One St John

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The 'logo' of *One St John*: 'Almsgiving by the brothers of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem', from *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum Militum* by Guillaume Coursin, 1493. Reproduced with permission from the Museum of the Order of St John.

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Seventh volume of *One St John*

Seven years ago, *One St John* was instituted as the international Historical Journal of the Order of St John. Each year a volume has been published in electronic format on the website of St John International, the London-based governing body of the Order. From inception, the editorial team of Dr Ian Howie-Willis and Professor John Pearn gathered together and refreshed a range of interesting historical articles (many drawn from *St John History*, the annual journal of the St John Ambulance Historical Society of Australia). I joined the editorial team in 2018, from which time our efforts have been encouraged and overseen by the Order's Librarian.

This volume, the seventh to appear in the series, represents something of a departure from previous issues. For the first time articles were solicited from St John historians around the world, specific to a central theme. That theme is 'medals and coins' of the Order, fairly broadly interpreted. As a result, this volume contains a significant amount of new research specific to that theme but ranging widely across time, place and topic.

Equally worthy of note is that, for the first time, the contributors belong to Priories of the Order from around the world—including England and the Islands, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. This means Volume 7 represents a real step forward for *One St John* towards becoming *the* key historical publication of the Order, encompassing history and heritage research in all its Priories around the world. Efforts to include a diversity of members from even wider afield are already well under way The next two volumes of *One St John* are projected around the themes of 'destruction and renewal' (Vol. 8, 2022) and 'origins of the Order' (Vol. 9, 2023).

To return to this current edition, 'medals' are the focus of articles by Todd Skilton, Matthew Glozier, Alan Sharkey, and Roger Willoughby, Norman Gooding and John Wilson. Each author presents a different aspect of the honours and awards associated with the Order of St John. 'Coins' are the subject of articles by Mike Horswell, John Pearn, Ian Crowther and Mark Goodman. In this category can also be placed the article by Ian Howie-Willis and Matthew Glozier, on scale models of the St John of Jerusalem Eye Hospital.

Volume 7 of *One St John* represents a significant achievement in bringing together so much original research on an important theme associated with the Order's heritage. I want to thank all the contributors for their willingness to offer fresh research and perspectives, and for their promptness in supplying articles of such a high standard in such a professional and polished manner. I hope Volume 7 brings joy and instruction to its readers.

Dr Matthew Glozier
Editor of *One St John*
Librarian of the Australian Priory of the Order of St John
12 February 2022

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Donats.

Todd Skilton OStJ JP
Librarian of the Order of St John

A number of different Orders and organisations use different forms of recognition for those who make donations—the Donat—to its funds to support charitable outcomes.

Donats have a long and interesting place in Our Order. The Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem introduced the concept of a Donat's badge to recognise financial contributions. While the badge is in abeyance, being appointed a Donat in itself remains an official Order award, defined in the 2018 Order Statues to be awarded to 'any person not being a Member of the Order who from an appreciation of the objects or work of the Order makes a worthy contribution to its funds or to the funds of a Priory …'.

The concept of having insignia to recognise Donats was likely taken directly from the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (SMOM), which has long-possessed a mechanism to reward Order-directed philanthropy.[1] Within the SMOM, Donats are a class of the Order, who historically wore a Demi-Cross as a result of the service to the SMOM through employment in subaltern posts.[2] Later in history, Donats were persons who were more loosely associated with the Order, rather than being full members of the SMOM itself. Donats remained in their own homes (rather than living in the Priory) and made an annual donation. In return, the Order guaranteed to take care of them in their old age.[3]

The introduction of Donats to the Order

Donats were first introduced into the Order recognition structure in the 1850s for the purpose of providing a mechanism for meaningful recognition for those who had given significant philanthropic support to any of the various elements of St John.

Upon the creation of a Donat's fund, the Grand Secretary, Sir Richard Broun, Bart, encouraged '… contributions to it collected, not merely by appeals to the members of the Langue themselves, but to the religious and benevolent of all ranks and creeds'.[4]

A person who contributed any sum or sums towards the charitable funds of not less than £5 had their names and donations recorded in the records of the Order. They were also presented with a badge of a Demi-Cross which they had the privilege of wearing as a personal decoration as well as suspending to their arms as a mark of heraldic distinction.[5] The author has not been able to trace any examples of this badge or examples of arms showing the distinction.

Christopher McCreery records that Donats were first mentioned in the 1862 Statutes of the Order.[6] Before the Royal Charter, Donat was a 'Class' or Grade of the Order itself, with seniority between Serving Brothers and Honorary Associates. The qualification for membership was 'Ladies or gentlemen admitted to the Order for their support of its charitable objects'.[7]

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The award of a Demi-Cross ceased either upon the grant of the Royal Charter of Incorporation in 1888 or sometime prior.

Donats, the 1888 Royal Charter, and demise

Donats were listed as a Grade in the Royal Charter of 1888. However, the Charter notes that they were not enrolled as Order Members and received no insignia, diploma or heraldic privileges. Therefore they had a strong association with the Order. A list of Donats was to be preserved and by Statute those who donated more than £1 were entitled to receive a copy of the annual report.[8]

It is likely only a small number of Donats were elected following the granting of the Royal Charter and by 1919 only two such Donats were still alive and classed as Donats. The grant of a badge was later re-introduced, but appears not to have been made retrospective.

Donats revived

Donat's badges were re-introduced sometime after March 1910.[9] Donat's badges were established primarily for those who were not of the Christian faith and were therefore ineligible for admission to the Order itself. The badges were created in three levels: gold, silver, or bronze.[10]

The first list of recipients of the post-Royal Charter badges was published in the *London Gazette* of 28 November 1910.[11] The practice of publishing at least some of the early appointments of Donats in the *Gazette* continued until 1924.

While there were a variety of non-Christians who supported the Order through donations, Donats were mainly Indians who have shown their appreciation of the training in first aid being given in the Indian Empire by the St John Ambulance Association and the St John Ambulance Brigade.[12]

Changes to the Order in 1926 greatly impacted the number of Donats appointed. In 1926, the Charter was modified to allow for Associate Members to be appointed across all Grades of the Order. Associate Members did not need to be of the Christian faith. Now there was another option to recognise support to the Order other than election as a Donat. As a result the Order Roll itself proclaimed that 'it would appear unlikely that the number of Donats will ever be large'.

Should a Donat be appointed to the Order itself, then their status as a Donat lapsed.[13] The 1931 Order Roll records four such appointments.

A small number of Donats continued to be appointed, however the general uptake was low. For example in New Zealand only three Donats were ever appointed, two bronze in 1921 and 1933 and a gold in 1937. There was the possibly of the appointment of a further Donat in 2000, however delays in receiving suitable insignia resulted in another form of recognition being utilised.

Order Donats and Priory Donats

Following a major re-organisation of the Order in 1999, Donats were split into two categories: Order, and Priory Donats.[14] A person, who was not a Member of the Order who made a 'worthy contribution' to the funds of the Order generally, or a Priory specifically, could be appointed as a Donat.

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Order Donats were appointed by the Grand Prior, on the recommendation of the Honours and Awards Committee. Priory Donats were appointed by the Prior of a Priory, on the recommendation of their Priory Chapter. There was no difference in the rights and privileges of either category. If either type of Donat was subsequently admitted to the Order, their appointment as a Donat lapsed.

In 2001, Grand Council agreed that there be only one grade of Donat and that the badge should be white metal (not silver) and enamelled. This proposal was later rejected by the Canadian Priory and subsequently never put into Regulations.[15]

In June 2006 the Priory in Canada received an 'unprecedented gift of one million dollars to St John Ambulance' and, as a result of this, they elected to go outside of the levels of existing Donats badges available, and presented a Diamond Donat badge. This was the only occasion on which this occurred.[16]

The design of the Donat's badge

The Donat's badge takes the form of a representation of a demi-cross, the badge of the Order of St John, but with the upper arm of the cross replaced with an ornate design. It was generally issued in bronze, silver or gold depending on the level of philanthropy. The badge is on a ring suspender to which a 38 mm long ribbon and brooch are fitted for wear.

The ribbon for the badge was the same as that used to suspend the badges of Associate Members of the Order from 1926 to 1974 (that is, the black watered-silk with a central white stripe). The width of the ribbon for men was 1½ inches (3.81 cm) and 1¼ inches (3.18 cm) for women, with the women's ribbon worn as a bow, 3 inches (7.62 cm) long. The ribbon was standardised in the 2003 Regulations, being ½ inch (1.27 cm) for all.

From 1926 to 1974 the Order Regulations prescribed the badge was to be of a maximum diameter of 2½ inches (6.35 cm). No size differentiation was specified for men or women recipients. This changed in the Regulations of 1974–1993 where the badge for men measured 1¾ inches (4.45 cm) and women 1¼ inches. The size was again standardised in the 2003 Regulations, with the badge to measure 1¾ inches for both sexes.

Wearing the Donat's badge

The Order Regulations of 1926–1970 stated that the Donat's badge could be worn on the left breast where other official honours and medals are worn.

However, post-1970 Order Regulations were silent on the wearing of the badge. This is likely due to the fact that despite being an official Order award, and one that was obviously intended to be worn, it was not part of the statutorily-prescribed hierarchy of the Order of St John. As such, it was not accorded a position in the formal 'Order of Wear' which prescribes what Orders, decorations and medals may officially be worn, and therefore was officially precluded from being worn in almost every Commonwealth country.

As an Order which is accorded official status in having its other insignia in the Order of Wear, the unofficial nature of the Donat's badge put the Order in the invidious position of presenting insignia designed for wear, which was then not officially permitted to be worn.

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A pre-1974 bronze Donat's badge with a current Commander's (Brother's) neck wear badge for size comparison.

The obverse and reverse of a pre-1974 silver Donat's badge.

A post-1974 gold Donat's badge.

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Current status of the Donat's badge

In 2015 in response to concerns about recognition of philanthropy generally, the Order Honours and Awards Committee (OHAC) started to review the Donat's badge. It was identified that the intent of the appointment of Donats was usually in a situation where it was not appropriate or not possible to recognise such philanthropy with appointment to the Order itself (for example, via a single donation). However, the very nature of the conditions of award limited this. The discussion continued over some time and in 2019 a paper was written for OHAC by the Priory of New Zealand with input from the other Priory's on the topic of Donats.

The paper identified a number of issues in addition to the concerns around wearing. These included the inability to recognise philanthropy on the part of bodies corporate (including other charities, trusts, etc.). Order Members who made significant donations to the funds of the Order were not able to be recognised except by promotion in the Order, which for a one-off donation is considered undesirable. Finally, the quality of the badge was relatively low especially given the levels of philanthropy required to trigger an award.

To address these issues, the suggestion was made to alter the badge from a medal designed for wear, to medallions for display. However, this proposal was rejected and instead it was decided to remove Donat's insignia from the next update of the Order Regulations completely. Therefore, while Donats are still included on the 2018 Order Statutes [ref. Statute 53, 2018 Royal Charters and Statutes], the 2022 Order Membership, Honours and Awards Regulations states that the Donat badge will no longer be issued, putting it into abeyance. A person can still be appointed as a Donat, but they would receive no insignia. This replicates the situation that existed in the Order between the granting of the Royal Charter and March 1910 when the badge was re-introduced [ref. Regulation 101 (2) The St John (Membership, Honours and Awards) Regulations 2022].

Acknowledgments

With thanks to Professor Brett Delahunt ONZM KStJ, Louise Goossens, and Dr Matthew Glozier OStJ JP.

Notes

1. Christopher McCreery, *The Maple Leaf and the White Cross: A History of St John Ambulance and the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Canada* (2008), p. 221
2. Pierre Marie Louis de Boisgelin de Kerdu, *Ancient and Modern Malta: Containing a Description of the Ports and Cities of the Islands of Malta and Goza, as Also the History of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem*, Volume 3 (1804), p. 212
3. Helen J. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Boydell & Brewer, 2001), p. 85
4. Robert Bigsby, *Memoir of the Illustrious and Sovereign Order of St John of Jerusalem* (1869), pp. 125-6.
5. Sir Richard Broun, *Synoptical sketch of the Illustrious & Sovereign Order of Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, and of the venerable langue of England* (1857), p. 81
6. McCreery, *The Maple Leaf and the White Cross*, p. 221
7. Captain James Gildea, *The Order of St John in England 1881* (1881), p. 6.
8. Royal Charter of Incorporation (1888), Statute 40.
9. A Donat without insignia was elected on 22 February 1910
10. Corbett-Fletcher, *Annals of The Ambulance Department* (2nd Ed) (1949), p. 112.
11. *The London Gazette*, No. 28554 (28 November 1911), p. 8969
12. Order Roll (1931), p. 5
13. Statutes and Regulations (1926), Regulation 31B
14. Charters and Statutes (2003), Statute 40
15. Review of Donat's Badges; OHAC (2019).
16. McCreery, p. 221
17. Statute 53.

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Lady Emma Hamilton, Tsar Paul of Russia and the British Knights of his Order of Malta.

Dr Matthew Glozier OStJ FRHistS FSA Scot

This paper begins with a well-know image of Emma Hamilton, the mistress of Naval hero, Lord Nelson. In the pastel portrait, she wears a medal that is easily identified as a decoration of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. The question could be asked: how did a Protestant Englishwoman, living in widely-known morally compromised domestic circumstances, came to be honoured by the devoutly Catholic knights of Malta? The answer is not at all straight-forward.

Horatio, Lord Nelson, and Lady (Emma) Hamilton © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Ingram Collection.[1]1 A matching pair of portraits in pastel on paper by Johann Heinrich Schmidt, artist to the ducal court of Saxony at Dresden. Hugh Elliot, the British minister in Dresden, commissioned Schmidt to draw this pair of portraits of Nelson and Emma Hamilton from sittings taken at the Hôtel de Pologne in Dresden early in October 1800, where they resided briefly on their way home to England from Naples, accompanied by Sir William Hamilton. Nelson subsequently hung Emma's portrait in his cabin when at sea, including in *HMS Victory* from 1802 to his death at Trafalgar. According to Emma, he referred to the image as his 'Guardian Angel'. While at Dresden, Emma's weight-gain was evident because the 39-year-old was about five months pregnant with Nelson's daughter, Horatia (born in January 1801). The cross of the Order of Malta is displayed prominently on her white muslin dress. These portraits were acquired by the National Maritime Museum (UK) as part of the Ingram Collection in 1963.

