20 piece of 1575 for £62, and from Wakeford various items of specialist interest, not all of them in the best state, such as an Alexander III farthing for £5 15s. (‘well preserved’) and a James V groat with mint-mark lis for 18s. (‘good state’). Further clues are to be had from pedigrees listed in the sale catalogues of twentieth-century collections. For example, several coins of Lockett’s are stated to have been from the Wingate, Addington, Richardson and Murdoch collections, and often thereafter from Bearman, who was assiduous in recording pedigrees on the reverse of his tickets. Although the Murdoch catalogue never refers to the Richardson collection as a provenance, it is clear that this was the source of many of Murdoch’s best coins and it looks as if he may have acquired all or almost all of Richardson’s Scottish coins by private treaty, perhaps at about the same time as the other coins were sold by auction in 1895. Richardson in turn appears to have acquired Samuel Addington’s Scottish coins privately, since in his sale of 1886 there was not a single one. Addington had sold most of his English coins to Hyman Montagu in 1883, but Montagu did not collect Scottish coins before 1603. By the 1870s ADDINGTON, a cloth merchant in St Martin’s Lane, had become a ferocious buyer of Scottish and other coins. Burns refers to him as the Leviathan. But he was not well informed, and the London dealers would run him up to unrealistic figures for the most desirable pieces once it was clear that he was determined to buy them at almost any price. The consequences of this can be seen in the Wingate sale of 1875, where he bought 43 out of the 379 Scottish lots for more than half the price of the whole sale. He paid more than £200 each for the two-thirds and one-third lion nobles of James VI, coins which were to make respectively £40 and £100 at Murdoch’s sale in 1903.

Although Richardson clearly took a serious interest in his coins, the two outstanding students of the Scottish series among collectors in the time of Burns were Cochran-Patrick and Pollexfen. Robert William COCHRAN-PATRICK of Woodside (1842–97), although the youngest of the group, was also the most distinguished scholar. His interest in Scottish coins and medals appears to have begun when he was in his twenties, and for many years he was an
indefatigable collector. He had the good fortune to have Edward Burns as his mentor about what to buy and how much to pay. The large number of surviving letters from Burns in the 1870s contain a stream of information and advice and testify to the fact that the two men were on excellent terms. He bought regularly at the main sales, including those of the Antiquaries in 1873 and 1874, Howard, Wingate, Ford and many others, and from dealers in London such as William Webster, W.S. Lincoln and Son, and J.J. Jessop. He also bought coins privately from Mackenzie and other collectors and he obtained a substantial number of coins from the Wigan collection which had been bought by Rollin & Feuardent in 1872. This was one of the most important nineteenth-century collections, chiefly put together in the 1830s and 1840s by John Alfred WIGAN (d. 1869) of Clare House, near Maidstone, and sold after the death of E.W. Wigan in 1871. Cochran-Patrick’s collection of Scottish coins was kept by the family until 1936, when it was decided to sell the coins to pay for his great-grandson’s education. The collection as then sold consisted of 945 coins of which 103 were gold. Although only half the size of Pollexfen’s, Cochran-Patrick’s collection was an exceptionally thorough and well balanced one, and the catalogue was prepared with great care and attention to detail. He had thirty coins of David I, a very good run of medieval groats with the rare provincial mints well represented, and among individual items of note were the Malcolm IV portrait penny (stated, enigmatically, to be from the Largs collection, 1884), a billon halfpenny of James I, a silver penny of James IV and Wigan’s (ex Ferguson) one-merk piece of 1580. Cochran-Patrick’s Scottish medals were sold in two sales in 1949 and 1957, the second of these being anonymous and including a number of further coins which on grounds of condition or duplication had not been included in the main collection.

