When the British Numismatic Society was founded in 1903 it might have been thought that the subject of Scottish coinage required little further work. Edward Burns had published his magisterial three-volume *The Coinage of Scotland* as recently as 1887 and this had been greatly assisted by R.W. Cochran-Patrick’s *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, which appeared in 1876. Both remain standard works. In 1901 a catalogue of the Scottish coins in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, using Burns’s system, was also issued. The position as regards the study of the coinage of Ireland was at that time much less satisfactory. The student and collector of Irish coins were still much dependent on John Lindsay’s *A View of the Coinage of Ireland*, though this had been supplemented by the Irish section of Grueber’s *Handbook of the Coinage of Great Britain and Ireland*, published at the end of the century.

Carlyon-Britton, the first President (Pl. 2), in his ‘Introduction’ to the first volume of the *Journal* expressed the hope that the relative lack of papers on British numismatics would be remedied by the volumes of the *Journal*. This soon proved to be the case for the English series, with a string of important papers appearing, though this was not to be so for some time with the Scottish series. For the present the comprehensive work of Burns made this unnecessary. It was to be the fifties before Scottish coinage again received serious attention from scholars, and it may therefore be convenient to take the first twenty-five volumes of the *British Numismatic Journal* running up to 1948 to see how far the study of the subject progressed.

There was, in fact, to be little written on the series during these forty-five years. Note may be made of the short sections on the Scottish issues in Helen Farquhar’s major articles on the portraiture of the Stuart monarchs published between 1906 and 1915. A short paper, published in 1916, on a penny of David I’s son, Prince Henry, minted at Carlisle, is not strictly speaking a Scottish paper, and it was to be over a decade before the Society’s first paper on Scottish coins appeared in the *Journal*, namely H.A. Parsons’ ‘Unpublished and Doubted Milled Silver Coins of Scotland, 1663–1709’. H.J. Dakers then contributed two short papers on ‘Initial letters in the Field on Scottish Coins’ and ‘The First Issue of David II’.

An unpublished halfpenny of John Baliol was noted by J.S. Shirley-Fox while James Davidson added ‘Some Notes on Scottish Coins’. Two hoards, from Dunblane and Bridge of Don in Aberdeen, were included in Derek Allen’s ‘Treasure Trove, 1933–9’. Thus the middle of the century had been reached without any great movement in the field of Scottish coinage.

During this period Ireland received somewhat more attention, though not to the same extent as the English coinage to which there was devoted a systematic series of major articles. However, in the very first volume of the *Journal* Philip Nelson contributed a detailed study of the Irish base...
metal issues and followed this with a lengthy analysis of the Civil War coinages of the 1640s. A largely forgotten account of an interesting instance of Tudor forgery by the Governor of Duncannon Fort near Waterford maintained the interest in Irish currency in the Society’s early years.

The Society’s first contribution to the study of the Hiberno-Norse series appeared in 1909, though it was to be some time before the coins were properly referred to as Norse rather than Danish. Roth’s article on the “Danish” kings of Ireland pioneered the modern study of the subject, though it was to be another ten years before this was carried forward by Parsons in his work on the chronology of the series.

Otherwise, in the years up to 1930 there was a steady stream of papers relating to Ireland, mainly regarding the Tudor and Civil War coinages. Along with these came a few hoard reports, again of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century deposition. Irish issues were also included by Symonds (PI. 3c) in his early study of Mary Tudor, by Morrisson (PI. 3a) in his on Edward VI, and by Lawrence (PI. 1) in his work on the initials of Henry VIII’s queens. Morrieson also contributed a short paper on coin references in the accounts of Dublin’s Merchant Tailors Guild relating to the 1550s. Among the seventeenth-century notes is the only specifically Irish paper by Helen Farquhar, on a supposed copper issue of Kilkenny, but a more in-depth study of the issues of the 1640s resulted in two papers by F.W. Yeates. However, by the mid twenties interest in the Irish coinages seems to have waned, and it was to remain so until the middle of the century.

After the interruptions and austerity of the war years the middle of the century ushered in a period which permitted and happily saw more work done on the study of coinage, not least on the Scottish and Irish. In the volume covering the years 1949–51 Derek Allen (PI. 5a) made a rare contribution to both series in his paper on ‘An Irish Find of Forged Scottish Coins’. The same volume also contained an article on the coins of David II by James Davidson, a collector of Scottish coins. However it was a short note on some coins of Henry I which is of greatest interest to the study of Irish coinage, for it introduced the name of its author, R.H.M. Dolley (PI. 6c), to the pages of the British Numismatic Journal.