What Emma Hamilton is wearing is the Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta.[2] It is a decoration that was awarded by the Order to individuals whom it wished to honour. Knights and Dames of Devotion were people who became attached to the Order as members, but in a class that did not require them to take religious vows. As well as being something akin

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to an order of merit, the Cross of Devotion performed the valuable role of keeping former professed knights within the Order, when, for example for family reasons, a younger son unexpectedly inherited his family's estates and needed to marry to perpetuate the line. As Knights of Devotion such formerly professed knights could continue to wear the insignia of the Order and they had obviously already met the nobiliary requirements, but were no longer bound by religious vows.[3] The situation is best summarized by Henry J. A. Sire:

> By the Statutes of Margat of 1206, the Order was divided into three classes – knights, chaplains, and sergeants-at-arms – whom all took the ordinary religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. All of them likewise bore the title *frater* [Fra' or Brother] used by the professed in religious orders. These dispositions continued unchanged in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, by that period we need to recognize a wider class of those who wore the Order's cross without belonging to the three classes mentioned. … [The cross] was also sometimes granted to noblemen whom the Order wished to honor. These Knights of Devotion were the successors of the *confratres* of the Middle Ages. … The cross was also granted to many noble ladies … Also, we find the grant of the cross of knighthood to non-Catholics, the first example being to the Russian nobleman Boris Cheremetev as early as 1698. Therefore, the cross of Malta was being bestowed by this time not merely as a mark of religious attachment, but as a nobiliary decoration.[4]

Historically, some very prominent English Knights of Devotion had lived before the Reformation. In 1517, Thomas Stanley, 2nd Earl of Derby, and Charles Somerset, 1st Earl of Worcester, received the Cross of Devotion from the Order of Malta.[5] Furthermore, according to Levett Hanson—a self-proclaim, but internationally recognised, expert on foreign honours and awards—writing in 1803: 'Ladies can be admitted into the Order of Malta … they are denominated Dames'.[6]

The conclusion is clear—Emma Hamilton is wearing a genuine historic honour of the Order of Malta. But how did she come to be awarded this mark of distinction? The answer can be found in the dramatic events of the Napoleonic Wars and in the quixotic character of the Emperor Paul I, Tsar of all the Russias.

Tsar Paul

Since acquiring the Black Sea port of Azov in 1696, Russia nurtured a naval and maritime policy that drew it into the orbit of the Order of Malta.[7] In the words of Maltese historian, Henry Frendo:

> Paul I's keen interest in Malta and its Catholic, aristocratic order of chivalry, must be seen in the light of a string of earlier acquaintances, overtures and schemes of mutual interest between the Czars of Russia and the Knights of Malta, on the other. Two of his best-known predecessors, Peter I (1672–1725) and Catherine II (1729–1796), already had set theirs.[8]

Paul's mother, Catherine the Great, had recruited several knights of Malta as consultants to improve her navy.[9] According to Roderick Cavaliero, she wanted 'to turn Malta into a Russian satellite' and employed agents and spies to establish a pro-Russian party on the island.[10] This political context explains, in part, Tsar Paul's personal interest in the Order of Malta. He admired the Knights. Bailiff Count Giulio Renato Litta, who became his confidante and adviser, wrote to Cardinal Doria, confirming the Knights of Malta had been an object of interest to Tsar Paul '*dalla sua piu' tenera infanzia* [from his most tender childhood]'.[8]

On becoming emperor in 1796, Tsar Paul went out of his way to endear himself to the Order.[11] As a result of the partitions of Poland in the mid-1790s, the Order's Grand Priory on Polish territory, with all its revenues, had become Russian property.[12] Tsar Paul sent the Order

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its proceeds from the Polish Priory and, in January 1797, he created an Orthodox Grand Priory of Russia (to exist in parallel with the Roman Catholic knights he had acquired from the Polish Priory), and designed a special uniform for the new Russian knights.[13] Tsar Paul's actions thus restored some of the Order's dignity and income at a time when it was suffering the blow caused by the Revolutionary government's confiscation of its estates in republican France. Tsar Paul propped up the Order's flagging income by 300,000 crowns. The Pope, as the Order's spiritual head, appreciated the action and His Holiness appointed Lorenzo Litta, Giulio's brother, to be the Apostolic Nuncio at St Petersburg. Both the Grand Master and the Pope courted Tsar Paul and agreed that he should take on the role of 'Protector' of the Order of Malta, conjointly with the Holy Roman Emperor, and the King of the Two Sicilies.[14] This explains their tolerance of the novel Orthodox Grand Priory.

In a private audience with the Tsar on 29 November 1797, Giulio Litta (in his capacity as the Order's Ambassador Extraordinary to Russia), acquainted the emperor 'with the universal wish of the whole Order that you would deign to become chief of this establishment, and accept a title so dear, and so encouraging to us all', the title being that of Protector of the Order of Malta. As a token of gratitude and recognition, Grand Master Hompesch zu Bolheim (71st Grand Master from 1797) and the Supreme Council of the Order sent Tsar Paul, through Litta:

> The ancient cross of the celebrated La Vallette, that invincible defender of our Island who bequeathed his name to a city which he alone has rendered impregnable … and now we feel a pleasure in offering it to your Imperial Majesty, as a proof of our gratitude, as a mark worthy of his piety, and as a happy presage of the renewal of our prosperity.[15]

Sir Edwin King, official historian of the Most Venerable Order of St John in the early 1900s, attempted to explain the odd situation of the creation of a Russian Orthodox branch for a devoutly Catholic Order of chivalry:

> The Order already contained a non-Catholic branch in the Protestant Bailiwick of Brandenburg … and [the Order later] reported in favour of the establishment of the proposed Grand Priory [of Russia], regarding it as 'an aggregation for crosses of devotion', such as have been granted at all times to persons professing other religions'.[16]

By 'other religions' he meant non-Catholic Christian denominations. Both Protestantism and the Orthodox faith remained fundamentally abhorrent to the Order of Malta, for whom its *Pro Fide* motto absolutely meant 'For the [Catholic] faith'. The Order was well aware of the imminent threat to its interests posed by Napoleon Bonaparte's French forces. The Order of Malta had initiated a shrewd, politically-based compromise in making Tsar Paul its Protector, precipitated by its fears regarding the rest of its possessions and international influence. Ironically, it was a copy of the treaty making Tsar Paul Protector that fell into Napoleon's hands. The text of the treaty was being carried to Valletta from St Petersburg by a Polish knight, when it was discovered by Napoleon's agents at Ancona. Bonaparte used the treaty as a pretext for invading Malta.[17] When the French took over Malta in June 1798 the first person to be expelled was Russia's resident ambassador, Anthony O'Hara, a Knight of Malta.[18]

The odd part of this story is that Tsar Paul's ambition went beyond being the Protector of the Order of Malta. His opportunity came when Napoleon conquered Malta in 1798, dislodging the reigning Grand Master von Hompesch zu Bolheim, and scattering the Knights of Malta.[19] Following this disaster, Grand Master Hompesch lost control of the Order and the Russian knights 'election' Tsar Paul as Grand Master, on his own orders.[20] In August

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1798, the knights of what was now the Russian Grand Priory, who were by no means fully or legitimately representative of the Order as a whole, denounced Hompesch's alleged betrayal of the Order. They went further by stating that they regarded him as 'deposed from the rank to which we [the knights of the Order] raised him'. No longer feeling themselves obliged to obey Hompesch, they proclaimed Tsar Paul as their new Grand Master.[21]

Above left: Tsar Paul, wearing the crown and robes of the Grand Master of the Order of Malta. Portrait in oils by Stepan Semyonovich Shchukin (1799); and right: Tsar Paul presents a Cross of Devotion to Field Marshal Alexander Suvarov.[22]

Tsar Paul had himself elected Grand Master of the Order of Malta during an extraordinary meeting of the Russian Grand Priory on 7 November 1798. A few weeks later he was crowned by the Archbishop of Thebes.[23] Tsar Paul declared on 13 November 1798:

> We, by the Grace of God, Paul I, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, in consideration of the wish expressed to us by the Bailiffs, Grand-Crosses, Commanders, Knights of the Illustrious Order of St John of Jerusalem, of the Grand Priory of Russia, and other members assembled together in our capital, in the name of all the well-intentioned part of their Confraternity, we accept the title of Grand Master of this Order, and renew on this occasion the solemn promises we have already made in quality of Protector, not only to preserve all the institutions and privileges of this Illustrious Order for ever unchanged in regard to the free exercise of its Religion, with everything relating to the Knights of the Roman Catholic faith, and the jurisdiction of the Order, the seat of which we have fixed in our Imperial residence; but we also declare that we will unceasingly employ for the future all our care and attention for the augmentation of the Order, for its re-establishment in the respectable situation which is due to the salutary end of its institution for assuring its solidity, and continuing its utility.[24]

Dependent as he was on Austrian asylum, Hompesch was persuaded by Emperor Francis II to abdicate formally in July 1799. For the Emperor it was far more important that the Russian army in Italy maintain its commitment to assisting him. On 6 July, Grand Master Hompesch sent two letters, one to the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II and the other to Tsar Paul, in which he abdicated as Grand Master.[25] He sent no letter of abdication to the Pope as was required by Canon Law, nor did the Pope accept the fact of his abdication. For his part, Pope Pius VI was prepared to accept Tsar Paul as the Order's Protector, but not as its Grand

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Master and one reason for the Pope's refusal to countenance Hompesch's resignation is that the Grand Master later declared (7 May and 20 September 1801) that his 1799 letters of abdication had been written under duress, invalidating his abdication.[26] Regardless of this, Austrian pressure exerted on Hompesch had forced him to send the Order's relic of St John the Baptist to St Petersburg, where it arrived in October 1799. It was accompanied by the icon of Our Lady of Philermos. Tsar Paul placed them in the chapel of the imperial palace at Gatchina.[27] Writing in 1999, Jonathan Riley-Smith noted that these relics were later transferred to Belgrade and are now in Montenegro (their recent rediscovery having been affected in large part by Australian Knight of Malta, Fra' Richard Divall).[28]

In the mind of Tsar Paul, possession of the Order's most holy relics surely vindicated his claim to be Grand Master; a title he desired desperately.[29] Between 1799 and his assassination in 1801, Tsar Paul attempted to act in the position and was acknowledged by several nations as being the *bona fide* Grand Master of the Order of Malta. His Holiness the Pope never considered recognising a non-Catholic as Grand Master, but Great Britain certainly accepted the Tsar's claims. Emma Hamilton received her Cross of Devotion from Tsar Paul in December 1799. She thus was awarded a genuine historic honour of the Order of Malta, received from a reigning emperor of Russia, albeit he was a *fons honorum* exercising irregular authority over the ancient order of chivalry that had its origins in eleventh-century Jerusalem. Emma Hamilton was the first Englishwoman to be awarded the Cross of Devotion.

The murder of Tsar Paul in March 1801, followed by the refusal of his heir, Alexander I to continue as Grand Master, made easier the wording of the tenth 'Maltese' article of the Treaty of Amiens a year later, in March 1802. Article X insisted the knights return to Malta and hold a Chapter-General to elect a new Grand Master (explicitly neither Hompesch nor Tsar Alexander). According to Bonaparte, the return to Malta of the Order was 'a romance which could not be executed' because its knights were scattered and its income virtually non-existent.[30] Nevertheless, a true successor to Hompesch as Grand Master came in the form of the 72-year old Sienese bailli Giovanni Battista Tommasi di Cortona, chosen in February 1802 by His Holiness Pope Pius VII. Despite this regularisation of the Order's leadership after the bizarre interlude of 'Grand Master' Tsar Paul, the knights never returned to Malta. The Order's Minister-Plenipotentiary, Chevalier Buzi, negotiated in vain with the island's British ruler, Sir Alexander Ball. Ball was sympathetic to the Maltese islanders and conscious of the Order's distinguished history (and he belonged to the Order, in a strange way, as we will soon see), but the deciding factor was French influence. Buzi colluded with the French General (later Baron) Honoré Vial, leading to fears the Grand Master's return would result in a French and Neapolitan puppet occupying the magistral throne.[31] These circumstances convinced the British that the Order must not return to Malta.[32] In the broader British view, it also probably did not help the Order of Malta that it had in 1794 made overtures for an alliance with the United States of America, via French members of the Order who had fought in the American Revolutionary War and belonged to the Society of the Cincinnati.[33]

The blockade

Emma Hamilton became the first English woman to be awarded the Cross of Devotion due to aiding the blockaded islanders of Malta.[34] Before explaining how she came to be in a position to offer aid, it is important to recall the story of her dramatic rise in status and influence. Having been born the daughter of a Cheshire blacksmith, Emma rose from poverty to become the 'fashion-setting muse of Europe', in the words of the Emma Hamilton Society.[35] In fact,

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she transitioned from London society to become the confidante of Maria Carolina, Queen of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Britain's key Mediterranean ally during the Napoleonic Wars. Under the reign of King Ferdinand IV of the Two Sicilies, the Neapolitan court was slow to act in 1798, when their Maltese neighbours found themselves in desperate straits, following Napoleon's conquest of the island (began on 10 June, via a naval bombardment).[36] Although proud of her status as the queen's confidante, Emma was loyal to British interests. She demonstrated that allegiance by working with the queen in order to smuggle to the British government correspondence from Ferdinand's brother, King Charles III of Spain. The queen's sister was Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, who had been executed in 1793 and she was outraged by the thought that her brother-in-law, King Philip, had decided to side with France and was urging her husband to do likewise. As Napoleon's army marched further south down the Italian peninsular this set the scene for action from Emma, her diplomat husband, Sir William Hamilton, and her lover, Lord Nelson. The determination to act against Napoleon solidified when republican unrest occurred in Naples. It was Nelson's ship, HMS *Vanguard*, that carried the terrified royal family to safety at Palermo in Sicily, accompanied by the Hamiltons.

At this same time, on the island of Malta, 120 miles distant, the locals were experiencing increasing repression at the hands of the French invaders. The Maltese had initially welcomed the French as liberators from the Knights of Malta, who had dominated them for 250 years. True to their revolutionary ideals, the French abolished the feudal system, slavery, noble status, and the Catholic Inquisition. The popularity of these innovations was overwhelmed by the horror felt by the devout Maltese at seeing their churches looted, leading to 10,000 islanders forcing the occupying French to seek shelter in the fortified capital of Valetta.[37] This Maltese revolt against the French broke out in September 1798. The French were now besieged and a squadron of Portuguese ships arrived in time to initiate a blockade of the island designed to starve out the invaders, but at significant cost of suffering to the locals. Following the successful battle of the Nile in August, Nelson brought British ships to join the blockade and recognised the claim over Malta made by the King of the Two Sicilies (based on his being the successor to Charles V in that part of the kingdom of Aragon).[38] Nelson's close friend, Captain Alexander Ball, commanding HMS *Alexander*, was ordered by Nelson to take command of the blockade in October. The natural result of blockade was dwindling food supplies on Malta, exacerbated by the French helping themselves to the capital's grain silos. The threat of starvation among the Maltese was real by January 1799.