Cochran-Patrick was a person of remarkable energy. He corresponded not only with Burns, but with many of the other leading collectors and antiquaries of the day. Over a period of years he was actively gathering material for his Records of the Coinage of Scotland (1876), Mining in Scotland (1878) and Medals of Scotland (1884) and this involved a large correspondence with officials in the British Museum, the Scottish Record Office and elsewhere. The actual transcription of historical documents was done on his behalf. He also found time to write numerous articles for the Numismatic Chronicle, the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the Glasgow Herald. Some of his papers were on archaeological subjects, and he was one of the founders of the Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archaeological Association in 1874. He became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1876, and a member of the Numismatic Society of London in the following year. He was Conservative MP for North Ayrshire from 1880 to 1885, and later (1887–92) became Permanent Under-Secretary for Scotland.

The collection formed by the Revd. John Hutton POLLEXFEN (1818–99) and sold by Sotheby in June 1900 contained one of the largest and most thorough collections of Scottish coins formed in the nineteenth century. Pollexfen took a degree as Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh University, but later studied theology and was ordained in 1844. From 1851 he was rector of St Runwald, Colchester, moving to Yorkshire in 1870 where he became vicar first of East Witton, Bedale, and then from 1874 until his death of Middleton Tyas, Richmond. Burns knew him well and held him in high esteem. In the Glasgow Exhibition Catalogue of 1876, Burns describes Pollexfen as ‘A ripe and accomplished numismatist, who has long made Scottish coins the subject of loving study’. He was greatly handicapped by very poor sight in his right eye. In 1877 it looked as if he would have to sell his entire collection. He wrote to Cochran-Patrick: ‘My time is so fully occupied that I am unable to open a book on

24 The Wigan baronetcy was conferred on J. A. W.'s son Frederick in 1898. 25 Obit. NC 1899, Proceedings, 27–8.
Numismatics, & I have been so plundered by an unprincipled builder who has dragged me into the Law Courts, that I intend to take the earliest opportunity in my power of disposing of my collection. He was anxious to sell the collection as a whole, preferably to someone like Cochran-Patrick: "There is no one to whom I would rather that my coins shd pass than yourself, for I know you would fully appreciate them". The case was settled out of court, however, and the danger of having to sell his coins was evidently somehow averted. Not long after, in the Nobleman sale of 1880, we find him paying high prices for a two-thirds bonnet piece 1540 (ex Cuff) and a Mary testoon 1553 that had come from Pembroke and Addison.

Pollexfen had joined the Numismatic Society in 1861 and served on its Council; in 1881 he also became FSA. He contributed various articles to the Numismatic Chronicle and the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, including a very important report in 1865 on the Bute find of coins of David I. His collection when sold contained Greek, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, English and other coins, as well as over 1350 Scottish coins, of which 97 were gold. The collection began with eighteen coins of David I, examples of Earl Henry and Malcolm IV, and then a very thorough representation of the pennies and groats of the following centuries, including many of the rare mints (he had three of Dumbarton), and some outstanding rarities among the gold, such as a left-facing rider of James III and a gold crown of James IV. His coins of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were also very comprehensive, including, unusually at that time, a very large quantity of placks, bawbees and other minor coins. The Pollexfen sale took place as Richardson was preparing his catalogue of Scottish coins in the National Museum, and a further sale in June 1899 of duplicates thrown up by this process put the museum in funds to acquire 270 coins from the Pollexfen collection which were added to the catalogue in an appendix just before it went to press.

Altogether less favourably regarded by Burns was Thomas MACKENZIE (1831–1916).26 Born in Inverness and educated in Aberdeen, in 1859 he became Sheriff Substitute and Commissary Depute of Sutherland at Dornoch and in 1870 Sheriff Substitute of Ross Cromarty and Sutherland. When he retired in 1912 he was the oldest serving sheriff. His career as a numismatist was a somewhat chequered one. He probably started collecting Scottish coins at a comparatively early age, but in 1872, he began to consider getting rid of them. However, he took no immediate action and was still buying enthusiastically early in 1874, when on a visit to Fife in January he acquired fifteen pennies of David II’s first coinage from the Kinghorn hoard found in 1864. A few months later he again decided to disperse his Scottish collection, and concentrate on English medieval pennies. In June he wrote to Cochran-Patrick:

I have resolved for various reasons to break up and disperse my Cabinet of Scottish coins ... It is not my intention, at first, to make out a priced list ... but to invite applicants to write for any particular coins they may wish, and if I have it & can supply it without breaking up a 'set' or injuring a series, I will then quote my price.