This was the prelude to a series of articles and notes in the Journal for almost thirty years. Dolley joined the staff of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum in 1951, the same year in which he was elected to membership of the British Numismatic Society. He quickly established himself as a leading expert on Anglo-Saxon coins, and soon, in 1959, was awarded the Sanford Saltus Gold Medal. He also served as Secretary and Editor of the Society. An excellent summary of his career is to be found in the obituary by Stewart Lyon in the Journal for 1982.

It was out of his work on Anglo-Saxon coins, though also for personal reasons, that Michael Dolley developed a deep interest in Ireland, and not least its coinage, at first in the Hiberno-Norse issues and then in the medieval and modern. In all, up to his premature death in 1983, he wrote around 800 books, articles, notes and reviews on numismatic subjects, of which more than 250 related to Irish coinage. Here is not the place to detail these, and in any event a complete...
SCOTLAND AND IRELAND: A CENTURY OF PROGRESS IN COINAGE STUDIES

A bibliography has been compiled by Robert Thompson. This shows the astounding size, range and depth of his contribution to the study of the Irish series over the two decades of the 1960s and 1970s. This sustained output almost single-handedly opened up the subject in almost every period of issue and left it very much better ordered and understood.

Michael Dolley’s most important contribution to Irish coinage is perhaps his sylloge on the Hiberno-Norse coins. Using the British Museum’s collection, he arranged the series into seven phases from the later tenth century until the mid twelfth century in a masterly interpretation of both the coins themselves and the hoard evidence. It included a preliminary listing of Viking-Age coin hoards from Britain and Ireland.

Dolley was assiduous and meticulous in the recording of coin hoards and excavation finds, and in their use to date an issue, reveal a die link or interpret the currency of a particular period. Good examples of the latter are his work on the Irish mints of Edward I and the Irish hoards deposited in the reign of Elizabeth I. His first record of an Irish hoard, a seventeenth-century find from County Cork, appeared in 1955, and this aspect of his interests culminated in his survey, in collaboration with I.D. Brown, of the coin hoards deposited in Britain and Ireland from 1500 to 1967. His work on finds from Scandinavia, though more concerned with Anglo-Saxon coins, also produced much of relevance to the Hiberno-Norse coinage, particularly in regard to imitation, and whenever possible he produced notes on the holdings of Irish coins in the many Continental museums which he visited. In this way a valuable addition to the corpus of material for the student of Irish coinage was made available.

Apart from his seminal work produced in the British Museum sylloge, Dolley was one of the authors of a further sylloge covering the Hiberno-Norse coins at Copenhagen. This volume included the medieval and later issues, which he also partly covered in a sylloge on the coins from John to Edward III in the Ulster Museum. His interests had quickly spread from the Hiberno-Norse period to the rest of the Irish coinage, and here too he advanced its study enormously. There was barely an issue or period which did not attract his attention.

In the early coinage of John he again successfully applied hoard evidence; he analysed the Continental imitations of Henry III’s Irish pence included in the Brussels hoard, and, as noted above, worked on the Irish mints of Edward I. His continual recording of finds greatly contributed to our understanding of the later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century issues of Ireland, and note may be made of a short paper, in the Journal, which solved the puzzle of O’Reilly’s Money, now judged to be plated copies of clipped groats of Henry IV. Again it was he who recognised the correct ordering of the Three Crown issues of Richard III and Henry VII, while a further paper dealt with the portrait groats issued towards the end of the latter’s reign. His elucidation of the Tudor coinages for Ireland continued with a detailed account of the issue and history of the coinages of Henry VIII, also published in the Journal. Each of the subsequent Tudor monarchs received his attention to some degree.

This resulted in a synopsis published in 1971 as Medieval Anglo-Irish Coins, a very useful account of the coinage up to 1607 which has perhaps not received the attention it deserves. It was intended for the general reader but included appendices on the hoards and foreign coins used in Ireland during the period covered. There is a strong historical aspect to the narrative, for Dolley regarded himself as much as a historian as a numismatist. In 1963 he had moved to the Modern History department at the Queen’s University of Belfast, and when he was subsequently appointed

to a personal chair it was specifically in Historical Numismatics. In this vein he delivered an important paper entitled ‘Anglo-Irish Monetary Policies 1172–1637’ and also contributed a chapter on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century coinages in the first published volume of the New History of Ireland.24

He was perhaps less interested in the seventeenth-century issues, though any hoards belonging to this period which he met with received due attention. Mention may be made, however, of his work on Gunmoney and the St Patrick’s coinage of the eighteenth century. Thus any and every aspect of Irish coinage came under his scrutiny, though his output in the series eased somewhat in the 1980s when he turned his attention to the Isle of Man, yet he still continued to contribute to Anglo-Saxon studies. Many of Dolley’s papers were published in the pages of the British Numismatic Journal, but many others appeared in a huge range of publications, major and minor, for indeed he took a certain delight in spreading the output of his pen and making the seeker after an obscure reference work that little bit harder.