Two significant sources of support now appeared to assist the Maltese. Captain Ball was so deeply moved by their plight that he spent his own money on aid, but his means were limited. At this stage the Maltese themselves had grown so desperate for supplies that they petitioned King Ferdinand, who had reclaimed Sicily's historic sovereignty over Malta now that the knights were gone. He did nothing and ignored Nelson's requests on behalf of the islanders. Next the Maltese sent emissaries to Sicily to seek aid in person. By now, Captain Ball was writing to Emma Hamilton directly, because he realised she was the chief means of effecting aid for the islanders. On 23 February he affirmed: 'The inhabitants are critically situated; but, I hope, all will end well. Good news from you will determine it'.[39] Emma was already deeply involved in advocacy for the Maltese. Their deputies were lodged at her house and she asserted, proudly: 'I have been their Ambassadress'.[40] She was so moved by their plight that she told Ball: 'I sent off three ships, laden with corn, and got £7,000 from the Queen, and gave 500 ounces of my own to relieve them'.[41]

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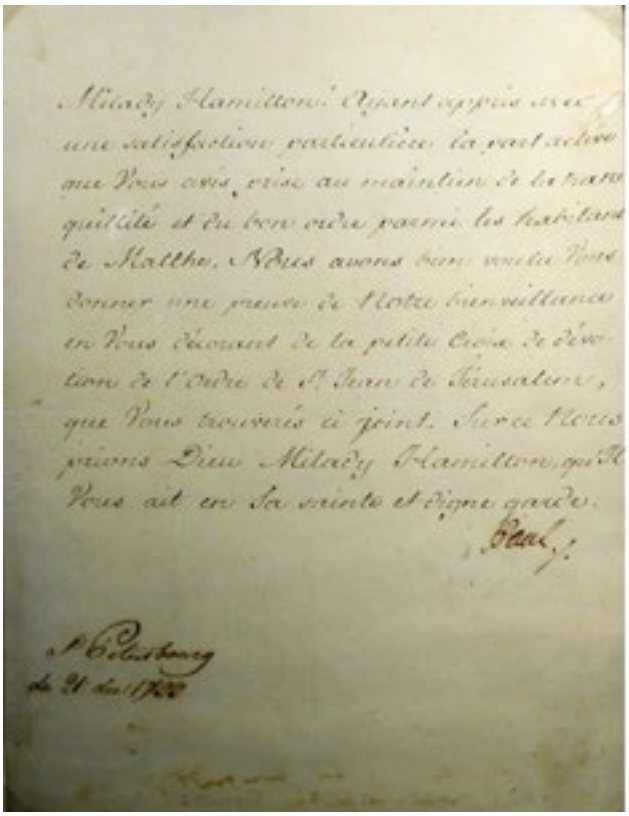
It is interesting to note that the merits of both Captain Ball and Lady Hamilton had allowed them each to eclipse childhood poverty. Did this lend them an unusually high level of empathy or humanitarian feeling? Whatever the motivation, Ball wrote to Nelson in January 1800, affirming: 'I am convinced that but for [Emma Hamilton's] influence with their Sicilian Majesties and his ministers the poor Maltese would have been starved, and my head would have been sacrificed in their moment of despair'.[42] The food supplies signalled the start of Malta's release, consolidated by the subsequent British siege that led to the island's liberation. Captain Ball was instrumental in all these events. But the Russians were also active. In January 1800, a bold attempt to assault the French garrison from within the walls of Valletta was led by a former colonel in the Russian service, called Lorenzi, together with a Catholic priest. They were arrested and executed by the French.[43] Though it failed, the attempt helped rupture Anglo-Russian relations, which deteriorated to such an extent within a month, that the British ambassador in St Petersburg (Sir Charles Whitworth) was asked to depart. The British ensured no Russians were allowed to land on Malta.[44] In July 1800, Tsar Paul was so disappointed by the fact of British control over Malta that he abandoned the Second Coalition, because Napoleon had promised him Malta, together with the release of 6,000 Russian prisoners in Holland, who could have formed a Russian garrison on Malta.[45]

Dame Emma

Before the deterioration of Anglo-Russian relations, two Britons received formal recognition for their efforts on behalf of the Maltese. On 21 December 1799, Tsar Paul wrote directly to Emma Hamilton (in French, the translation of which reads):

> Having learned with particular satisfaction the active part that you have taken in maintaining tranquility and good order among the inhabitants of Malta, we have kindly given you a proof of our benevolence by decorating you with the small Cross of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, which you will find attached. Upon this we pray to God, Milady Hamilton, that he may keep you in his holy and worthy guard.[46]

On 25 February 1800, Emma proudly announced to her former protector, Charles Greville: 'I have had a letter from the Emperor of Russia, with the Cross of Malta … I am the first Englishwoman that ever had it'.[47] She described the cross as 'gold' and noted that Queen Maria Carolina 'is having the order set in diamonds for me' as a special thank-you gift from the Two Sicilies.[48]



Tsar Paul's letter to Emma Hamilton, awarding her the Order of Malta for her aid to the starving population of Malta during the blockade of the French (21 December 1799).[49]

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In truth, Tsar Paul had come to hear of Emma's actions directly from Lord Nelson, who had written to the Russian emperor, requesting that she be rewarded in this manner:

> The laborious task of keeping the Maltese quiet in Malta, through difficulties, which Your Majesty will perfectly understand, was principally brought about by Her Majesty, the Queen of Naples, who at one moment of distress, spent £7,000 belonging absolutely to herself and children, by the exertions of Lady Hamilton, the wife of Sir William Hamilton, my gracious Sovereign's minister to the Court of the Two Sicilies. If your Majesty honours these two persons[50] with the Decoration of the Order [of Malta], I can answer that none ever more deserved the Cross, and it will be grateful to the feeling of still Your Majesty's most faithful and devoted servant, Bronti Nelson.[51]

Some historians doubt Emma was capable of selfless action.[52] However, others are emphatic that she was the prime instrument in the Maltese relief and that this was the general pattern of her behaviour. Speaking of the earlier escape to Sicily with the Royal family, for example, Pettigrew says: 'There can be no doubt of this having been effected by Lady Hamilton; no other individual was in a position capable of accomplishing such an object'.[53] Discussing the same event, Lord Nelson wrote to the Five Lords of the Admiralty, saying: 'Lady Hamilton seemed to be an angel dropt from Heaven for the preservation of the Royal family'.[54] Indeed, in this operation she lost an estimated £9,000 worth of possessions and Sir William £30,000 in goods left behind as a decoy, or out of necessity.[55] As Emma's portrait suggests, she was proud of the honour bestowed on her by Tsar Paul. Sir William Hamilton considered initiating action to secure permission for her to wear it because, as Emma said, 'if the [British] King will give me leave to wear it abroad, it is of use to me'.[56]

The Hamiltons and Nelson left Sicily on an overland homeward journey on 8 June 1800. When they arrived in Dresden, Schmidt made the two pastel portraits that contain the only image of Emma wearing her Maltese cross. One reason for this is that, back in England, Queen Charlotte refused to receive Emma and King George III withheld permission for her to wear the Cross of Devotion. The King also pained Nelson by receiving him coldly when he appeared at court covered with foreign decorations, prior to receiving permission to wear them.[57] Regardless of this situation, all of Nelson's guests aboard HMS *Victory* saw Emma's portrait hung in pride of place in his cabin. She had worn the cross throughout Europe, a fact acknowledged by Levett Hanson in 1803. This British gentleman was Chamberlain to HSH Ercole III d'Este, Duke of Modena, and from 1797 he lived at Erlangen, near Nuremburg in southern Germany. He probably met Emma in person and he is the sole writer at that time on Britons honoured by foreign sovereigns who actually lists her among recipients of the Order of Malta. In his book, *An accurate historical account of all the orders of knighthood at present existing in Europe*, he says of Emma:

> Lady Hamilton's talents and accomplishments are so well known, that no one will be surprised at such an act of gallantry, on the part of the Emperor [of Russia]. Her ladyship has acquired the friendship of the Queen of Naples, and of all the royal and illustrious personages, to whom she has been presented; by that respectable and amiable conduct which wins the heart and suffrages of every one.[58]

One thing Emma achieved, in relation to her Maltese honour, was to secure official acceptance to call herself 'Dame Emma'. As the wife of a knight of the realm—Sir William Hamilton—Emma was known as 'Emma, Lady Hamilton', the courtesy title to which she had been entitled since 1791. However, from 1799 she became 'Dame' Emma Hamilton, a style she used in her own right as a female member of the Order of Malta.[59] As she herself

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observed, this was a unique privilege since she was the first Englishwoman to have received the Cross of Devotion of the Order.[60] She employed her new title in formal circumstances and was also acknowledged as 'Dame Emma Hamilton' in official British contexts.[61] The College of Arms granted Emma her own armorial bearings on 19 November 1806, one year after Nelson's death at Trafalgar. Emma had applied for the grant of arms based on the last codicil in Nelson's Will, which requested the State grant her a pension. Despite the existence of allies such as Prime Minister William Pitt and the Prince of Wales, the codicil was not honoured and Emma died in poverty in 1815.

The arms awarded to Emma on 19 November 1806 are displayed here with the kind permission of the College of Arms.[63] College of Arms Archivist, Dr Lynsey Darby, stated that the explanation contained in the transcript of the Letters Patent (about why Emma applied for arms), was not unusual for the period. However, while lists of wartime achievements, sinking of fleets and so forth were routinely mentioned for men, Dr Darby had never before seen such statements made about a woman.

Armorial bearings granted to Dame Emma Hamilton (19 November 1806) © College of Arms.[62] The lions are a play on her maiden name of Lyons; the background colours reference the armorial bearings of Lord Nelson; and the black chief, charged with a Maltese Cross, reflects her Cross of Devotion from Tsar Paul.

TO ALL AND SINGULAR

To whom these presents shall come Sir Isaac Heard Knight GARTER Principal King of Arms and George Harrison Esquire CLARENCEUX King of Arms of the South East and West parts of England from the River Trent Southwards send Greeting. Whereas DAME EMMA HAMILTON of Clarges Street Piccadilly in the County of Middlesex (only issue of HENRY LYONS of Preston in the County of Lancaster) Widow of the Right Honorable Sir William Hamilton K.B. hath represented unto the most noble Charles Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal and hereditary Marshal of England that she intermarried with the said Sir William Hamilton in the Year 1791 and having attended him during his Embassy from our most gracious Sovereign to His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies and rendered great service at that Court during an important juncture as appears by the following clause in a Codicil bearing date the twenty first day of October 1805 and annexed to the last Will and Testament of the late Right Honorable Horatio Viscount and Baron Nelson Duke of Bronte in Sicily &c deceased: "Whereas the eminent services of Emma Hamilton Widow of the Right Honorable Sir William Hamilton have been of the very great Service to our King and Country to my knowledge without her receiving any reward from either our King and Country First that she obtained the King of Spain's letter in 1796 to his Brother the King of Naples acquainting him of his intention to declare War against England from which Letter the Ministry sent out Order to the then Sir John Jervis to strike a stroke if opportunity offered against the Arsenale of Spain or her Fleets, that neither of these were done is not the fault of Lady Hamilton the opportunity might have offered. Secondly the British Fleet under my Command could never have returned the second time to Egypt had not Lady Hamilton's influence with the Queen of Naples caused Letters to be wrote to the Governor of Syracuse that he was to encourage the Fleet being supplied with every thing should they

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> put into any Port in Sicily. We put into Syracuse and received every supply went to Egypt and destroyed the French Fleet. Could I have rewarded these services I would not now call upon my Country but as that has not been in my power I leave Emma Lady Hamilton therefore a legacy to my King and Country that they will give her as capable provision to maintain her rank in Life."
>
> And the said Dame Emma Hamilton not finding any Armorial Ensigns registered to her Family in the College of Arms and unwilling to use any without lawful authority she therefore requested the favor of his Grace's Warrant for our granting and assigning each Armorial Ensigns as may be proper to be borne by her and her Descendants according to the Law of Arms. And forasmuch as the said Earl Marshal did by Warrant under his Hand and Seal bearing date the twenty ninth day of September last authorize and direct Us to grant and exemplify such Armorial Ensigns for LYONS accordingly. Know Ye therefore that We the said GARTER and CLARENCEUX in pursuance of his Grace's Warrant and by virtue of the Letters Patent of our several Offices to each of Us respectively granted have devised and do by these Presents grant and exemplify to the said DAME EMMA HAMILTON the Arms following that is to say Per Pale Or and Argent three Lions rampant Gules, on a Chief Sable a Cross of eight points of the second ; as the same are in the margin here more plainly depicted to be borne and used for ever hereafter by the said Dame Emma Hamilton and her Descendants according to the Laws of Arms.
>
> In Witness whereof We the said GARTER and CLARENCEUX Kings of Arms have to these Presents subscribed our Names and affixed the Seals of our several Offices this nineteenth day of November in the forty seventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six.[64]

The grant of arms was mentioned in the *London Gazette*, reinforcing the reality that it was an honour from the Crown.[65] On the lozenge-shaped shield conventionally used for ladies, the lions refer to her maiden surname of Lyons, while the background colours of gold and silver vaguely allude to the colours on Nelson's arms. The addition of the Maltese Cross has puzzled heraldic scholars unaware of Emma's connection to the Order, but it is recognisable as a special heraldic feature called an 'honourable augmentation'.[66] The assertion that the addition of the Maltese Cross was an honour, rather than a mere symbol on the shield, is supported by the inclusion in her Letters Patent of the detailed explanation of her role in the relief of Malta. It is also supported by the correspondence Emma received from her agent at the College of Arms.[67] In a letter dated 31 August 1805, Sir George Nayler (*York Herald*), offered Emma two alternative designs for her arms:

> The one marked A represents part of the arms to the name of Lyons, with the Cross of Malta in chief; the other marked B, is also part of the arms borne by the name of Lyons, with a fess charged with cinquefoils and the Cross of Malta, in allusion to the coat of Hamilton, and the aforesaid Order … Your Ladyship … will be pleased to signify which of the two drawings, A or B, you should prefer having granted, in order that I may be enabled to proceed with the patent'.[68]

Emma's arms, at least, represented some level of official recognition from the Crown of her Maltese honour. It is interesting to note that poverty forced Dame Emma to live out her final years in France, where she found solace in her local Church of St Pierre in Calais and converted to the Roman Catholic faith, which seems appropriate for a Dame of the Order of Malta.

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Enter the sailors

Emma Hamilton and her closest supporters were conscious of the honour done to her by the Tsar in awarding the Cross of Devotion. Some context is useful in attempting to judge how right they were in that opinion.

In May 1799, an English Royal Navy officer called Sir Home Riggs Popham was sent to St Petersburg in the lugger *Nile*. He was tasked with persuading Tsar Paul to provide troops for a proposed landing against Napoleon's forces in the Netherlands. During the course of his visit, Sir Home took the Tsar and his family sailing in his ship. The Imperial family enjoyed the adventure so much that they presented Popham with a gold snuff-box and a diamond ring, and the Tsar added to these gifts the Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta.[69] Later that same year, another Royal Navy officer, the Scotsman Sir William Hope, also received from Tsar Paul the Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta. A prominent sailor and politician, it is unclear how or why Vice-Admiral of the White, Sir William Johnstone Hope GCB MP FRS and Privy Councillor, Order of the Crescent, received this honour. It is probably also connected to his role in garnering the Tsar's support for the expedition against Holland by the combined forces of Great Britain and Russia in the autumn of 1799 because, according to John Marshall (writing in 1823), 'at a shortly subsequent period, the Emperor of Russia was … pleased to send him the ribband and cross of a Knight of the Order of Malta'.[70]

Sir Home Riggs Popham, in Royal Navy uniform, wearing the Commander's Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta awarded by Tsar Paul of Russia in 1799. Portrait by Mather Brown © National Museum of the Royal Navy, Portsmouth.[71]

What is remarkable about these stories is that both Sir Home Popham and Sir William Hope received official permission to wear the cross in Britain. It was an important achievement, because it meant they could wear the award in an entirely unrestricted manner, including in Royal Navy uniform. Nelson had learnt the hard way how important this was, because he had experienced royal disapproval when he foolishly wore foreign decorations prior to receiving King George's approval to accept and wear them. Subsequently, Nelson was careful to get royal permission to wear his foreign orders as he affirmed to Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King at Arms, that he knew how important it was 'to be correct in all these points'.[73]

Sir William Johnstone Hope, in Royal Navy uniform, wearing the Commander's Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta awarded by Tsar Paul of Russia in 1799 © British Museum.[72]

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Detail from a silver sugar bowl from a three-piece service by Robert Hennell (1803), presented to Sir Home Riggs Popham and engraved with his arms, including the neck badge of the Order of Malta © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.[74]

Note that the cross hangs beneath the shield as an honorary decoration. A proper Knight of Malta in religious vows would place his shield upon the cross of the Order itself.