You have already, I think, a note of most of my rarities, and therefore are in a better position than Mr. Wingate or Mr. Pollexfen to whom I have written in terms similar to these now used to you ...

It has been with rather a 'wrench' that I have come to the resolution I have intimated, but the impossibility for me living in this out of the way place, of adding to my collection except by purchasing at the enormous prices now asked & obtained at Public sales, has disheartened me.

In July 1874 Mackenzie wrote again, sending a list of a hundred coins to Cochran-Patrick: 'I have had numerous applications for lists of what I have to sell ... I propose however to catalogue my cabinet by degrees, or by instalments of say a hundred coins.'
Burns strongly disapproved of Mackenzie’s methods of buying and selling coins and wrote ‘The Sheriff loses a great deal more than he gains by his close dealing’. Lincoln had told Burns that Mackenzie was ‘quite wild against’ him because he thought Burns had been marking up Lincoln’s prices on coins he wanted. But now he was a seller, and not by orthodox means. After selling a number of his coins to other collectors he put a brief advertisement in The Scotsman in January 1875, offering ‘ancient Scottish’ coins for sale. Burns wrote to Cochran-Patrick: ‘I observed Mr. Mackenzie’s advertisement in the Scotsman. He would have done far better had he sent all his coins in to me for me to price them, instead of adopting the paltry expedient of getting one collector to bid up against another. Everybody who has anything to sell should know what to ask for, or get someone who does know to tell him.’ An unsuccessful attempt by Mackenzie at this time to avoid the consequences after making a bad bargain is revealed in another letter from Burns. From this it appears that the Sheriff sold an Alexander II penny to Pollexfen as genuine after being personally told by Burns that it was false. ‘Mr. Pollexfen gave him £5 for it,’ Burns wrote indignantly, ‘which he will have the pleasure of handing back again.’

In 1879 Mackenzie informed Cochran-Patrick that his collection was ‘now thoroughly broken up, but from the notes and rubbings I have kept, my interest in the Scottish coinage will be kept awake for a long time yet I hope’. The sale in Edinburgh in March 1883 presumably contained the balance of his collection, which was by no means negligible, since there were still many hundreds of coins, among them two 40s. pieces of 1582. Not long afterwards, however, perhaps after the death of Burns when Mackenzie may have felt that his influence on coin prices was at an end, he again started to collect Scottish coins. This second collection included a large number of groats from the Fortrose hoard (on which he published an article in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1884). Mackenzie was an FSA Scot and later became one of the early members of the British Numismatic Society. The collection sold five years after his death by Sotheby’s in 1921 was a highly important one, of over 1500 coins, although the catalogue, which lacks illustrations, does not do it justice. It contained a large number of rarities such as the Dundee half-groat and halfpenny of Robert II, a two-merk piece of 1578, a 4s. piece of 1581, a 30d. piece of 1596 and a half-merk of 1668.