Yet he was quick to help and encourage publication, and many papers of both record and discussion, published in joint names, the second often not being a member of the Society, testify to this. Equally he was happy to collaborate, and in the Irish series his most prominent partner, and a respected scholar of numismatics in his own right, was W.A. Seaby.25 Bill Seaby was Director of the Ulster Museum and, besides numismatics, was an expert on silver and clocks as well as in archaeology. The Museum was just up the road from Queen’s, and provided an ideal base for their work.

Seaby’s earliest publication in the Journal was in the 1959 volume, where an important note on the ‘Patricius’ halfpenny of John de Courcy, Lord of Ulster, was accompanied by further notes on Anglo-Saxon hoards and coins from the North of Ireland and two Ulster Civil War hoards of the 1640s.26 Every volume for the next decade contained one or usually more reports on hoards, mainly from Ulster, but thereafter his contribution became more sporadic. Among these is an account, with Gerard Brady, of Ireland’s only gold coinage, issued by Ormonde in 1646.27 He was responsible, too, for the large group of coins recovered from the wreck of the Spanish Armada ship, the Girona, which founded off the County Antrim coast, the finds from which went to the Ulster Museum. A note on this appeared in SCMB, one of many in other places.28 However, Seaby’s two major contributions to the study of the Irish coinage are his sylloges on the holdings in the Ulster Museum, of coins from John to Edward III, co-authored with Michael Dolley, and subsequently of that same museum’s Hiberno-Norse coins.29

While Dolley and Seaby were the dominant names associated with Irish numismatics at this time, there was a heightened interest in the subject and several other scholars made many important contributions to the subject. Dr David Dykes, the current President of the Society (Pl. 10c), in his ‘Irish Coinage of Henry III’ used the coins and the records to analyse this issue concisely dated between 1251 and 1254. The subsequent re-appearance of the Irish element of the Brussels hoard and its die study undertaken by Seaby did not greatly affect the earlier interpretation, and the Dykes paper remains the basic work on this coinage. A subsequent paper by the same author entitled ‘The Anglo-Irish Coinage of Edward III’ covered the brief issue of 1349–50.30 Dr Christopher Challis, now a past President of the Society (Pl. 7b), offered a detailed account of the Tudor coinage based primarily on the documentary sources.31 The state and progress of Irish numismatic

study up to 1970 was reviewed in *Medieval Anglo-Irish Coinage*, and other contributions can be found there.\(^{32}\)

The years 1969 and 1970 witnessed the publication of two small but immensely useful books, which did much to bring accurate up-to-date accounts of the Irish coinage to a wider audience, particularly among collectors. Anthony Dowie’s and Patrick Finn’s *A Guide Book to the Coinage of Ireland* provided a well illustrated view of the series, taking account of the research available up to the end of the 1960s.\(^{33}\) Since 1929 B.A. Seaby Ltd., had published several editions of *A Catalogue of Coins of Great Britain and Ireland* for the collectors’ market, and out of this appeared, in 1970, *Coins and Tokens of Ireland* compiled by Peter Seaby.\(^{34}\) A new version appeared in 1984, when the Irish series was joined to the Scottish as Seaby’s *Standard Catalogue of British Coins Volume 2 Coins of Scotland, Ireland and the Islands*. It is gratifying to be able to note that a revised edition of this, now under the Spink imprint, was published at the end of 2002 and thus will become readily available during the Society’s centenary year.