The form and manner in which notice appeared in the *London Gazette* is particularly revealing:

> The King has been pleased to grant to Captain Home Riggs Popham, of the Royal Navy, his Royal Licence and permission to receive and bear (in his own country) the insignia of Commander and Knight of the Sovereign Order of St John of Jerusalem, with which he has been invested by his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, Grand Master of the said Sovereign Order; and also to order, that this His Majesty's concession and declaration be registered in the College of Arms.[75]

Popham was permitted to wear the Order of Malta by Royal License, dated 28 September 1799.[76] Sir William received the same permission 'at a shortly subsequent period', according to John Marshall.[77] Marshall thought they were the only two British men so honoured by Tsar Paul (an assertion we shall see was wrong), but he is correct in saying they were the only two Britons who received official permission to accept and wear the award.

Above: 'Sir Home Riggs Popham, K.M. & F.R.S. Commander of His Majesty's Squadron at the Capture of Buenos Ayres, &c' (1 November 1806) © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.[78] Left: The armorial bearings of Sir Home Popham © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.[79]

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The Royal Licences that granted two sailors the privilege of wearing the badge of the Order of Malta in Britain were among the first of their kind. The very first Royal Licence was given on 16 July 1789, when Samuel Bentham Esq. received permission to accept and wear the insignia of the Order of St George of Russia.[80] These allowances were recorded at the College of Arms and provided a precedent for Lady Hamilton's aspiration for similar permission. Emma's agent at the College, Sir George Nayler, told her:

> I have also herewith enclosed a copy of the King's Warrant to record the documents relating to the Order of Malta, given by the Emperor to Sir H. R. Popham, and … should it be the wish of Your Ladyship to have the Order of Malta recognised by Royal Warrant similar to Sir H. Popham, I conceive it may easily be done.[81]

Clearly, all hope had not been lost for Emma to receive official permission to wear her award, but she appears to have demurred from pursuing the matter (perhaps because it would incur processing fees which she could not, at that time, easily afford).

Rare survivors from the era of 'Grand Master' Tsar Paul of Russia.

Far left: a Commander's large neck Cross of Devotion, measuring 103 x 47 mm; weight of 27.7 g.

Near left: the small breast Cross of Devotion, measuring 70 x 28 mm; weight 23.4 g.

Both awards are made of gold and enamelled.

Below: each cross is marked with a Cyrillic maker's mark 'A.R.' in addition to assay office marks for St Petersburg in 1799, proving they were manufactured in Russia. The crosses were verified as original by Russian expert, Vladimir Vetluzhskikh (from the Federal Service for monitoring compliance with cultural heritage protection).

This set (including an enamelled breast cross of later manufacture) was sold at auction by Hermann Historica of Munich, Germany, for €86,000 on 28 May 2020.[82]

The issue of official permission remained highly sensitive as is demonstrated by an editorial in the *Gentleman's Magazine* dated June 1839, which confirmed that the days were numbered for official permission being granted to wear foreign honours:

> It appears that when Capt. Home Riggs Popham was made a Knight of Malta by the Emperor Paul in 1799, a disapprobation … was expressed by King George the Third, and about 1808 or 1809 an order was issued that no British subject be permitted to accept a Foreign Order, without a warrant first obtained under the King's sign manual, with other regulations intended to check the undue acquisition of such honours. In 1812, it was added by the Prince Regent that Foreign orders should be accepted only in consequence of distinguished services at sea or in the field, in the actual employ of the Foreign Sovereign

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> bestowing them; and in 1813 the further proviso was made, that no foreign knighthood should authorise 'the assumption of any style, appellation, rank, precedence or privilege appertaining to a Knight Bachelor of these realms'.[83]

In March 1800, Tsar Paul is reported to have sent crosses of the Order of Malta to the British Prime Minister, William Pitt, and to two senior ministers of his government (William, Lord Grenville, and William Huskisson).[84] By that time a rupture had occurred in Anglo–Russian relations, due to the British occupation of Malta. The new, negative, attitude towards the Tsar's pretensions is evident in the diary record made by Elizabeth, Lady Holland, who observed in April 1800:

> He [Tsar Paul] has constituted himself the head [of the Order of Malta], altho' one of the fundamental rules requires that every knight should be a Catholic and a bachelor. He is of the Greek Church, and husband to a prolific Empress. The great source of his wrath is about the Island of Malta, which he wants to possess, and which we will not agree to his having.[85]

The Tsar's obvious attempt at diplomatic bribery, to work his way back into the affections of the British, got the reaction it deserved—none of the three recipients of the Cross of Devotion accepted the award. Indeed, in the House of Commons, on 18 April 1801, Richard Brinsley Sheridan made an insightful analysis of the political implications of Tsar Paul's gifts:

> He noted Tsar Paul made Home Popham a Knight of Malta and the appointment was recognised in the *Gazette*. It suggests Britain concurred with Russian control of Malta.[86]

As that was no longer the case, the Tsar's gifts threatened to compromise their recipients. In truth, acceptance of the Tsar's awards had always been highly political. In about May 1799, Sir Charles Whitworth, the British Ambassador to St Petersburg, had been offered the Cross of Devotion by Tsar Paul. He appears to have accepted the award, but King George III denied him permission to wear it. The reason was blatantly political, as the King himself explained to the Secretary of State, Henry Dundas, when the issue of Popham's award was later raised:

> I should have no difficulty in expressing … my consent to Capt. Popham's receiving the Order offered to him by the Emperor of Russia had not Lord Grenville in my name some months ago declined the same favour in the case of Sir Charles Whitworth.[87]

The King requested Lord Grenville be consulted, prior to any answer being returned to Popham. According to Roderick Cavaliero, British refusal to allow Whitworth to wear the Cross of Devotion led to the Tsar's increasing coolness towards the British ambassador.[88] Ultimately, Popham and Hope were allowed to wear the award because it recognized their valuable assistance in aiding allied military operations, notwithstanding Cavaliero's assertion that the Tsar 'lavished the Cross on all and sundry. The worthiest recipient was Ball … the most unexpected Lady Hamilton'.[89]

Sir Alexander Ball

While Emma Hamilton was awarded the small Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta, Captain Ball received the cross of a Commander. On 25 February 1800, Lord Nelson made known to Ball that he had received a communication from Sir Charles Whitworth, containing the following news:

> I have the pleasure to announce to you that I am directed by his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, and Grand Master of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, to present you with his letter and the Grand Cross of the Order and that you have an Honorary Commandery. This mark of the Grand Master's sense of your zeal and ability,

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> in the conducting of the affairs in the island of Malta, cannot but give me the very highest satisfaction, who so well know your gallantry and excellent judgment. Whenever you do me the honour of coming afloat, I shall present you with this distinguished mark of honour.[90]

Ball subsequently wrote to Lady Hamilton, saying:

> He [Tsar Paul] has been graciously pleased to confer upon me the honour of Commander of the same Order [of Malta], from which I derive a double satisfaction. The first, in the honour of being your brother and defender; and secondly, from the consideration of its being a token of regard of my invaluable friend and patron, Lord Nelson. This memento will have the same effect upon your Ladyship's mind.[91]

Ball was thus the fifth British recipient of an Order of Malta honour from Tsar Paul and he was awarded it for the same reason as Emma Hamilton. They were the only two English people to receive Crosses of Devotion from Tsar Paul explicitly for aiding the Maltese islanders. The experience consolidated their friendship and Ball referred to Emma as his 'sister' [consœur] from then on.

Portraits of Sir Alexander show him adorned with his Nile medal and the Sicilian Order of St Ferdinand and Merit, but not that of Malta. Indeed, Ball appears to have received official permission to wear the Sicilian Order alone.[92] Unlike Popham and Hope, he was not permitted to wear the Order of Malta on his Royal Navy uniform and this was undoubtedly due to political sensitivities. What is interesting about the coloured etching of him is that the Cross of Devotion is clearly visible in a place of honour beneath his coat-of-arms.

A coloured etching of Captain Sir Alexander Ball (1800–1809) © The National Archives of Malta.[93] The Cross of Malta hangs beneath his shield.

Sir Alexander Ball played a key role in the blockade of Malta and was involved directly in the British-led reconquest of the island. His instructions included explicit British recognition of the position of Tsar Paul as Grand Master of the Order of Malta:

> When I was instructed by Lord Grenville to consider the Emperor of Russia as Grand Master of the Order, in my correspondence with him on the situation of Malta, I represented to him the tyranny of the Order over the inhabitants, and presumed to recommend, in order that they should be reconciled to the return of the Order, that he would direct them to be assured that they should be eligible to be elected to any office in the Island. He directly ordered his Minister at Naples to go to Malta, and to assure this boon to the inhabitants.[94]

The Order had already attempted a *rapprochement* with the islanders by creating a Maltese *Langue* designed to allow the local nobility to become knights of Malta. In consequence of Ball's advice, Chevalier Italinski attempted, but failed, to convince the remaining knights of

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Malta to change their attitude towards the local inhabitants. The knights' pride prevented reconciliation with the islanders, leading Ball to observe: 'The Spaniards already term the Maltese *Langue*, the shopkeeper *Langue*' because of its acceptance of native Maltese into its ranks.[95]

When the French surrendered in 1800, in part due to the outbreak of an epidemic, Ball was disappointed not to be appointed Governor of the island and so he departed in April 1801. He was made a baronet on 24 June 1801 and he returned to Malta a year later, in June 1802, as the Plenipotentiary Minister of His British Majesty for the Order of Malta in order to coordinate the departure of the British in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Amiens. In fact, British forces stayed on Malta and the island was never returned to the Order.[96] Britain's official position was stated publicly in the *London Gazette* in May 1803:

> But the fundamental principle, upon the existence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the Article [X of the Treaty of Amiens], had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the constitution of the Order since the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace. It was to the Order of St John of Jerusalem that His Majesty was, by the first stipulation of the Tenth Article, bound to restore the island of Malta. The Order is defined to consist of those *Langues* which were in existence at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty: the three French *Langues* having been abolished, and a Maltese *Langue* added to the institution. The Order consisted, therefore at that time of the following *Langues, viz.* the *Langues* of Aragon, Castile, Germany, Bavaria, and Russia. Since the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, the *Langues* of Aragon and Castile have been separated from the Order by Spain, a part of the Italian *Langue* has been abolished by the Annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France. There is strong reason to believe that it has been in contemplation to sequestrate the property of the Bavarian *Langue*, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Russian *Langues* within the dominions of the Emperor. Under these circumstances the Order of St John cannot now be considered as that body to which, according to the stipulations of the Treaty, the island was to be restored; and the funds indispensably necessary for its support, and for the maintenance of the independence of the island, have been nearly, if not wholly, sequestered.[97]

Coat-of-arms of the Island of Malta. Note the Maltese Cross beneath the shield.

In short, the British considered the Order of Malta to be defunct by 1803. From that year to his death on Malta in 1809, Sir Alexander Ball acted as His Majesty's Commissioner for the Civil Affairs of Malta (*de facto* governor).[98] A man of wide humanity and culture, and echoing his earlier role in the island's relief, he demonstrated great care for the Maltese. Ball made significant improvements to the island's infrastructure and governance. He cared for Malta and the Maltese and his supportive attitude was shared by other Britons, for example the Scotsman Sir Charles William Pasley, who became indignant when he reflected on the idea his government in London had at one time considered handing Malta back to the Order, which he called 'a phantom without a substance, represented by a set of men entirely devoted to French influence'.[99]

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Ball was widely admired, including by his secretary, the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who reported: 'Junior officers … spoke of Ball's unprecedented kindness, and the ordinary Maltese, to whom he regularly gave audiences without intermediaries, called him "father"'.[101] During his time on Malta, Ball was adamant about upholding the principle that the rich endowments enjoyed by the Order of Malta's cathedral of St John had by legal right been inherited by the Maltese Government as the legitimate heir of the Order.[102] This made the Catholic authorities irate, although the Bishop and his clergy continued to officiate in the church where an uncomfortable compromise emerged on 12 May 1808 when the new Bishop, Mgr Ferdinando Mattei, agreed to a royal throne being erected in both St John's Church and Mdina Cathedral.[103] The throne displayed His Majesty's arms and was reserved for the British representative of the king, in all the principal churches which had previously held a throne for the Grand Master.[104] Although the king's representative had the right to use this throne, as a protest against the high-handed attitude of the Bishop, Ball (as Civil Commissioner) boycotted all state functions in St John's, resulting in an empty chair.[105] Ball also reopened the university in Valletta in October 1800 after two years of closure.[106] He was president of the Maltese National Assembly too. In that capacity he was instrumental in advertising to the Maltese population their newfound sovereignty in the form of their new coat-of-arms. A version of the Maltese coat-of-arms of this time shows it topped with a civic crown with five points because Malta considered itself to be a sovereign republic free from the Order of Malta. Yet the memory of the enormous impact on the island made by the knights was retained in the form of a small Maltese Cross beneath the shield.[107]

The monument to Alexander Ball at the Lower Barrakka gardens in Valletta, Malta. He had donated the Barrakka gardens to the people of Malta in 1802.[100]

Oddly, there exists an image of Rear Admiral Sir Alexander Ball, wearing the clothes of a Maltese nobleman and the Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta. It is remarkably different from his other portraits, but his identity is confidently asserted by Maltese art expert (and Knight of Malta), Marquis Nicholas di Pero.[110] If, indeed, this is a depiction of Sir Alexander, then it perhaps dates from the era of the blockade and his relief work for the native Maltese in 1799. In other words, the portrait may represent a

Above left: Rear Admiral Sir Alexander Ball.[108] Above right: Rear Admiral Sir Alexander Ball, wearing the clothes of a Maltese nobleman and the Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta in a portrait confidently identified by Marquis Nicholas di Pero.[109]