The last of the grand collections of the nineteenth century was that of John Gloag MURDOCH (1830–1902), of Camden Square, London, who had stood as Liberal candidate for East Renfrewshire in the General Election of 1892. Born in Perthshire, Murdoch spent his early years as a cotton printer, but then moved to Collins & Co. in Glasgow where he greatly expanded their business in publishing family bibles. In London from 1871, he began to publish on his own account, moving into colour prints, musical boxes and thence into pianos and organs. Despite the growth of his companies and his expanding fortune, Murdoch was described as ‘a lovable man’ combining ‘rare business qualities’ with a ‘mind of a lofty religious character’, and ‘in him was to be seen none of the bluster and overbearing character usually associated with a successful business career’. Murdoch’s collection reflects the ability of a rich man of good taste to assemble a large group of coins and medals in the finest state of preservation and at the same time to include many of the great rarities. His English coins were fairly described in the catalogue as second only to Montagu’s. Although he was elected to the Numismatic Society in 1885, he does not appear to have left any sort of mark as a numismatist other than as a collector. There were two Murdoch sales containing Scottish coins – in May 1903 and December 1904 – with a total of about 680 coins, including a high proportion of gold (175). Apart from the coins from Wingate, Addington and Richardson, he purchased at all the best-known sales during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, his acquisitions from Pollexfen showing that he was still an avid collector at the end of his life. The catalogue of the first Scottish sale is particularly valuable on account of the numerous excellent illustrations, but none of the Scottish coins were illustrated nor were any pedigrees recorded in the catalogue of the second sale, which was of less importance. Murdoch had a great number
of outstanding coins, but perhaps particular mention might be made of his sterlings of Earl Henry and Malcolm IV from Pollexfen, a Robert I farthing, halfpennies of David II, a James II half-crown, a Roman-lettered groat of James IV and the second known example of the 1587 two-thirds lion noble, all from Wingate, Addington and Richardson, and the most expensive item of all, the David II noble from Martin, Hastings, Addington and Richardson, which Rollin bought for £169.

Much more information is available about collectors since the turn of the century, a period during which numismatics has become a more widespread pursuit and the pattern of collecting has changed. But although it is too early to write a full account of Scottish coin collecting and collectors in the last hundred years, something may be said here about the more important collections and those that have contained pieces of ancient pedigree. In that connection the Cochran-Patrick (1936), Bute (1951) and Bridgewater (1972) sales were significant in bringing onto the market coins which had not been available to others for many years. A number of hoards have also contributed to the material of certain periods available to collectors, notably Prestwich 1972 (David I), Colchester 1903 (short-cross sterlings), Brussels 1908 and Colchester 1969 (Alexander III, long voided cross sterlings), Middridge 1973 (Alexander III, single cross), Mauchline and Innerwick 1979 (fifteenth century groats), Linlithgow 1963 (placks of James IV and V) and Rigghead 1963 (bawbees of James V and Mary). In the last twenty-five years a few rare individual pieces have been found by metal detector, but not enough to make a material difference to private collections as they have done in England.

In marked contrast to the second half of the nineteenth century, the first half of the twentieth was a period of subdued interest in Scottish coins, with few serious collectors or students, particularly in Scotland itself. Sales of choice general collections still occurred, and among collectors who seem to have taken some care with their Scottish series were Mann (1917), Roth (1918), Huth (1927), Drabble (1939–40), Gantz (1941) and Ryan (1950, 1952). On a much larger scale were the vast general collection of the fifth Lord Grantley (1943–4) and the major sale of the century for British coins, that of R.C. Lockett (1957 and 1960).

Alexander Mann, Bernard Roth and Reginald Huth were all from the London area and put together collections of a kind familiar to the scene a generation or two earlier. MANN had some notable genuine coins, including in gold a James II halfcrown and a 30s. piece of 1558, but he also had some forgeries of spectacular items, one of a David II noble, bought by his father in Glasgow before 1892, the other a cast copy of the British Museum’s 1565 portrait ryal of Mary and Henry, from the Wakley collection, which is listed and illustrated as genuine. ROTH, who wrote on Celtic coinage and Scandinavian imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins, specialised as a collector in the Norman series, among which he had a Carlisle coin of David I in Stephen’s name by the extremely rare moneyer Wilealme, from the Rashleigh collection and the 1818 Watford hoard. We are told that he was ‘guided more by the inclination to acquire rare coins in the finest condition, than to form a collection remarkable for its size and completeness, as were the Montagu and Murdoch cabinets’. This is certainly true of his Scottish series, which is of uniformly high quality, with a number of fine pieces from Carfrae and Murdoch, especially in gold. HUTH also had many coins from Murdoch, including £3 pieces of both 1557 and 1558. To judge from the plates, his catalogue was justified in saying that he too had always been ‘extremely particular as to the condition of his purchases’.