Other contributors to the study of the series deserve some mention. In particular important work, on the Hiberno-Norse coins and more especially on the issues of John and John de Courcy, was carried out by Dr. William O’Sullivan of the National Museum of Ireland, which published his studies in two booklets, *The Earliest Irish Coinage* and *The Earliest Anglo-Irish Coinage*, in 1961 and 1964 respectively. He also produced two papers, with Dolley, on the chronology of the latter coinage and the Corofin hoard, crucial to its understanding. In a paper relevant to both the Irish and Scottish currencies, Colm Gallagher examined the ‘The Documentary Evidence for the Currency of the 14th Century in N.E. Ireland’ in *BNJ* for 1967. Hugh Pagan noted some nineteenth-century forgeries of Irish coins of Mary in his paper on ‘Mr. Emery’s Mint’ in *BNJ* for 1971. In the 1990s J.J. North (Pl. 9d) has written on the Edwardian emissions of Ireland and on imitations and forgeries of the long cross pence.\(^{35}\)

By the mid 1980s, however, there was a falling off in the amount of published material relating to Irish coins, though the golden age of the sixties and seventies continued to some extent, in for instance the activities of the Numismatic Society of Ireland with both Southern and Northern Branches. Its *Occasional Papers* continues to appear. The BANS Congress for 2002 was held in Belfast with an Irish theme, and a spacious gallery devoted to the Irish coinage has recently been opened by the National Museum of Ireland in its new premises at Collins Barracks in Dublin.

As volume 26 of the *Journal* had presaged a new era in the study of Irish coinage, so the subsequent issue heralded a renaissance in Scottish numismatic scholarship with the introduction of the name B.H.I.H. Stewart in its pages. Stewart contributed three papers to this volume, 27, the first being on ‘The Attribution of the Thistle-head and Mullet Grout’. This was perhaps an appropriate subject, for this was the first issue of a Scottish coin to bear the national emblem of the thistle and, more importantly, the image of James III constituted the first true likeness of the monarch on the Scottish coinage, and indeed led the way in the use of the new renaissance style coin portraiture in northern Europe. The other two papers dealt with ‘The heavy silver coinage of James III and IV’ and the use of ‘Double moneyers’ names on the early Scottish pennies’.\(^{36}\) Thereafter over half the volumes of *BNJ* up to the current issue contain a Stewart contribution.

Ian Stewart (Pl. 6d) was elected to Junior Membership in 1952, was awarded the Sanford Saltus Gold Medal in 1971, and has been a Vice-President since 1980. Throughout the fifty years of his membership Stewart has produced an extraordinary number of publications, not only in the *Journal* but elsewhere. Although he has also written much on the English coinage, it is with the coinage of Scotland that his name is more immediately linked. It is a series he made his own, and his contribution and influence on the phenomenal progress made in its study since the 1950s cannot be overestimated. This scholarship has of course been combined with a distinguished

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\(^{32}\) See ‘Suggestions for Further Reading’, pp. 75-80.

\(^{33}\) Published by Spink where the authors then worked.

\(^{34}\) This was part 3 of Seaby’s *Standard Catalogue of British Coins*.


career in politics and government which resulted in Sir Ian Stewart, as he had become, being ennobled as Lord Stewartby, in which name his later publications have appeared.

An up-to-date bibliography of his work is not available and here is not the place to attempt this, even for the Scottish publications. Note will be made of Stewart's major works along with a selection of other articles and notes. However reference may be made to his own "Two centuries of Scottish Numismatics", to be found in the volume commemorating the bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1981. This contains a detailed bibliography of the subject up to that year, while the text includes both collecting and study in the twentieth century and has proved a useful source for the present review.37

The BNJ which contained Stewart's earliest Scottish offering is dated 1952-55, and it was in the latter year that his The Scottish Coinage appeared. This was the first attempt to look at the series as a whole since Burns nearly seventy years previously, and although of necessity it was based on Burns, as the author was the first to acknowledge, it took account of such progress as had been made, made corrections and suggestions, and above all made the subject more intelligible, readable and available to a wider audience. As those who have used Burns will know, it is not for bed-time reading. A reprint of Stewart, with a thirty-one page supplement of corrections and amendments, based on a further dozen years' progress, was published in 1967. This has proved highly valuable both to the student and collector and remains the best introduction to Scottish coins available, though unfortunately now out of print. It is to be hoped that Lord Stewartby will produce a new edition.

Stewart's attention to the Scottish coinage has covered all periods, but it is in the earlier issues of what he has termed the sterling and great periods, from the twelfth to fifteenth century, that his interests most lie. An early paper on the Carlisle mint, 'An uncertain mint of David I', appeared in BNJ 29, while his examination of the Eccles hoard added greatly to our understanding of the Scottish short cross issues. The classification of the Scottish long cross coinage was greatly enhanced with the purchase of the British portion of the Brussels hoard by A.H.F. Baldwin and his subsequent work on the Scottish element. Although used in the Drabble sale catalogue in 1939, publication only came with Stewart's 'The Brussels Hoard: Mr Baldwin's Arrangement of the Scottish Coins'. He produced further papers on this issue in his examination of those illustrated in Burns and on the group included in the 1969 Colchester hoard.38 Examination of the Scottish coins in the Edwardian hoards, such as Renfrew 1963 and Loch Doon 1966, enabled him to carry forward the study of the Alexander III and later Rex Scotorum pennies. This is elucidated further in a recent volume of the Journal.39 Stewart's contribution to the Oxford Symposium in 1977 (see below) was an attempt to estimate the size of the sterling issues from David I to those of David II prior to 1357.