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tribute from the Maltese people, as opposed to a token of devotion to the deposed Order of Malta. It may, therefore, be evidence of the love expressed towards Ball by the Maltese people, which was manifested in his final resting place, a magnificent monument in the Lower Barrakka gardens in Valletta (the gardens were donated by Ball to the people of Malta in 1802). Ball died on 25 October 1809, aged just 52 years old. His body was laid out in state at the Governor's Palace in Valletta and the coffin was covered with black velvet, fixed with gilt nails, adorned with eight naval crowns and surrounded by banners on which were represented his personal coat-of-arms and chivalric orders. The coffin's lid was engraved with Ball's coat-of-arms, including depictions of his Orders of Chivalry, and at the foot of the coffin stood a stool on which rested Ball's hat, the insignia of the Order of St Ferdinand given to him by the King of the Two Sicilies, the Order of the Crescent awarded to him by the Turkish Sultan, his Nile Medal of Honour, 'the Medal of the Maltese Representatives' [unlikely to be synonymous with his Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta], his naval sword and a gold sword presented to him by the Maltese islanders, both swords being unsheathed and crossed.[111]

The missing link

At least one historian of the British Most Venerable Order of St John drew a connection between Tsar Paul's British knights of Malta, and the subsequent revival of the English *Langue* of the Order of St John in 1831. In 1922, John Frederic Symons-Jeune presented a narrative that included Tsar Paul in the origin story of the British revival:

> Many knights took refuge in Russia at the invitation of the Tsar, whom they elected their Grand Master. English influence [over him] was complained of as being too powerful, and one of the first decorations was conferred on Emma, Lady Hamilton. Many English gentlemen were invited to join the Order, several of whom survived to take part in the revival of the Order in England. The fall of Napoleon in 1814 removed the ban imposed on the Order in France. The French branch was revived by a Bull of Pope Pius VII in 1814 and was recognised by King Louis XVIII. Negotiations were entered into with a view of re-establishing the English branch, and in 1831, under the lead of Sir Robert Peat, that branch was formally recognised.[112]

In a way Symons-Jeune was right because, at the high-point of Anglo-Russian amity in 1799, Lord Grenville instructed Sir Charles Whitworth to make overtures to the Tsar, suggesting England might form its own Grand Priory of the Order of Malta (along the same lines as the Orthodox one in Russia):

> [To convince Russia that Britain] had no selfish designs on Malta, but would place that island, as already agreed upon, at the Tsar's disposition … [Grenville] would soon propose the formation of an English branch of the Order of St John of Jerusalem. To give more effect to Whitworth's representations Lord Grenville despatched Sir Home Popham, who had won Paul's favour when negotiating the Dutch expedition earlier in the year.[113]

In truth, Grenville's suggestion was nothing more than a political ruse. Emma Hamilton, three Royal Navy officers, and an English diplomat in Russia were the only British recipients of the Cross of Devotion of the Order of Malta from Tsar Paul. All of them were dead by the 1820s, with the sole exception of Hope, who expired on 2 May 1831 (less than four months after a 'Council of the English Langue' was inaugurated on 12 January, stretching the assertion that he was an active foundational member of the revived *Langue* of England).[114]

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Grand Master Jean de Valette's crystal pectoral cross, sent to Tsar Paul in 1799.[115] Tsar Paul I (1754–1801), portrait in oils by Jean Louis Voille (1744–1803) (attributed to). © Museum of the Order of St John.[116]

Significantly, two items referencing Tsar Paul and his relationship to the Order of Malta have a place of honour among the extensive art collection at St John's Gate, the headquarters of the Venerable Order —a portrait of Tsar Paul, wearing the cross of the Order of Malta, and de Valette's magnificent crystal pectoral cross.[117] Their existence proves that Tsar Paul's short-lived Orthodox Grand Priory of Russia set a precedent for non-Catholic knights which inspired the British revivers of 1831.[118]

Major-General Edgar Erskine Hume asserted that, as early as 1814, an attempt was made to revive the English *Langue* 'French knights [of Malta] being particularly interested'.[119] Indeed, it is renegade French knights of Malta, not the Russian Tsar, that are at the heart of the revival story. For this reason, it is important to mention in this study another early Knight of Malta: James Henry Lawrence (1773–1840). Something needs to be said about Lawrence, in order to distance him from the British knights of 'Grand Master' Tsar Paul. According to Thomas Medwin, the cousin and biographer of Percy Bysshe Shelley:

> I was acquainted with … Lawrence … a knight of Malta, whom I met first in Paris, and afterwards in London. He had purchased his knighthood in the French metropolis, where an office was opened for the sale of these honours. Nobility of origin was held as an indispensable qualification for such titles; but it would seem that it was not very rigorously enforced, for in … [Lawrence's] case the proofs were defective on the paternal side, and it was with a consciousness of this fact that he wrote a sort of half-historical romance, entitled the *History of the Nairs*, in which he endeavours to establish the supremacy of women.[120]

Significantly, Lawrence did not received his Cross of Devotion from a reigning monarch, such as Tsar Paul was. This exposed him to accusations of having 'purchased' his knighthood from a group of private individuals.

Sir Richard Broun reiterated Lawrence's claim that he was received into the Order in 1789, at the tender age of 16, by Lieutenant-General Louis Joseph des Escotais, comte de Chantilly, Bailli and Grand Prior of Aquitaine.[121] Perhaps the claim is based on a misidentification? René, vicomte de Châteaubriand, mentions in his memoirs the presence of the 'Chevalier Laurencie' at the Chapter of the Order of Malta held in September 1789.[122] However, this is

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actually a reference to François de La Laurencie, a French nobleman and Commander of the Order of Malta. What is important about Châteaubriand's account is that, even though he was a genuine nobleman, dealing with the legitimate leadership of the *Langue* of Aquitaine, he considered their conduct lacked credibility, because:

> All this took place after the fall of the Bastille … and the removal of the royal family to Paris. And … the National Assembly had abolished titles of nobility! How could the knights, the examiners of my proofs [of nobility], find that I deserved … the favour which I solicited … I, who was nothing more than a petty sub-lieutenant of Foot, unknown, without credit, interest of fortune?[123]

In 1789, Lawrence was still a schoolboy at Eton College (1782–90), although he was notably precocious.[124] In 1791, he and his father took up residence at the University of Göttingen in Germany.[125] Lawrence and his father were still in Germany when, in 1800, Lady Holland encountered them at Weimar and noted in her journal: 'Mr Lawrence called in the evening; he is a whimsical young man, who has written several strange things, but [is] not wholly without talent'.[126] Significantly, she did not identify him as a Knight of Malta and neither does Lawrence's own 1802 publication, the poem "Love, an allegory".[127] In 1802, both father and son settled in Paris.[128] The next year (1803), Levett Hanson published a book that included among British members of the Order of Malta: the Honourable Emma, Lady Hamilton; Sir Home Popham; and Sir *Richard James* Lawrence.[129] No other biographical reference suggests Richard James Lawrence was ever a Knight of Malta.[130] His son, James Henry Lawrence, always claimed to be so and it is likely the author confused father with son.[131] After making detailed reference to the worthiness of Emma and Popham, Hanson's only comment about Lawrence is that he was 'likewise a Knight of this Order'.[132] Between 1803 and 1809, Lawrence was imprisoned at Verdun by the Napoleonic regime, who considered him an enemy alien.[133] The point of this is that Lawrence probably became a Knight of Malta in 1802, a year after Tsar Paul's assassination.[134] Importantly, he received the honour in France from a splinter group of French knights, not from the Tsar of Russia. Lawrence authored several works, one of which, on the *Nobility of the British Gentry*, is well known.[135] He was also a foundation member of the Venerable Order of St John as it was revived in Britain in 1831.[136] The sole trait, shared by Lawrence with the Tsar's Order of Malta recipients, was that he too was Anglican, not Roman Catholic.[137]

Another member of the revived Venerable Order of St John, who claimed to have been received into the Order of Malta, was the Irish baronet, Sir Joshua Colles Meredyth (1771–1850). He said he had visited the Island of Malta as a young British infantry officer in 1798, just before the French conquest, and was made a knight by the Grand Master.[138] This lacks evidence and relates to the period of Grand Master von Hompesch zu Bolheim.[139] For this to be true, Meredyth would have had to represent himself as a Roman Catholic (which he was not), or he might conceivably have received the Cross of Devotion.[140] Either way, the stories of these two men—Lawrence and Meredyth—are quite different from those of Tsar Paul's recipients. To reinforce the point, a third British Knight of Malta, Sir Warwick Tonkin, claimed to have been received somehow into the Anglo-Bavarian and Prussian *Langue** in 1830, long after the era of Tsar Paul.[141] It was men such as these who were the link (in addition to Tsar Paul's recipients) between the modern British Order and the ancient Knights Hospitaller.

* Although this *Langue* was actually abolished in the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 by the Elector of Bavaria, King Maximilian I: Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, p. 189. Its full history is investigated in Thomas Freller, *The Anglo-Bavarian Langue of the Order of Malta*, Malta: Pubblikazzjonijiet Indipendenza, 2001.

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To reinforce the point, it should be recalled that, at the time of Tsar Paul's actions, Louis XVIII of France (who had assumed the royal dignity on the death of his nephew, the child Louis XVII) was living in exile in Russia. In January 1799, he authorised the French knights to recognise Paul. The Prince de Condé, head of a cadet branch of the royal Bourbons, commanded the French emigré army in the Russian service and Tsar Paul had made him Grand Prior of the Catholic Polish/Russian Priory in November 1797. So there does, indeed, exist a slender connection between the ancient Order of Malta, Tsar Paul's era as Grand Master, his British Cross of Devotion recipients, and those knights of Malta created by members of the Francophone *Langues* of the Order.[142]

There can be no doubt that Tsar Paul, as a reigning monarch, had the power to create and award honours and decorations to whomever he chose. But was he able to award the Order of Malta? Britain's King George III accepted him as *de facto* Grand Master. Presumably, as Grand Prior of Russia, Tsar Paul had been permitted to propose Knights of Malta, assuming they were accepted by Grand Master Hompesch and, therefore, ultimately the Pope. However, this story is not about religiously professed Knights of Malta, it is about the Cross of Devotion, which had always been awarded by the Grand Master of the Order as a mark of favour, including to non-Catholics and ladies.[143] Arguably, as Protector of the Order (and putative Grand Master), Tsar Paul was in a position to award this decoration legitimately. If this was the case, it would help refute the wilder claims of scholars such as Hendrik Hoegen Dijkhof, who assert that Tsar Paul effectively created a new Imperial Russian Order of St John (the one from which numerous modern self-styled 'Orders of St John' claim descent).[144] It is certainly significant that Tsar Alexander acted as the Order's Protector only until 1802, when Fra' Giovanni Battista Tommasi di Cortona took control as Grand Master with Papal approval.[145] Thereafter, Tsar Alexander and his heirs exercised no leadership of any aspect of the Order of Malta. In fact, Tsar Alexander I abolished the Russian Grand Priory by Decree in 1810.[146] Even today, the pretender to the Russian Imperial Throne, HIH the Grand Duchess Maria of Russia, has issued an official statement via her Chancellery of the Russian Imperial House denying all connection to groups calling themselves 'Order of St John of Jerusalem' that have a so-called Orthodox and Russian origin.[147]

As far as the history of Britain's Most Venerable Order of St John is concerned, the awards received by Britons from Tsar Paul were a source of pride and fascination that enlivened interest in the ancient Order of Malta in the English-speaking world. Nevertheless, each award was supremely political and strategic in its nature, proving that Tsar Paul used the Cross of Devotion to create diplomatic leverage in favour of his desire to possess Malta. Having said this, the awards helped re-establish a presence and prestige for the Order of Malta in Britain, which it had not enjoyed since the reign of Queen Mary I. Tsar Paul's actions, therefore, inspired the later revival of the English *Langue* of the Order in 1831, albeit the revivers dealt with renegade French knights of Malta, not Russian emperors.

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Appendix 1. British Knights and Dames of Malta created by Tsar Paul I of Russia, 1799–1800.

Name of recipient	Date of award	Grade	Reason for bestowal	Permission to wear
Sir Charles Whitworth, 1st Earl Whitworth GCB PC MP.[148]	*c.* May 1799	Knight	British Ambassador to St Petersburg, Russia	Denied
Rear Admiral Sir Home Riggs Popham KCB KCH MP.[149]	May 1799	Commander	Special Envoy to St Petersburg	Granted (28 Sept. 1799)
Vice Admiral Sir William Johnstone Hope GCB PC MP FRS. Knight of the Crescent	*c.* May 1799	Commander	British expedition against Holland with combined British and Russian forces	Granted (*c.* Oct. 1799)
Rear Admiral Sir Samuel Hood Bt CB.† Order of Maria Teresa, Order of St Ferdinand and Merit	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Emma, Lady Hamilton. The first Englishwoman to be awarded the Maltese Cross	December 1799	Small Cross	Aiding the blockaded islanders of Malta	Denied
Rear Admiral Sir Alexander John Ball Bt. Nile medal, Sicilian Order of St Ferdinand and Merit	December 1799	Commander	Aiding the blockaded islanders of Malta	Nil

† Listed as 'Order of Maria Teresa, St Ferdinand, and Malta', undoubtedly a mistake for 'St Ferdinand and Merit': Great Britain, Parliament. House of Common, State Calendar: Or, *Memorandums and Narratives, Parliamentary, Civil, Military, Naval, Parliamentary and Ecclesiastical* (London: T. Denison, 1809), p. 36.

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Appendix 2. Other British Knights and Dames of Malta, 1789–1830

Name of recipient	Date of award	Grade	Reason for bestowal	Permission to wear
James Henry Lawrence (1773–1840)	? Sept. 1789; possibly 1802	Knight	British traveller. Received from the Prior of the Langue of Aquitaine	Nil
Sir Joshua Colles Meredyth Bt (1771–1850)	? 1798	Knight	British traveller. Received from Grand Master Hompesch	Nil
Sir Warwick Hele Tonkin (*c.* 1785–1863)	? 1830	Knight	Hon. Consul of France and Russia at Teignmouth Received into the Anglo-Bavarian Langue	Nil

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2. At this period the knights or dames were called merely 'of Devotion'. To describe them as being 'of Honour and Devotion' would be an anachronistic phrase, since it was only introduced in the late 19th century. My thanks to Henry J. A. Sire for this observation.
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9. For an overview of Malta–Russia relations see Andrew P. Vella, *Malta and the Czars, 1697–1802* (Malta: Royal University Press, 1972).
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13. Far from being defunct, the Polish Priory had been founded as recently as 1776; its territory had come under Russian sovereignty by the Partition of Poland. My thanks to Henry J. A. Sire for this observation. Olgerd de Sherbowitz-Witzor and Cyril Toumanoff, *The Order of Malta and the Russian Empire* (Palazzo Malta, Rome: SMOM, 1969), p. 27 [subsequently republished in French: Cyril Toumanoff, *L'Ordre de Malte et l'Empire de Russie* (Rome: SMOM, 1979)].
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19. F. G. Terroni, *Memorie storiche della resa di Malta ai Francesi nel 1798 del S.M. Ordine Gerosolimitano del detto anno ai nostri giorni, corredato da documenti inediti* (Rome, 1867), pp. 179–83.
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The Life Saving Medal and Certificate of Honour of the Order of St John.

Roger Willoughby, Norman Gooding CStJ and John Wilson

Origin and development

The decision by the Chapter-General of the Order of St John in 1870 to institute a medal for award to those who had saved or attempted to save life on land needs to be seen in two contexts: that of the history of the Order itself and of the availability at that time of civilian decorations for gallantry.