Gilbert DRABBLE, an accomplished lawn tennis player and an admirer of dogs (he also put together a collection of coins on which dogs were portrayed), lived in the Isle of Wight. His fortune derived from the Argentine, and he was a regular buyer in the twenties and thirties. His sales contained many good coins, but he was more of an enthusiast than a student. His Scottish portion is notable for having a good selection of Alexander sterlings from the Brussels hoard, bought from A.H. Baldwin, who had evolved his own arrangement of the coinage in the light of the new material from the hoard; the Drabble catalogues therefore for some years provided
the only printed presentation of the Baldwin classification of the Scottish long-cross coinage which Burns, through shortage of material, had failed to master. W.L. GANTZ, an Essex vicar, assembled a large collection, including ancient and foreign coins, with a miscellaneous group of Scottish, of which the most remarkable coin was a half-unicorn of James V. Despite his cloth, Gantz had something of a reputation as a part-time dealer. V.J.E. RYAN, an Irishman of independent means, was one of the backers of H.A. Scaby when he left Spinks to set up his own business in 1926. He had a particular interest in Anglo-Saxon and Civil War coinage, but he had notable pieces in many series, his modest and rather patchy Scottish section containing two important early sterlings of David I, and one or two rare coins from Grantley such as a fine Alexander II and a two-merks of 1579. But his collection is more remarkable for having had Scott Plummer’s one-third lion noble, a denomination of the highest rarity that escaped the net of all the more serious Scottish collectors of his time.

Lord GRANTLEY combined an adventurous personal life with a serious interest in medieval coinage. He published various papers on Anglo-Saxon coins but his tickets demonstrate a student’s knowledge of many series, British and continental. The Scottish element consisted of several hundred coins out of more than fifty thousand in all, sold during the war in a series of eleven sales in 1943–5. Lockett took the opportunity of expanding his already massive collection from Grantley, but there were few buyers at this time, and much of the sale went into dealers’ stocks. Many of Grantley’s coins were only in moderate condition, but some were very rare, such as those acquired by Ryan. LOCKETT himself, aptly described by Blunt as ‘the Maecenas of English collectors’, was a member of the well-known family of Liverpool shippers and merchants, but did not participate in the business. His English collection ranked with Montagu’s, and his Scottish with those of Wingate, Coats and Murdoch, in combining quality, size and scope. The collection was built up in the twenties and thirties, largely by A.H. and later A.H.F. Baldwin, and the nucleus of the Scottish part came from the collection of Thomas Bearman which Baldwins had bought in 1922. Many important pieces were obtained from the Cochran-Patrick, Dakers and other sales, and another large element was a complete run of the more than three hundred varieties of the long voided-cross sterlings of Alexander III identified by A.H. Baldwin, whose firm had bought the British portion of the enormous Brussels hoard intact. Lockett’s collection was so full of rarities that they are too numerous to mention, although his quarter-bawbee of James V was previously unknown and his four-merk piece of 1665, from Bearman and Pollexfen, remains unique. One might conversely note some of the coins he lacked. Major items like the David noble, the ducat of Francis and Mary, or the Henry and Mary portrait ryal of 1565, were not available, but otherwise there were few gaps – for example, a Berwick sterling of Alexander II, a gold crown or Roman-lettered groat of James IV, a one-third ryal of 1569, a one-third lion noble or a half-merk of 1667. The only material lacuna is the post-Brussels long-cross coinage of Alexander III, since A.H. Baldwin presumably thought that the Brussels hoard material covered the whole series, not noticing varieties from a later phase as recorded by Burns.

Several collectors in the first half of the century took a more scholarly interest in their Scottish coins, being more concerned (like Grantley) with their interest to a student than with condition. E. Richmond PATON, of Hareshaw Muir, by Kilmarnock, was an active collector of medieval groats between the wars, and he also had some fine gold coins. He published notes on two of these in 1937, one being the unique late James V crown (S. fig. 302); this later belonged to Hird, and it seems possible that the whole collection was disposed of privately.