The recording and interpretation of coin hoards has been of great importance to him, and among his work on many of these, those from Dipple, Balgony, Glenluce and Rhoneston took Stewart into the coinage of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To the two papers on the silver of James III already noted may be added that on "The Identification of the "New Plakkis Last Cuneyt" Withdrawn in 1485".40 Although there are further papers on the issues after 1500, which will be returned to, it is the less regularised coinages before this that have produced the greater fascination.

37 See pp. 227-65 in The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition, edited by A.S. Bell (Edinburgh, 1981). Subsequent research on the series can be found in Stewart's contribution on Scotland to the International Numismatic Commission's Survey of Numismatic Research produced for the International Numismatic Congresses held in London (1986) and Brussels (1991). Scotland was joined with England and Wales in the Survey for Berlin (1997). Ireland, too, had been given a section in the previous surveys but it was a reflection in the falling off of publication in this series that it was omitted from the Berlin Survey. Lord Stewartby has maintained his interest in the history of Scottish numismatics with articles on Edward Burns, the Wingate Sale, and Scottish Collectors in BNJ 57 (1987), 89-98; 62 (1992), 175-84; and 66 (1996), 87-112.


40 BNJ 28 (1955-7), 317-29.
Among Stewart’s major contributions to the study of the Scottish coinage is his paper entitled ‘Scottish Mints’ in the *festschrift* for Albert Baldwin. This short title belies a lengthy in-depth synthesis of his work, thoughts and ideas on the subject up to 1971. It consists of eight sections, of which the first two deal with the location, function, and the form of the names of the mints. This is followed by a masterly chronological analysis of the twelfth-century penny (section III), the short and long cross issues (section IV), the single cross penny to 1357 (section V), and the late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century output (section VI). Section VII is a more general overview of the situation from 1600 to 1971, coinciding neatly with the introduction of decimalisation. The final section examines in detail the die links between the various Scottish mints, and an appendix lists over sixty obverse die links up to the reign of James III. This is an indispensable piece of work for Scottish numismatics and deserves to be more widely known.

Another major paper appeared shortly after in the *festschrift* for Robert Stevenson and dealt with a somewhat neglected aspect of Scottish and indeed medieval coinage. This was an examination of the designs and inscriptions on the continually changing Scottish issues of James VI between 1567 and 1604. This meticulously dissected the sources, biblical and classical, and intended propaganda, demonstrating the influence of George Buchanan on the king but also James’s own classical learning and political ideas. A further aspect of coinage which attracted Stewart’s interest was imitation, and this resulted in a number of papers including one on the imitation of Scottish coins in the later Middle Ages in the *festschrift* for Philip Grierson. Finally, reference to his paper on the copper issues of the later seventeenth century shows the breadth of his studies.

The latter was a joint paper and introduces two serious students of Scottish coins who were close associates of Lord Stewartby. Colonel and Mrs Murray both led interesting lives before turning to Scottish numismatics in the 1960s. Mrs J.E.L. (Joan) Murray (Pl. 9a) was elected a member of the Society in 1965 and was awarded the Sanford Saltus Gold Medal in 1986. Colonel J.K.R. (Jock) Murray (Pl. 12b) became a fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society in a joint marital approach to the subject, but was elected an Honorary Member of the British Numismatic Society in 1983. Reference must be made to their respective obituaries penned for the *Journal* by Lord Stewartby, to which, very usefully, are added lists of their publications. Together they produced over forty papers, mainly relating to the period from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

Mrs Murray worked mostly on the first part of this period. Her earliest publication was on the early groats of James III, and the issues of James III and IV received much attention with a major article in the *Journal* for 1971 on the early unicorns and heavy groats. She made two contributions to the Oxford Symposium (see below) one of which was on ‘The Black Money of James III’ and the second a study of the organisation and work of the Scottish mint from David II to James VI, based on a minute search of the relevant documentary evidence. A later paper, again in the *Journal*, for 1991, looked at the location of the Edinburgh and Linlithgow mints. The *Journal* for 1979 contained an article on the first gold coinage of Mary, and later there also appeared one on the coinage of the Marians in Edinburgh Castle in 1572.