After some success in assisting with the wounded in the Franco–Prussian War of 1870, the Order was beginning to look for an area where it could exercise its declared charitable and hospitaller function. Eventually, of course, this proved to be the area of civilian first aid, first in the teaching and later in the practice. The institution of the Life Saving Medal (and subsequently the Certificate of Honour) falls into this period and is, perhaps, the earliest attempt to initiate a wider sphere of action for the Order in its home country.

By the 1870s the practice of awarding bravery medals to the military and naval forces of the Empire was well established. The Victoria Cross was instituted during the Crimean War of 1854–56 and extensively awarded during the Indian Mutiny of 1857–59. Also available to those of non-commissioned rank in the army was the Distinguished Conduct Medal and, in the navy, the Conspicuous Gallantry Medal. Civilians, however, were poorly served and, though there were medals available to reward various acts of gallantry, these were almost entirely awarded by nationally recognised charitable organisations rather than the state. They were also heavily biased towards bravery on or in water. The Royal Humane Society, founded in 1774, gave most of its awards for acts in rivers, docks and harbours and the medals of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution and the Liverpool Shipwreck and Humane Society are self-explanatory. Practically the only exception was the medal of the Society for the Protection of Life from Fire, founded in 1836, but this was of obviously limited application. The Board of Trade Medal for Gallantry in Saving Life at Sea (more commonly known as the Sea Gallantry Medal), instituted by an Act of Parliament in 1854, was a large medallion, which was not at that time specifically designed for wear. The only wearable state decoration awarded for civilian gallantry was the Albert Medal, instituted in 1866 for saving life at sea.

The Life Saving Medal

There was, therefore, at the time when the Order's Life Saving Medal was instituted, a need for a medal which could be awarded for life saving acts of gallantry on land, and particularly in those areas of employment where the vast majority of deaths seemed to occur—mines and other extractive works, potteries, factories and railways.[1] It is to the credit of Sir Edmund Lechmere (1826–1894), Secretary-General, that the Order was able to spot this gap and fill it.

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The suggestion that the Order should award medals first surfaced as part of a paper read by Lechmere in 1869 at a meeting of the Hanley Castle (Worcestershire) Commandery of the Order. After first discussing the benefits which might flow from the establishment of an ambulance system in colliery and mining districts, he continued:

> Another useful branch of such a work would be the recognition by the Order … of those who had distinguished themselves by acts of personal bravery and humanity on occasions of accident and danger. This might be done either by parchment testimonials or by medals of bronze, and occasionally of silver. The Order of St John would thus occupy the same position in reference to accidents on land as the Royal Humane Society, the Royal National Life Boat Institution and the Royal Shipwrecked Mariners' Society, do to those on the sea and on our coasts.[2]

The following year, the proposal was put forward to the Chapter of the Order, a discussion documented in the *Report to Chapter-General thus:*

> [A] suggestion has been made by the Secretary relative to the establishment of means for rendering the Order of St John useful in cases of accident in the mining and pottery districts, and generally for granting a medal for acts of gallantry in saving life on land, as is done by the Royal Humane Society in cases of disaster on water.[3]

The proposal was approved at the meeting of Chapter-General held on St John's Day of the same year (24 June 1870). At that time, a revision of the Statutes of the Order was in progress and the opportunity was taken to incorporate the following in its objects:

> VI. The award of silver and bronze medals for special services on land in the cause of humanity, especially for saving life in mining and colliery accidents.[4]

The whole project then appeared to sink without trace for some four years. Why this was so can only be speculated upon but, in the latter part of 1870 and the first half of 1871, the attention of the Order would have been mainly focused on its activities in the Franco–Prussian War, and the revision of Statutes seems to have occupied a considerable amount of attention during 1871 and 1872 as does a redesign of the insignia of the Order. The initial system of rewards, consisting of silver and bronze medals, was finally adopted by Chapter-General in 1874, with Certificates of Honour following as a third level award almost a decade later in 1885.

In order to further the project, in December 1874, Lechmere generously offered to present to the Order dies for the medals.[5] The following year, the design of these was 'carefully reconsidered, the Donor desiring that the Medal of the Order should be as perfect as possible, both in design and execution',[6] though what precise features of the design or initial specimen strikings were thus reviewed is unstated. It is still not clear who was actually responsible for the end product, but a rather charming watercolour of St John's wort held by the Order Museum has the following statement written on the back of the mount:

> I painted this for my father when he first became Secretary-General of St John … I studied the St John wort and also designed the medal with the flower design for 'saving life on land' which is given by the Order about the same time.[7]

The hand-written statement is signed 'Alice M. Cecil' and the painting is identified by the initials AMTA. This is Alicia Margaret Tyssen-Amherst (1865–1941: later Mrs Cecil), whose father was the Member of Parliament, William Amhurst Tyssen-Amherst (1835–1909), who, in 1893, became Lord Amherst of Hackney. Whilst it would be pleasant to make this attribution for the first time, there is a problem. Amherst was Secretary-General of the Order

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from 1891 to 1893 and no changes were made to the medal during this period. However, he was Genealogist of the Order from 1884 to 1891 and was involved with its redesign following the 1888 Charter (see below). It is very doubtful whether Alice would have been involved with the original design of the medal as her father did not at that time have any connection with the Order and she would have been a very young girl. Perhaps she painted the new designs of 1888 which were, however, heavily based upon the then existing pattern.

There does seem to have been some confusion at first as to which side of the first type medal was the obverse and which the reverse. This was complicated by the fact that the ribbon had embroidered upon it the badge of the Order as it existed at that time (i.e. without the lion and unicorn between the arms of the cross). The first illustration of the medal, published in 1876, shows the side bearing the St John's wort design on the right of the page pendant from the ribbon bearing the embroidered white badge. On the left of the page appears the other side with the badge of the Order pendant from a plain black ribbon.[8] Neither side is labelled but the obvious assumption is that the obverse is on the left. In later illustrations, probably to save having a new block cut, the position of the two faces has been reversed and the St John's wort side is labelled 'reverse'.

This action had the unhappy effect of showing the embroidered white cross on the ribbon of the reverse. The result of this would mean that the cross would always rest on the coat when the medal was worn and would never be seen. Though, in practice, the medal would have been presented with the white embroidered cross showing to the front, this illustration caused some consternation when a new design was considered at the time of the granting of the Royal Charter in 1888. The confusion was evidenced by a letter from the Genealogist, Lord Amherst, to Sir Herbert Perrott.

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6th Nov 1887

My Dear Perrott

The details are very difficult to arrange. It appears there is no description (and I take it all from the printed form) of the material of the medal. Are there not also two kinds, Bronze and Silver, and are not both struck from a die? The obverse is the side that shows and on this is I believe the eight-pointed cross of the Order commonly known and described as the 'Maltese Cross'. In that case the said Maltese Cross on the riband is useless as it would not be seen, but if it is right that the words 'For Service in the cause of Humanity' should be on the obverse and the legend awarded by the OSJJ on the reverse – the legend had better be changed from one side to the other, so described, and a new die struck. It looks as if for some reason the reverse was to be shown in front and as the Maltese Cross would not then appear it was put on the ribbon. That would be very well if it did not appear on the medallion – as it does it should be on the obverse and always show. If it does not matter which legend is outside let the die stand and simply as I have done describe the obverse as having the Maltese Cross … Have Messrs Wyon of Regent Street the die in their charge? If not where is it?[9]

Type 1 medal in silver, obverse, with ribbon (courtesy Dix Noonan Webb, London).

Amhurst's suggestions were mostly adopted and the redesigned medal which arose out of the Royal Charter of 1888 reflected the logic of his remarks, of which more later.

The dies for the original, or first type, medal which Lechmere sponsored in December 1874 were executed by the London firm J.S. & A.B. Wyon, with the first medals being struck the following year. The design incorporated an eight-pointed Maltese cross on the obverse circumscribed by the wording 'AWARDED BY THE ORDER OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN ENGLAND', reflecting the title of the Order as introduced in the statutes of 1871. The reverse design centred on a sprig of St John's wort, with two ribbons interlaced, bearing the words 'JERUSALEM', 'ACRE', 'CYPRUS', 'RHODES', and 'MALTA', circumscribed by the legend 'FOR SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY'. Both obverse and reverse dies carried the name of the Wyon company, Alfred Benjamin Wyon (1837–1884), being probably responsible for their execution, his brother Joseph Shepherd Wyon (1836–1873) having died by the time of this commission. The Wyon company appear to have produced the initial medals, several examples being known in their monogrammed cases, with production moving to Phillips Bros & Son by 1885.

The first medals presented went to two coal miners, Elijah Hallam and Frederick Vickers, for bravery in the rescue of a group of miners trapped in the Albert Colliery, in Newbold, near Chesterfield, on 6 September 1875. Approved on 13 October 1875 and presented on 18 November that year, these appear as medals number one and two in the Order's Register of Life Saving Awards. The third medal in the Register was something of an anomaly. Awarded to John Smith Young for rescuing a wounded Prussian soldier during the siege of Paris in December 1870, this was in fact the earliest act recognised by the Order and the first medal

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approved by the Chapter-General (on 11 May 1875), though its presentation was delayed until 17 March 1876. Subsequent awards appear in the Registers more or less chronologically according to dates of approval (which generally closely follow the date of the acts). In total, just 34 silver and 18 bronze medals of this original type were issued prior to the Royal Charter of 1888.[10] In publicising these early awards, emphasis tended to be placed on elite elements in each case. Thus, for example, in an 1878 brochure by the Order, Young, as an officer, gets mentioned by name as does the fact that his medal was presented by Major-General HSH Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, while a group of miners who all received silver medals go unnamed, their receipt of Albert Medals being the signifier that got emphasised.[11] Such publicity was arguably strategic, in promoting the status of the Order and shoring up its legitimacy. It inevitably also reproduced existing social hierarchies.[12]

Type 1 medal in bronze, obverse and reverse (courtesy Dix Noonan Webb, London).

Shortly after the institution of the Life Saving Medal, the need for such a national reward became obvious even to government and, in 1877 in the wake of the Tynewydd Colliery disaster, the Albert Medal was extended to acts of courage on land. The Tynewydd disaster itself led the Order to issue five silver medals,[13] the recipients of four of these also receiving the Albert Medal in gold. While Edmund Lechmere had publicised a proposal that the Order might also grant bronze medals and parchment certificates on this occasion,[14] none were forthcoming, although a further 21 Albert Medals in bronze were also awarded by the State for these events as well as awards by various other bodies. The Order's flagship Life Saving Medal was thus suddenly competing in a turf war, the field crowded with non-governmental awards by various societies and now the State's Albert Medals in gold and bronze. With respect to the Order's medal, Lechmere argued these were rewards for:

> … acts of bravery in saving life on land—and more especially with those connected with accidents in mines and collieries—on a system in every way similar to that pursued by the Royal Humane Society and [the Royal National] Lifeboat Institution in cases of saving life on water.[15]

This assertion about the scope of the Order's medal, that it was for saving life on land, and his situating the awards of the RHS and RNLI as for 'water' rescues, sought to demarcate spheres of operations for the Order and those competing supposedly parallel bodies. It was, however,

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a unilateral decision and—with respect to the RHS at least—did not absolutely reflect the full range of awards they made.[16] With respect to the State and its introduction of the Albert Medal, the Order denied any real conflict with its own medals and overtly welcomed the new arrival, the *Report to Chapter-General* of the same year remarking:

> … the Chapter rejoices to think that, whilst the extension of the Albert Medal to cases of bravery on land is a proof of the existence of that want, the value of the medals of the Order is in no way affected by this gracious act on the part of Her Majesty the Queen.[17]

Such a response did nothing to clarify the role or standing of the Order's life saving awards vis-à-vis those granted by the State or indeed other bodies, a situation that would be made more acute in due course by a growing reluctance in some circles to award multiple medals to an individual for a single act, the so-called two medal doctrine.[18] Leaving the latter aside, how the Order's three (and from 1907 four) tiers of life saving awards related to State and other societal awards remains a debatable point.

Type 2 medal (x1.5) in silver, hallmarked 1961 (courtesy Dix Noonan Webb, London).

Returning to the evolving design of the medal during this period, the Royal Charter of 1888 inaugurated a redesign of all the Order's insignia. The Order itself was now rebranded 'The Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England', wording which was incorporated into what we here refer to as the second type medal. The obverse still carried an eight-pointed Maltese cross, though this time with two lions and two unicorns between its interstices. This was circumscribed by the legend 'FOR SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY'. The reverse again centred on a sprig of St John's wort, with a ribbon interlaced, this now bearing just two words 'JERUSALEM' and 'ENGLAND'. This design is circumscribed by the legend 'AWARDED BY THE GRAND PRIORY OF THE ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN ENGLAND'. This design, in use until 1980, carried Allan Wyon's (1843–1907) name as the die engraver on early issues, with production being carried out by various companies including Phillips Bros & Son (up to 1895), Carrington (from 1895–96 to 1902, at least), and Vaughton & Sons (from at least 1913 to at least 1972). In 1957, the Council approved the finish on the medal should be modified from the traditional 'dull' (or matt) finish to a 'bright' finish.[19]

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Just as the place of the first type medal was challenged by the extension of the Albert Medal, the place and status of the second type medal would be challenged by another new State award. The introduction of the Edward Medal, instituted by a Royal Warrant dated 13 July 1907, was the brainchild of Sir Henry Cunynghame of the Home Office who had a particular interest in mining affairs. It was intended to parallel the Sea Gallantry Medal on land and was for award in two classes, silver and bronze, solely to miners and quarrymen, occupations which had traditionally figured large in the lists of the Order's Life Saving Medal.[20] Some two years later it was decided to extend the scope of the Edward Medal to industry in general.

The institution of a new award which so closely paralleled the Order's medal had an obvious effect. The Edward Medal was available in silver and bronze, was intended for those who saved or attempted to save life in mines, quarries, factories and railways and required a lower standard of bravery than the Albert Medal. It had the advantage of being a national or state award bearing the royal effigy on its obverse and could almost have been designed to replace the Order's medal. Whether King Edward VII, who had frequently presented the Order's medals and seen the accompanying citations in his role as Grand Prior of the Order of St John from 1888 until his accession in 1901 and its Sovereign Head thereafter, perceived such a conflict is a moot point.

It was in this context that the Order approved the issue of the Life Saving Medal in gold, this being authorised on 30 July 1907. Thus, the Order adopted the hierarchical four tier system of awards (three classes of medals and the Certificate of Honour), to attempt to better recognise varying degrees of bravery, that continues today. While internally this probably entailed some degree of recalibration of the standards set for awarding the Order's existing silver and bronze medals and the Certificate of Honour, externally it was arguably one means of maintaining the status of the Order's awards vis-à-vis the newly instituted Edward Medal. Other efforts to manage such status or credibility issues followed.