27 Obit. BNJ XXIV (1941–4), 127–8; on Grantley and his collection see C. E. Blunt, ‘Personal Reminiscences of Some Distinguished Numismatists of a Previous Generation’, BNJ XLVI (1977), 64–74 (see this also for Walters, Lockett and others), and P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, Medieval European Coinage, I, pp. 395–7.

Another pre-war collection of which the destiny is not recorded was that of Miss J.C.C. MACDONALD, of Windmill House, Arbroath, and 47 Seymour Street, Portman Square, who specialized in Scottish gold in the 1920s. A more serious and better known collector of the time was F.A. WALTERS, architect of Buckfast Abbey, who wrote important papers on English coins of the fifteenth century. He did not write on Scottish coins, but he assembled a strong series, especially of the later middle ages. His second sale (1932) contained many good grolts, among them several of Robert III of the rare mint of Aberdeen, probably a group from the Fortrose find. The most remarkable Scottish item in his sale, however, was an Edinburgh halfpenny of David II described as ‘false, beautifully made’, but except that it is unique there is no obvious reason to question its authenticity. Many of Walters’ medieval coins have the appearance of having been harshly cleaned; he would dip them in dilute ammonia and then leave them on his window-sill to weather. Dr A.N. BRUSHFIELD sold his Scottish and Irish coins, of which he had a specialist’s knowledge, in order to concentrate on colonial. Among many interesting pieces, they included a David I sterling with the moneyer’s name Mainard which enabled St Andrews to be identified as a mint in this reign, and a heavy halfgroat of James IV. One of the buyers of Brushfield’s Scottish was Lieut. W.S. MARSHALL, The Scots Guards, a promising student who was killed in the war. From the proceeds of his sale (1946) a fund was set up to provide numismatic books for schools.

Another casualty of the war was Captain C.H. DAKERS who, with his father H.J. DAKERS, a schoolmaster in St Albans but son of an Episcopalian minister in Hawick, had built up a highly important collection of Scottish coins in the 1930s. Both made valuable contributions to the subject in print, and the death of C.H. Dakers removed from the scene the most acute student of the Scottish medieval series since the nineteenth century. The Dakers sale in 1946 lacked some of the more expensive gold items, but its Scottish silver was outstanding for the thoroughness of its coverage, particularly in the medieval period. Unfortunately, the sale catalogue is one of the most disastrous of the present century, with minimal descriptions and numbers of carefully selected varieties bundled together time and again as ‘a similar lot’. A few individual coins with pedigrees, from Cochran-Patrick or Murdoch or others, can still be identified, but otherwise there is only the evidence of subsequent collections, from Lockett onwards, in which the Dakers provenance was preserved.

As the century has progressed, there has been an increasing tendency towards specialisation, both in study and in collecting. Sometimes, as in the case of H.A. PARSONS, a prolific writer on Anglo-Saxon and other coins, such specialisation occurred within the context of a general collection. Financial pressures caused Parsons to sell his first collection in 1929, but he more than recovered this in later years and the collection sold in 1954 was a substantial one, with important material throughout the British and Colonial series. As something of a marchand amateur, Parsons had a large number of coins through his hands, and those he retained included many fine and rare pieces. He made a speciality of the Scottish milled series, publishing an important paper on it in this Journal in 1928. The 1929 sale, which only covered the period post-1603, included an exceptional run of rare dates in the Scottish coinages of Charles II and William II, most of which had been reassembled in 1954. But the later sale also covered the pre-Union Scottish coinage. It was notable for many rare and important medieval and renaissance coins, such as a Carlisle penny of David I, a first coinage sterling of William the Lion, a second issue plack of James III, a Salvum Fec billon penny of James IV and a 1566 one-third ryal (the Dakers specimen). Oddly, although Parsons had good English gold coins, he had none of Scotland.