The latter overlapped with the interests of her husband. Colonel Murray published some nine notes on the various issues of Mary, that on the 1553 issue appearing in the *Journal* for 1968 though his earliest, explaining the background to the Stirling bawbee of 1544, was singled out for praise by Lord Stewartby. A further five publications were concerned with various coinages of James VI, especially the forty shillings with the half length portrait of the young king, and his billon issues. Major articles on the Scottish gold and silver of Charles I, the silver of Charles II, and...
and the copper coinages of 1642–97 (with Stewart) all appeared in the *Journal* and considerably advanced an area generally neglected since Burns, who did not give the seventeenth century the attention devoted to the earlier periods.

Meanwhile Edinburgh was making its own important contribution to Scottish coinage through the work of R.B.K. (Robert) Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland from 1945, and a member of the Society from 1969. Again we are indebted to Lord Stewartby for an informative appreciation with a list of publications attached.45 There he is described as a polymath antiquarian, but despite other interests and administrative duties Stevenson devoted much time to coinage, though this was often made necessary by the prominent role played by the Museum in treasure trove from Scotland. Many of his publications are therefore records of hoards, and two examples may suffice to show that these generally went beyond mere listing. ‘Two Scottish Seventeenth-century Coin Hoards’ (with Porteous) included a list and discussion of coin hoards from Scotland of that century and ‘The Rhoneston Hoard 1961’ (with Stewart) enabled the left-facing portrait groats to be assigned once more to James III. Both appeared in the *Journal*. Other hoards were passed on to a number of interested scholars to write up.

The hoards were perhaps enough of a contribution, but Stevenson was also responsible for major papers on the Scottish coinage which require some mention. His very first numismatic paper, in 1950, was on those enigmatic copper coins, most recently seen as a royal issue of James III and called *crux pellit* pennies by Mrs. Murray, but which Stevenson assigned to Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews.46 Apart from this, there were very detailed studies of the 1630s turners of Charles I, the bawbees of James V and Mary, and the groats of James V, each appearing in the *Journal*.47 Not on Scottish coins but relevant to Scottish coin use, is Stevenson’s *sylloge* of Anglo-Saxon coins at Edinburgh, most of which constitute Scottish finds, the sources of which provided an early and useful list of Viking-Age coin finds from Scotland.48

There was also a strong interest in Scottish numismatics at the Ashmolean Museum. Mention has already been made of the Oxford Symposium which was held in 1977 and brought together a group of numismatists, historians and archaeologists interested in the subject. It turned out to be one of those meetings held at exactly the right time, when the state of progress in the study of the subject needed to be reviewed, and problems and ways forward needed to be discussed. The proceedings were published in what has proved to be a most valuable addition to the literature on Scottish coinage.49 The Hunterian’s copy is one of the most thumbed volumes in the Coin Room library. The meeting was organised by Michael Metcalf (Pl. 8d), who himself examined the evidence of Scottish coin hoards for monetary history, and produced an updated listing of these hoards from 1100 to 1600. He also presented the results of the analysis of some ninety coins from 1135 to 1280 to determine the quality of silver used during that period. Stuart Rigold (Pl. 6b), soon to be President of the Society, looked at site finds and stray losses in a more restricted paper, but important as this was the first time that such evidence for the Scottish currency had been examined. Nicholas Mayhew covered the thirteenth century. The contributions of Ian Stewart and Mrs Murray have already been noted. Other more historical papers included an examination of monetary problems in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and exchange rates and debasement, the latter by Christopher Challis.

Nicholas Mayhew, also of the Heberden Coin Room and sometime Editor of *BNJ*, had already contributed a paper to the *Journal* on the large and important Edwardian hoard found in 1886 at Upperkirkgate in Aberdeen containing over 12,000 pence, and which he associated with the

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49 D.M. Metcalf (editor), *Coinage In Medieval Scotland* (1100–1600); BAR 45 (Oxford, 1977).
burning of the city in 1336. In 1980 work began on a joint sylloge combining the Scottish holdings of the Heberden and Hunter Cabinets, the former possessing Alderman Hird’s gold coins. This was the first, and so far only, sylloge devoted to the the Scottish series and records over 1800 coins according to the most recent research.50 In 1983 and 1984 two further large Edwardian hoards were uncovered in St Nicholas Street, Aberdeen, and their publication was undertaken by Mayhew, whose paper on them appeared in the 1995 volume of the Journal. Also of much interest to numismatists is his book on Scottish prices, which filled a gap in Scottish economic history where the dearth of data had seemed insuperable.51