Thus, shortly after his accession in 1911, George V agreed to present some Life Saving Medals and the Secretary-General, Sir Herbert Perrott, took the opportunity to try to gain some increased status for the Order's medal. In a letter to Lord Knutsford, the Prior, dated December 1913, he wrote:

> As yesterday was the first time that the King has presented our Life Saving Medals since he came to the throne it has occurred to me that I might ask Lord Stamfordham whether we might appropriately ask that our Life Saving Medals should be called 'The George Medal of the First and Second Class of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England'.
>
> The institution by the late King of the Edward Medal has rather wiped the eye of our own. A large number of cases in which the Edward Medal is now awarded are of such a nature that in the old days the Order's Medal would have been awarded, and I think we should greatly improve our position if we were able to give our own medal the above designation. People would then be just as proud to receive the George Medal of the Order of St John as they now are to receive the Edward Medal, and with our very wide connection through the Ambulance department all over the world it would give it very great publicity.[21]

Unfortunately, the King was not willing to accede to this suggestion and the nation had to wait another 27 years for a different kind of George Medal. The year 1913 was, consequently, the last in which large numbers of Life Saving Medals were awarded for a mining disaster (the Cadeby Main Pit explosion), and these only to supplement a number of Edward Medal awards.

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In spite of the competition, however, the Life Saving Medal survived and new uses were found for it during the First World War, particularly when the Order's Hospital at Étaples was severely bombed by enemy aircraft on 19 and 31 May 1918. The movement for Irish independence provided another area where Brigade services could be recognised and 25 medals and 75 Certificates of Honour were awarded during the 1916 Easter Rising, with still further awards being made during the War of Independence and the subsequent Irish Civil War. Such awards markedly contrast with the many awards of the Life Saving Medal and Certificate of Honour which were given for purely civil bravery.

Alongside such developments, there occurred two further iterations of the Life Saving Medal, in 1980 and 2011, here referred to as the third and fourth types respectively. In both, the design of the medal was largely unchanged, superficially at least. The most obvious changes were to the legends on the reverse. The 1980 (third type) carried the wording: 'AWARDED BY THE MOST VENERABLE ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM', reflecting the manner in which the Order was formally styled in the Supplemental Royal Charter of 1974.[22] The 2011 (fourth type) wording runs thus: 'AWARDED BY THE GRAND PRIORY OF THE ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM'. The latter styling of the Order reflects more its historic 1888 Royal Charter title than its current formal title. The third type medal was mainly produced by Manhattan-Windsor, while the fourth (current) type is produced by Worcestershire Medal Service Ltd. In Canada, the type three medal was supplied by Joe Drouin Enterprises Limited, the issuance of this type anomalously continuing there up to the present time.

Type 3 medal obverse and reverse (courtesy Order of St John Museum, London). Note the hair line strip that appears between the red and white stripes on the ribbon, in comparison with the ribbon of the silver medal on page 40.

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Type 4 medal: obverse and reverse (courtesy Roger Willoughby).

Bars to the Medal

For almost a hundred years there was no necessity to even consider the concept of a bar to the Life Saving Medal.[23] In 1961, however, the need was foreseen and an application was made to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, for permission to institute a bar. Consent was duly given in the same year and an addition was made to the description of the Life Saving Medal of the words: 'A Bar to the said Medal may be awarded in each of the three categories'.[24]

The following year the Order's Director of Ceremonies, Colonel Philip H. Catt, submitted his design for the Bar:

> The Bar shall be 19/16 inches in length and 5/16 inches in width. The depth from front to back shall be 1/16 inch leaving the minimum to allow one thickness of ribbon to pass freely. Obverse to have a double raised edge and be ornamented with laurel/oak leaves having the badge of the Order in the centre, all in relief. Reverse plain and flat of the same length and width. The recipient's name to be engraved thereon with the date of the act below, for which the Bar is bestowed.[25]

Catt was of the opinion that, the Medal having been instituted in 1874, the Bar should reflect the style of its time and deliberately designed it with this in mind. He thought it appropriate to include the badge of the Order on the obverse, but rejected the use of the St John's wort as it already appeared on the reverse of the Medal. He suggested laurel from its usual associations with gallantry but offered oak leaves as similar to the Royal Humane Society's awards. Laurel was adopted. He had obviously not thought through the mounting as he specified that the bar should slide over only one thickness of ribbon as 'it has to rest at the bottom but above the fold of the ribbon to the medal ring'. If, indeed, it was to be slipped over one thickness of the ribbon, then the second thickness would totally obscure the engraving on the reverse of the Bar. He also suggested that a small badge of the Order with embellishments in the appropriate metal should be worn on the ribbon when in undress uniform and was most emphatic that the usual unembellished cross as worn on the Order ribbon should not be used. These designs were approved by Chapter-General on 5 June 1963.

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In the following month the first bar ever issued to a Life Saving Medal was authorised in gold for a second act by Reginald H. Blanchford on 21 February 1962. The bar was manufactured in 9 carat gold by Toye, Kenning & Spencer, who had only recently obtained the contract for the manufacture of the Order's insignia, at a cost of £5.15.0.

The question of a bar did not arise again until 2003 when a recommendation was submitted in the Priory of England and the Islands naming an existing recipient of a Silver Medal (John Le Page). No photograph or drawing of the original bar could be located and it was not known whether the one manufactured in 1963 had been struck from a die or manufactured as a 'one-off'. A search of the archives, however, located the description by Colonel Catt quoted above and a new die was manufactured in 2004 by Messrs Cleave of St James's, London, using that specification.[26]

Ribbons

The initial ribbon was plain black, one and one quarter inches (31.8 mm) wide, with the unembellished cross of the Order embroidered thereon in white. From 1888, the ribbon, now watered, omitted the cross of the Order. At some (as yet unestablished) point after the First World War, the width of the ribbon was altered to one-and-one-half inches (38.1 mm). In October 1949 the Investigation Committee was asked to consider whether the ribbon should be of a more distinctive pattern and on 3 March 1950, the Chapter-General approved the new design. By 29 September that year, the Grand Prior had approved the new pattern, the ribbon was manufactured and the Secretary-General was able to distribute samples to various priories, which he described being one and a half inches (38.1 mm) wide, in watered silk, and consisted of a one inch (25.4 mm) black centre bordered on either side by one twelfth of an inch (2.1 mm) white stripes and edged with two twelfths of an inch (4.2 mm) scarlet stripes.[27] It is recorded that the first batch of ribbon supplied was wider than stated above.

Much has been made by ribbon specialists of a black hair line which appeared during the lifetime of the type three design medals (1980–2010) situated between the red and white stripes. No provision for this design change has been found in the Regulations. The reason for its appearance is presently unknown.[28]

The Certificate of Honour

The Certificate of Honour was initially introduced in 1885, at which point it was titled a 'Certificate of Merit'. The immediate spur to its inauguration was the rescue of a child from a well by one Alfred Coxon, who did so 'at some personal danger'. The Chapter General at the time declared that:

> In order to meet the cases of persons who have exerted themselves in saving life, without sufficient claim to one of the medals, a diploma form has been prepared under the supervision of the Assistant Almoner, which has been adopted by the Chapter.[29]

The second certificate issued (which was presented to Joshua Stone three years later in 1888) was titled a 'Vellum Diploma' in the Medal Register, following which these were retitled as Certificates of Honour. The first such award under what became its ongoing official title was presented to Robert Stoops in June 1893. The procedural route for the award of the Certificate follows that of the Life Saving Medal. Traditionally, Certificates have been signed by the Grand Prior (or the Lord Prior of the Order as their Deputy), the Chancellor and the Secretary-General.[30]

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The Grand Priory of
The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem
in England.

At a Chapter-General of the Order holden at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, on the 30th June, 1916

It was unanimously resolved that this

Certificate of Honour be awarded to

Sybil Saunders Knox Gore,

in recognition of gallant conduct in tending the wounded at great personal risk during the Sinn Fein riots in Ireland in April and May, 1916

In witness whereof we have set our hands.

Sub-Prior.

Chancellor.

Secretary-General.

Certificate of Honour to Sybil Knox Gore, for Dublin 1916 (courtesy Spink, London).

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Certificates were typically produced and illuminated by a heraldic artist to a set pattern. During the 1950s the Priory of Southern Africa was issuing Certificates in English and Afrikaans, and was offered by the Secretary-General the option of either a printing block to use to locally manufacture Certificates or having the awards produced in Britain for £5 5s each, to include postage to South Africa.[31] It is unclear which option they took up at the time, however the point of particular note here is that Certificates there (and possibly elsewhere) were being produced in a range of languages.

Officers and Members of the St John Ambulance Brigade who received the Certificate of Honour were for a time authorised to wear a rectangular emblem in gilt metal, measuring 38 mm x 9 mm, in uniform, immediately above the right breast pocket. Reference to this bar appears in the dress regulations from 1980, however it is unclear when exactly this was introduced and similarly when it faded out of use.

Analysis of awards

Clearly, the use of the Life Saving Medal has changed over time, in response to changes in the pattern of life and work. The dangers of 1874 were not those of 1927, still less those of 1987. It has already been noted that the first pattern medal was awarded on only 52 occasions and an analysis of the reasons behind those awards illustrates well the original vision of those who designed and introduced the award.

Distribution of the first Life Saving Medal, 1870–1888

Mining	23
Fire	6
Runaway horses, bulls and mad dogs	5
Wells and sewers	5
Rescues from heights	4
Railways	4
Other	5

The second medal followed much the same pattern and, though the average annual number of awards increased somewhat, the high standard set from the beginning was maintained. Throughout the 1890s about eight awards were made annually and this average was only distorted in the early 1900s by the earthquake at Dharmsala in 1905, in which year 31 awards were made. In 1911 the total reached 27, mostly due to the Hulton Colliery disaster on 21 December 1910, and a further peak in 1913 was caused by the Cadeby Main Pit rescues. The peak number was reached in 1916 when 35 awards were made and it is instructive to see how the background has changed. Of the 35 awards, only 2 were awarded for service in England.

Distribution of the second Life Saving Medal during 1916

Services to Prisoners of War	6
Dublin Easter Rising	24
Battlefield life saving	1
Cliff rescue	1
Explosion	1
French civilian	1
Fire	1

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This number of awards in a single year was not approached again until the 1980s and, after the First World War, numbers settled down to single figures. Rescues from cliffs and sewers or culverts continue to figure but, now and again, perhaps where the standard was not considered high enough for the Edward Medal, the Order was able to reward those who faced the constant dangers posed by coal mining. Thus, in 1927, of the one gold, three silver and seven bronze awards made, the explosion at Ebbw Vale Mine (Monmouthshire) and the rescue at South Crofty Mine (Cornwall) accounted for the gold, one silver and six bronze medals.

In the 1930s, the Life Saving Medal almost became extinct. Possibly because of changes of staff, the record books in which all citation and presentation details had been recorded since inception ceased to be maintained and, during the whole decade, only 15 medal awards were made. Average medal awards per annum remained low at approximately four during the 1940s and 1950s, and dropped to under three in the 1960s. To some extent it might be said that the Order's overseas Priories came to the rescue and the 1980s saw increasing numbers of awards going outside the United Kingdom, particularly to Canada. In 1987, for instance, two gold, three silver and 15 bronze medals were awarded: of these, one silver medal went to South Africa and, of the bronzes, four went to British Columbia, four to Nova Scotia, two to Manitoba and one to Ontario. This pattern has tended to continue.

Today, people still risk their lives or serious injury to save others and the Life Saving Medal and Certificate of Honour continue to fulfil an important function, with the standard required for each class remaining high. It is not generally awarded when a national honour is given and every effort is made to ensure that the award of another organisation, such as the Royal Humane Society, is not duplicated.

Numbers awarded

Volume three of the Order's Medal Register notes that up to November 1931, 10 gold, 128 silver, and 278 bronze medals, plus 308 Certificates of Honour and vellums were awarded. Subsequent to then, 28 more gold, 126 silver, and 374 bronze medals and 130 Certificates of Honour, have been awarded up to the end of March 2021. The cumulative figures are detailed in the table below, which are further broken down into four time periods within which years the acts and rescues fall (as distinct from the dates of nomination, approval or presentation). The latter *approximately* correspond to the four distinct patterns of the Life Saving Medal issued. However, some caveats are needed in viewing these figures as they do not neatly equate to the four medal types. The number of first type medals awarded (1874–1888) are clear in the records and are agreed with other sources. The transition points between the type two, three and four medals however are less clear, with the potential using up of existing stock blurring any possibility of a neat enumeration between the different types. The demarcation between type three and type four medals is the most problematic as the Canadian Priory commissioned its own production of medals from 2000 onwards (11 gold, four silver and nine bronze medals being issues for acts performed in Canada between 2000 and 2021, though a few pre-2000 acts may have also received these Canadian manufactured medals due to the sometimes long time elapsing between an act and the presentation). The Canadian use of the basic type three design has continued up to the present (2021). The period 2011–2020 includes eight gold and two silver awards by the Canadian Priory.

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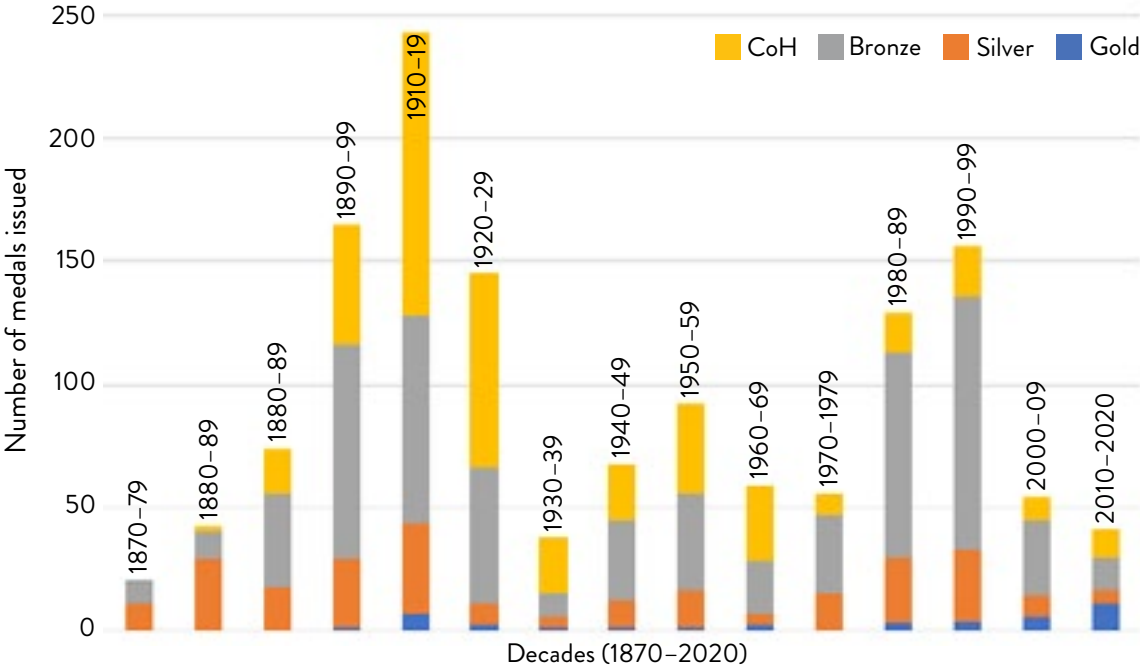
The numbers issued of the Order's Life Saving Medals and Certificates of Honour (CoH) arranged by decade, 1870–2020.