Two collectors between the wars specialised in crown-sized coins. Captain H.E.G. PAGET,
of the Indian Army, had a collection of crowns generally in exceptional condition. The catalogue (1946) shows that he had some outstanding Scottish coins, including a four-merk piece of 1664 with the thistle below the bust, and that he collected die varieties, noting the number of strings in the Irish harp on milled coins. H.M. LINGFORD, a Quaker from Bishop Auckland, whose fortune came from Lingford's Baking Powder, also specialised in crowns, but in coins of James VI and I as well. He was collecting most actively in the thirties but continued until his suicide in 1950. Many of his coins of James VI came from Dakers, such as his one-third ryal of 1568, and he had a comprehensive series of this reign, with some outstanding individual pieces, for example a superb £4 piece of 1580 from the Atholl and Hamilton collections. At the other end of the scale was the collection of F.W. LONGBOTTOM (1934), who in order to limit cost concentrated on medieval halfpennies and farthings. His Scottish section included the unique James III billon halfpenny, which later appeared in the Napier sale (1956). D.S. NAPIER, of Edinburgh, a relatively rare case at this period of a Scotsman systematically collecting Scottish coins in Scotland, had some significant medieval coins, starting with a crescent sterling of David I and a cut halfpenny of William I of the mint of 'Dun'. Another was Mrs M. DUNCAN, 312 Holburn Street, Aberdeen, whose collection was sold anonymously by Glendining on 5 July 1972 (lots 254–332), containing a number of interesting pieces, such as an example of the extremely rare David II groat of Aberdeen with the intermediate head.

Large general collections have rather gone out of fashion in the second half of this century, partly because of cost, partly also because more intensive numismatic study has encouraged collecting by the student rather than the connoisseur. The most important sales since Lockett have been Hird (1974), Fay (1976), Murray (1987), Strauss (1994), Beresford-Jones (1995) and ‘Douglas’ (1997). Alderman Horace HIRD, an industrial chimneysweep in Bradford, presented a magnificent collection of Scottish coins, the gold outstanding, to the Ashmolean Museum in 1953. But he subsequently put together another very good series of Scottish gold which was sold in 1974. This was soon followed by the so-called ‘Dundee’ sale in Los Angeles in 1976 of the collection formed by Sheldon P. Fay. The collection was very strong in the reign of Mary, with several gold £3 pieces, including both 1557 and 1558, and a large run of testoons. But the sale did not include Fay’s gold ducat of Francis and Mary; this appeared for the first time in the saleroom in the ‘DOUGLAS’ collection, which also contained a number of other major rarities, chiefly in gold, such as the Bute Salvum Fac half-unicorn and a six-pound piece of Charles I by Falconer. The Hird and Fay sales realised exceptionally high prices for Scottish gold, driven up by speculative purchases in a period of high inflation, as coins became popular with investors as well as collectors. Many of their gold coins reappeared (at lower prices) in later sales, notably that of Ronald STRAUSS, founding partner of the stockbrokers Strauss Turnbull, and a small but choice group, sold anonymously by Spink in November 1991, belonging to Dudley BUTTERFIELD of the Bermuda banking family. Both these collections contained Scottish coins in gold only, continuing an approach that had earlier been followed by Capt. R.D. WILLS (1938), of the Bristol tobacco family, a collection formed for him by Spinks, and then by E. WERTHEIMER (1945), who had a few unremarkable Scottish in an international gold collection which he had compiled over the previous twenty years. Dr R.D. BERESFORD-JONES, author of a book on Anglo-Gallic coins, also had a fine collection of gold, with an important Scottish section containing a number of rare items that had not been on the market for many years, from sales such as Bute and Lingford. Two other

30 Spink sale 119, 4 March 1997. The ducat fetched £70,000 (before buyer’s premium), easily a record price for a Scottish coin.
31 Sotheby, 26 May 1994.
collections with gold only were sold anonymously by Glendining, on 7 July 1948 and on 3 October 1963. The latter had belonged to M.W. Hall, and his Scottish series was no more than an adjunct to an English collection. But in the 1948 sale was a small but choice group, evidently selected with discrimination, including a 30s. piece of 1555, a £20 piece of 1576 and a very fine ducat of 1580 from the Virgil M. Brand collection.