It is noteworthy that towards the end of the twentieth century there were two posts in numismatics in Scotland, at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and that at each the Curator had a strong interest in the Scottish coinage. Nicholas Holmes at the National Museums of Scotland, and current Editor of BNJ, published his first paper in the Journal in the 1983 volume on ‘A Fifteenth-century Coin Hoard from Leith’, the analysis of which made the second issue billion pence of James II and the early ones of James III much clearer. In the 1990s he has recorded a number of Edwardian hoards from Scotland in the Journal and elsewhere, as well as contributing to many excavation reports. A recent study, with Lord Stewartby, has better sorted the issues from Robert the Bruce to the early 1350s. While at Edinburgh City Museums he published in 1982 a booklet on the Edinburgh Mint, and his more recent book on small change in Scotland was jointly awarded the 1999 Lhotka Memorial Prize of the Royal Numismatic Society.52

Donal Bateson, sometime Director and Secretary of the Society, had on his arrival at the Hunter Coin Cabinet a certain remit to look at its medieval collections, with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon coins, which, with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon coins, had received little attention from the previous two Keepers with their strong classical interests. William Hunter’s eighteenth-century collection of Scottish coins seemed ripe for publication, though its size was smaller than expected. Consequently it was syllogised along with the Ashmolean’s collection as noted above, jointly authored with Mayhew. Bateson also inherited responsibility for the Record of Roman Coin Finds from Scotland produced for Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland since 1918. However, he extended this to cover medieval finds as well, and this survey is now undertaken jointly with Holmes.53 This interest in coin finds has resulted in a number of Scottish site and hoard reports by him, including the threeeenth-century hoards from Kelso, Fauldhouse and Ardnave published in the Journal. Otherwise he has contributed a popular introduction, Scottish Coins, to the Shire Series (1987) and in 1997 Spink published his Coinage In Scotland, an overview of the coinage and currency up to the Act of Union.

There are many other publications by a number of contributors to Scottish coin studies, and a few of these may be noted. Peter Woodhead (Pl. 7d), a Vice-President of the Society, co-authored the papers on the Renfrew, Loch Doon, Montrose, and Aberdour hoards. Philip Grierson (Pl. 10a) has made a single short note in the 1957 Journal citing some documentary evidence for the now non-extant eagle crown issued by the Duke of Albany about 1520–1 for James V. A useful booklet specifically on The Coins of St Andrews was produced by Veronica Smart and published by St Andrews University in 1991. Among non-members who have written on the subject, Sir George Macdonald may be mentioned. Besides initiating the recording of finds of Roman coins from

Scotland and publishing his thought-provoking paper on the ‘Crossraguel’ pennies (‘crux pellit’ pennies), he was responsible for the publication of a number of Scottish coin hoards unearthed in the early part of the century.

The pioneering work on the listing of hoards in the twentieth century was J.D.A. Thompson’s *Inventory Of British Coin Hoards AD 600–1500*, published as its first Special Publication by the Royal Numismatic Society in 1956. Scottish hoards are included throughout the listing, which is alphabetical by find-spot, and this remains an essential tool in that branch of the subject. This was developed by Brown and Dolley in their listing of hoards from 1500 to 1967, in which Scotland received a separate section. In 1972 Seaby’s published their *Coins and Tokens of Scotland* which was compiled by Frank Purvey, and in 1984 combined this with Ireland in *Coins of Scotland, Ireland and the Islands*, produced by Peter Seaby and Frank Purvey. As noted above, a new edition of this has appeared at the end of 2002. Mention may also be made of *Coincraft’s Standard Catalogue of the coins of Scotland, Ireland, Channel Islands and Isle of Man*, which appeared in 1999. Auctions of Scottish coin collections are now conveniently listed in Harry Manville’s *British Numismatic Auction Catalogues 1710–1984*, published in 1986.

Reference so far to papers has mainly concentrated, rightly and indeed of necessity, on the Society’s *Journal*, but work on the Scottish and Irish coinages has also appeared in many other journals and periodicals throughout the past 100 years. Papers on these two series have continued to be published since 1903 in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Sir George Macdonald recorded a number of Scottish medieval hoards up to the 1920s, but thereafter there was little else. Equally between 1900 and 1950 only a half dozen papers of Irish interest appeared there, the major one being by Henry Symonds on ‘The Irish Coinages of Henry VIII and Edward VI’ in the 1915 volume.