By far the most scholarly Scottish collection in the saleroom in recent years was that of J.K.R. MURRAY, sold by Spink in 1986, which was rich in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the focus of Murray's published work on Scottish coins. In one respect the collection was most unusual since, apart from three gold coins, Col. Murray had nothing from the fifteenth century, leaving the coins of James I-IV to the attention of Mrs Murray. The catalogue is important as a work of reference since the plates include a large number of varieties that have not otherwise been illustrated and the text incorporates many of his notes and comments, often the result of original research.

The number of sales including Scottish coins in the last thirty years is large, as higher prices have encouraged owners or their heirs to use the saleroom. Many of these were anonymous, not a surprise in an age of confiscatory taxation. A few may be mentioned for particular aspects. Sir Charles OMAN (1860–1946), Professor of History at Oxford and author of the most readable, if not the most accurate, book on English coinage, was known for mistrusting dealers. He built up a large general collection chiefly from Glendining sales, and his Scottish coins were included in one of a series of sales at Christie's, on 31 October 1972. Wharton SINKLER (1962), of Philadelphia, had a choice Scottish series, beginning with a fine sterling of Malcolm IV from Lockett, and his countryman, L.V. LARSEN of Ohio (1972), put together a comprehensive collection of the coinage of Anne, those from the Edinburgh mint including a specimen of the highly elusive 1707 shilling with the 'Edinburgh' bust. Outstanding individual coins continue to appear in otherwise unremarkable collections – for example, there was a class D Edinburgh penny of James II among the Scottish coins in the wide-ranging collection of H. PEGG (1980). Most surprising of all must be the third known specimen of the Roman-lettered groat of James IV, which came to light on the London market from the collection of Armand TRAMPITSCH (d.1975), member of a French brewing family, many of whose coins were sold at auction in Monte Carlo and Paris.

Despite the temptations of the saleroom, some collectors have continued to dispose of their coins direct to dealers. After Bearman, the most important collection dispersed in that way was the third and last of those sold by Raymond CARLYON-BRITTON, which was handled by Seubys in 1959–61. This contained some notable Scottish coins, especially among the rare dates of James VI, such as a 10s. piece of 1583. Philip THORBURN assembled a specialist Scottish series from the leading public and private collections of the time, which he sold privately and to Baldwins from 1953, in order to concentrate on Islamic coins. Spinks bought some good specialist Scottish collections in the sixties: one in 1960 from H.B. LORIMER, launderer in Stirling, which had some fine examples from the Stirling mint; another in 1965 from H.J. MARR, an Enfield solicitor who had been collecting since the 1920s; and a third in 1967 from N. ASHERSON, an ENT surgeon, who bought extensively from Lockett, with an emphasis on the reign of Mary. But much the most distinguished was the collection of Dr James DAVIDSON, begun by his father early in the century, part of which was sold by his heirs through Spinks in the 1980s. Davidson had himself collected since the

34 Trampitsch was born in the late 19th century and had been a collector since adolescence. The Monte Carlo sale was on 13–14 November 1986 (Ader Picard Tajon), the Paris sale on 31 March and 1 June 1988.
36 BNJ 65 (1995), 203.
1920s, and his large collection of medieval Scottish coins was one of the most important compiled in this century. He had a deep knowledge of the subject, having worked with H.J. Dakers in the thirties, and although he published relatively little he did complete a significant paper on David II which Dakers had left unfinished.

As Burns observed more than a century ago, Scottish coins are (with the exception of Alexander sterlings and some of the base metal coins of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) generally scarce, and the number of active collectors has never been large. But they remain an attractive series and one in which there is perhaps still more scope for the student-collector to make important discoveries and advances in knowledge than in the more intensively studied English coinage.