Between 1950 and 1980 there was a corresponding rise in the number of papers relating to the two countries as research blossomed. Stevenson started a string of such publications with his report on the important late tenth-century hoard from Iona, but not surprisingly the main contributors were Stewart and Dolley respectively. Stewart wrote a series of notes on unpublished Scottish coins while Dolley concentrated on new and old Irish hoards, though his paper identifying an unrecognised Hiberno-Manx coinage is noteworthy. However, since then, the number of Scottish and Irish contributions has dropped considerably.

Apart from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, further Scottish numismatic papers are to be found in the contents of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* throughout the twentieth century. Again during the first quarter of the century it was Macdonald who was the main contributor with a sequence of notices of new medieval hoard finds. In the late 1930s H.J. Dakers published some notes on Scottish coins here. After the War, occasional numismatic articles made their appearance among them, Stevenson on the ‘Crossraguel’ pennies, Dolley on the short cross hoard from Tom a’Bhuraich, Stewart on ‘Some Scottish Ceremonial Coins’, Evans and Thain with a re-assessment of the older hoards from Aberdeen, and Hunter on ‘Iron Age Coins in Scotland’. More recently Athol Murray has contributed two documentary-based papers on the Scottish coinage at the time of the Union and later. However, perhaps the main contribution of *PSAS* to Scottish coin studies is the periodic recording of Roman, and more recently also medieval, coin finds from Scotland.

A number of other Scottish archaeological journals contain a small number of articles and notes, usually referring to local finds. We are again indebted to Harry Manville for a detailed listing of these in his *Numismatic Guide to British & Irish Periodicals 1731–1991 and reference to that work will suffice for this. Manville also covers the Irish journals, though here the great interest of the nineteenth century in Irish coinage seems to have waned in the twentieth. Most of
the cited works at both national and local level concerned hoard finds. However, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* note may be made of Dolley’s work on Edward I’s Irish mints, Bateson’s re-consideration of Roman finds from Ireland, S.G. Ellis’s ‘The struggle for control of the Irish mint, 1460–c.1506’, and Michael Kenny’s ‘The Geographical Distribution of Irish Viking Age Coin Hoards’. From the late 1960s until the 1980s Dolley was a regular contributor to the minor journals in a desire to foster an interest in numismatics at local level.

There is also to be recorded the great contribution of dealers in fostering and helping the advances made in Scottish and Irish numismatics over the last hundred years. Britain has been fortunate in its major dealers who, along with the commercial, have also had a strong academic interest in the subject. From the beginnings of the Society their owners and experts have been members and this happily continues. On the whole they do not have the time to write, but again mention may be made of ‘Mr Baldwin’s’ important arrangement of the Scottish long cross pennies. Indeed the purchase, preservation, and availability for study of the British portion of the Brussels hoard by Baldwins has been remarkable.

In more tangible form are the popular guides to Scottish and Irish coins produced by Seaby and Spink. These form part of a valuable contribution by way of numismatic publishing. Seaby’s led the way with the *Standard Catalogue* and this continues with the joint publication by Baldwin and Spink of the two works on auction catalogues and periodicals by Manville cited. In addition Spink’s *Numismatic Circular* has provided useful space throughout the century for short notes, reports and ideas. The Murrays used this medium for several important pieces on Scottish issues. *Seaby’s Coin and Medal Bulletin* provided a similar outlet until its demise in the early 1990s, while in Ireland *Irish Numismatics* ran to sixteen volumes between 1968 and 1983. Edited by Derek Young, its pages were frequently filled by Dolley. A less obvious form of contribution may be noted in the sale to the Ulster Museum of the entire Irish section of the Carlyon-Britton collection through Seaby’s and the donation of a complete die record of over 700 Henry III Irish pennies from the Brussels hoard, also to the Ulster Museum from Baldwins.

There has thus been very considerable progress in Scottish and Irish numismatic studies during the first hundred years of the British Numismatic Society. This has been achieved in no small measure by the Society’s members. After a slow start, particularly in relation to Scotland owing to the earlier work of Burns, a tremendous flowering opened up in research on both series at the start of the 1950s. This could hardly have been expected after the War, but continued unabated for over thirty years. It was led and encouraged by Lord Stewartby for Scotland and Professor Michael Dolley for Ireland, but many others have made contributions of varying degrees. It has now fallen off somewhat for the latter but continues strongly for the former. The hopes of 1903 have been more than fulfilled in relation to Scotland and Ireland.