The number of the Order's Life Saving Medals and Certificates of Honour issued, by level across four time periods.

Acts between	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Certificate	Totals
1870–1888	N/A	34	18	2	54
1888–1979	15	150	404	380	949
1980–2010	12	65	219	47	343
2011–2020	11	5	11	9	36
Totals	38	254	652	438	1,382

We have further considered the distribution of the Order's awards across time in the graph below. Here, the past 150 years is subdivided into 15 decades, which makes the changing frequency of awards across time more evident. The first decade, though beginning with an award for an act in 1870, mostly encompasses awards made subsequent to the institution of the medal, while the final decade additionally includes awards from 2020.

Further analyses of the awards made for acts over the past 150 years, together with a comprehensive list of recipients and details of the circumstances that led to each award, will be included in the forthcoming book, *For Service in the Cause of Humanity*, edited by Roger Willoughby and John Wilson, which is due for publication later in 2022. Readers who wish to comment on this article may contact the authors through the editor.

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13. The awards going to William Beith, John William Howell, Isaac Pride, Daniel Thomas and Thomas E Wales, the latter being omitted from the list of Albert Medal recipients.
14. *Eddowes's Journal* (2 May 1877), p. 6; *South Wales Daily News* (27 April 1877), p. 3.
15. *South Wales Daily News* (27 April 1877), p. 3; see also the *Order of St John … A Brief Notice*, p. 11.
16. Barclay *Heroes of Peace*, pp. 412–414.
17. *Report of the Chapter General* (1877), p. 7
18. See for example R. Willoughby, 'A Royal Humane Society miscellany', *LSARS Journal*, Vol. 73 (2012,), p. 32 and *The Times* (12 October 1908), p. 14.
19. MVOStJ Council Minute 6350, dated 6 June 1957: MVOStJ Archives, London.
20. See for example *First Aid*, April 1908, 14, p. 153.
21. The Prior to Lord Knutsford, December 1913, Archives of the Order of St John, London; The proposed title was both unwieldly and ignored the fact that the Order's LSM was by this stage issued in three classes.
22. The Order's name changes under the 1926 and 1936 Royal Charters (namely, the 'Grand Priory in the British Realm of the Venerable Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem' in 1926, and the 'Grand Priory in the British Realm of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem' in 1936) were never reflected in the legends used on the Life Saving Medal, despite some discussion (see e.g., *Statutes and Regulations [Amended]* (London: VOStJ, 1926), p. 68).
23. Tozer suggests a bar was initially instituted on 29 November 1892. See C.W. Tozer, *The Insignia and Medals of the Grand Priory of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem* (London: J.B. Hayward & OMRS, 1975), p. 41.
24. *Royal Charters (1955, 1958 & 1970) and Statutes and Regulations of the Order* (London: MVOStJ, 1970), p. 48.
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27. *St John Review*, Vol. 23, No. 7 (July 1950), p. 7; Secretary-General to the Stores Manager, Mr Wrigglesworth, 16 March 1950, and Secretary-General to the Principal Secretary, Priory for Wales, 29 September 1950: Archives of the Order of St John, London.
28. Tozer notes this ribbon in use from 1954, though this seems inaccurate: Tozer, *The Insignia and Medals*, p. 40.
29. *Report of the Chapter General* (1885), p. 9.
30. *Royal Charters (1955, 1958 & 1970) and Statutes and Regulations of the Order* (London: MVOStJ, 1970), p. 49.
31. See Percy V. Collings to C.T. Evans, 20 May 1957 and C.T. Evans to The Secretary, Priory of Southern Africa, 29 May 1957: Archives of the Order of St John, London.

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A model humanitarian institution.

The scale models of the 'Old' St John Ophthalmic Hospital on the Bethlehem Road and the 'New' Eye Hospital in Sheikh Jarrah, East Jerusalem.

Ian Howie-Willis and Matthew Glozier[1]

As the subtitle suggests, this paper describes two models: the first, a large scale wooden model of the 'Old' Ophthalmic Hospital of the Venerable Order of St John on the Bethlehem Road, a kilometre south of the Jaffa Gate of the walled City of Jerusalem. The second is the architect's model of the 'New' Eye Hospital in Nashashibi Street, Sheikh Jarrah, East Jerusalem, which succeeded it.

The 'old' Hospital building has survived. It currently houses the Mount Zion Hotel, but for the 65-year period 1883–1948 it was famous as both the city's leading eye hospital and the bastion in the Holy Land of the Venerable Order.[2]

The scale model of the 'old' Hospital is presently displayed in a glass case in the Museum of the Order at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London (courtesy Museum of the Order of St John).

To help readers appreciate what the model represents, we provide the following background information.

The closure and partial demolition of the Ophthalmic Hospital during World War I

The Hospital was established in temporary quarters in the Old City in November 1882. It occupied premises inside the city a short distance from the Jaffa Gate. By about June 1883 it moved to a property purchased for it on the Bethlehem Road. The building, a former Turkish mansion, fronted the road on its western side; but at the rear, eastern, side it stood high above the Hinnom Valley, facing Mount Zion and the city walls beyond.[3]

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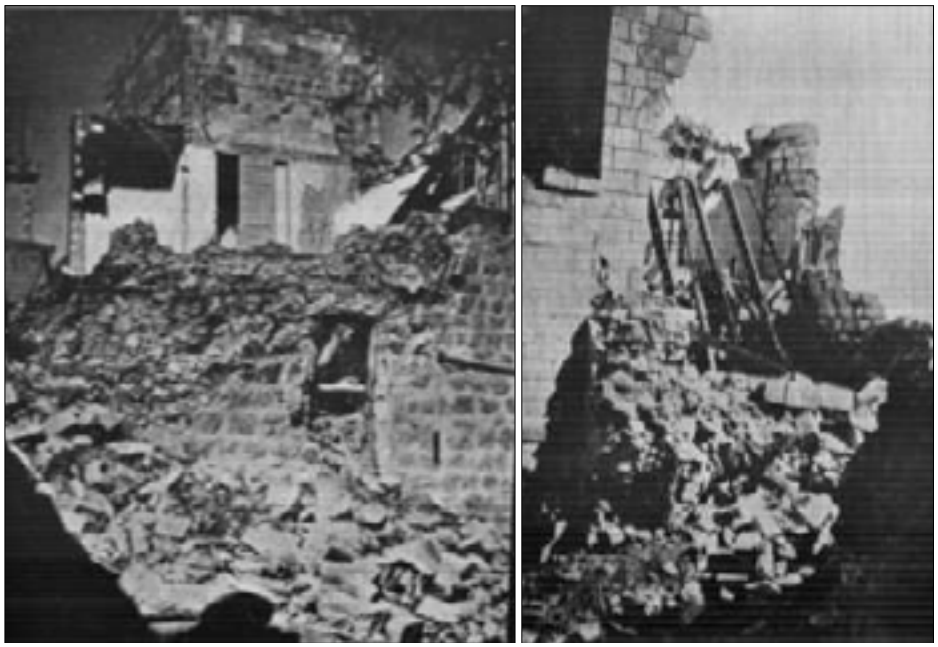
The Hospital offered its sight-saving services to the population of the city and surrounding regions for the next 31 years, until 1914. The services came to an abrupt halt on 25 September 1914, when the Hospital closed in the weeks after the outbreak of World War I.[4]

The closure was necessitated by wartime hostilities between the Ottoman and British Empires. Jerusalem and Palestine were Ottoman provinces; and although relations between the Ottoman authorities and the Hospital had been generally harmonious, the Hospital's management committee in London chose to close it for the duration of the war.[5]



Left: looking up to the Hospital's main entrance from the South-West Wing. The de-roofed South-West Wing. (From the Ophthalmic Hospital's *Annual Report 1919*.)

In December 1914, the Ottoman military forces took over the hospital, then stripped it of its furnishings, supplies and equipment. Thereafter they used the building as a munitions storage depot.[6]

The closure seemed to have become permanent on 8 December 1917. On that day Turkish troops withdrawing from Jerusalem before the British advance attempted to blow up the Hospital. They set in place a series of explosive charges that took all day to detonate and shook the city as they exploded.[7]

The damage was extensive. The main entrance and central section of the building were wrecked, as these photographs indicate.

The reconstruction and reopening

Soon after British forces occupied Jerusalem on 9 December 1917, an energetic rebuilding program began. The restoration proceeded with strong encouragement and support from the British military authorities in Jerusalem.

The reconstruction was conducted so expeditiously that the Hospital was treating out-patients again within a year. The restored Hospital was officially reopened by General Sir Edmund Allenby, the Commander-in-Chief of British Forces in the Middle East, on 26 February 1919.[8]

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A marble plaque commemorating the reopening was subsequently installed in the courtyard of the 'Old' Hospital on the Bethlehem Road. This was damaged in 1948 when the building was shelled during the Arab-Israeli War of 1948. However, it was intact enough to be relocated to the 'New' Hospital in Sheik Jarrah when that opened in 1960. It is currently located within the courtyard there.

The marble plaque currently located in the courtyard of the 'New'Hospital (image: Wikipedia).

The Hospital's recovery under Dr John Calderwood Strathearn

By 1924 the Ophthalmic Hospital had recovered well from the shock of its four-year closure and partial demolition during World War I.

After it reopened, the Hospital's caseload increased dramatically, as this table indicates:

Growth in the Ophthalmic Hospital's caseload, 1920–1924[9]

Year	Inpatients	Outpatients	Consultations	Operations
1920	1,248	8,898	26,001	2,538
1924	1,676	16,225	75,560	4,293
Increase (%)	25.5%	45.2%	65.6%	40.9%

The caseload by 1924 was not only appreciably higher than in 1920, the first full year of post-war activity; it greatly exceeded that of the pre-war years.

The growth may be attributed to various factors.

First among these was the demand for and necessity of the Hospital's sight-saving services in a population which had customarily suffered extremely high rates of infectious eye disease, mainly trachoma and acute conjunctivitis.

Second, the Hospital provided its services free. It took very seriously its charitable ethos and accordingly charged no fees.

Third, although run by a Christian religious order, the Hospital did not proselytise. Unlike some other local Christian charitable institutions, it did not seek to convert its patients to its own religious belief and practice. That made it particularly popular among the Jewish and Muslim communities of Palestine.

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Fourth, the Hospital's London Committee was determined that it should continue, and worked hard to ensure that it could; and the Committee's efforts were generously supported by St John members around the globe.

And, fifth, the influence of the Hospital's head, Lieutenant Colonel (Dr, later Sir) John Calderwood Strathearn (1879–1950), played a part. Dr Strathearn spent a total of 24 years at the Hospital. He first served there as an Assistant Surgeon 1906–1909. He returned as Chief Surgeon in 1919 when the Hospital reopened after its wartime closure. He then remained as its head until his retirement in 1940. From 1921 he filled the new position of Warden, a role combining the duties of head of the medical staff and chief executive officer.

John Calderwood Strathearn as Warden of the Ophthalmic Hospital in 1926. He is wearing his robes as the Warden of the Hospital and an Associate (later called Officer) of the Order of St John. The insignia he displays on his robes were those used by the Order in the period 1888–1926. The large round badge below his neck pendant was a special badge worn by both the Warden and Matron of the Hospital. This is one of the very few known photographs of Dr Strathearn, who seems to have been notoriously camera–shy. It is a detail of a group photograph of members of the Order at the Ophthalmic Hospital, during the Order's 1926 Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. (The portrait was taken from the group photograph by Dr Matthew R. Glozier during his research in December 2019.)

Dr Strathearn remained the dominating influence in the Ophthalmic Hospital's affairs throughout the 1920s and 1930s. He was knighted (Knight Bachelor) in 1936 for his for his services as the Warden and Chief Surgeon and also as the Honorary Consulting Ophthalmic Surgeon to the Government of Palestine.

The scale model of the 'Old' Hospital

A possible earlier tribute to Dr Strathearn was the large scale wooden model of the Hospital pictured at the beginning of this article. As mentioned, the model is now displayed in the Museum of the Order at St John's Gate.

The model was constructed and presented to the Hospital in 1924, five years after Dr Strathearn became Chief Surgeon.

At the time of writing, the provenance of the model is uncertain. One source has it that the model was made and presented *to* Dr Strathearn; another says it was constructed *by* him.

According to the description of the model in the Museum:

> It was made by the Warden of the Eye Hospital in 1924. It can be taken apart to reveal rooms, corridors and staircases inside. On closer inspection, it is possible to see stamps and labels on concealed areas of the model – the Warden used packing boxes and a variety of repurposed wood, as well as sandpaper, to make much of this model.[10]

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The model shows the Hospital complex as it was in 1924, that is before its 'Annexe' was added on the opposite (western) side of the Bethlehem Road in 1930 and the new 'South Block' was constructed in 1940 at the southern end (i.e. at the left in the following photograph of the model).

As seen in this photograph (below), the view of the model is from the Hospital's eastern or Hinnom Valley side, looking west. As the model indicates, the building complex occupied a steep slope between the high frontage on the Bethlehem Road (the rear of the model) and the Hinnom Valley below.

The large wooden scale model of the Hospital as it was in 1924. The model is now on display in the Museum of the Most Venerable Order of St John, St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London. Except for the addition of a new 'South Block' at the left-hand (southern) side of the Hospital, which opened in 1940, the building remained as shown in the model until the Order lost its Bethlehem Road campus during the first Arab-Israeli War in 1948. (Image LDOSJ 2013.79 © Museum of the Order of St John/Matt Spour 2019; used here with the permission of the Museum.)

The model probably remained at the 'Old' Hospital until 1948. In that time it survived the six years of World War II (1939–1945), the partition of Palestine in 1948 and the subsequent first Arab-Israeli War. The Hospital lost its Bethlehem Road campus during the latter war, after Israeli military forces shelled and then occupied the buildings.

At some point the model must have been retrieved after the Order lost the Bethlehem Road campus to the Israelis in 1948. The Hospital subsequently reopened in temporary accommodation in Watson and Strathearn Houses in the Muristan area of the Old City. It remained there until it moved to the new campus in Sheikh Jarrah in 1960.

When the Museum acquired the model is uncertain at this stage; however, what can be said is that the Museum has recently had it renovated and displayed to full advantage. The Museum website tells us this:

> In 2019 the model was carefully conserved. Many decades of dirt needed to be carefully removed. The sandpaper on the model, simulating the dusty surroundings of the hospital, had degraded to such an extent that it was decided to replace it. In addition to this, small shutters and other important details had become detached over many decades. Those which had been carefully collected were able to be reapplied. This was a real puzzle for our conservator, as it was not always evident where they had come from. A few pieces had been lost. Where this had a negative impact on how the model is read, they were replaced. The conservation and display of this model has been made possible through a generous donation from Mr Roy Strasburger OStJ and Mrs Eva Strasburger OStJ.[11]

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The Hospital in 1930, viewed from the Hinnom Valley and showing the Warden's House in the foreground. (Photograph taken by Colonel J.T. Woolrych Perowne, Hospital Committee Secretary, and reproduced in the official history of the Order of St John written by Sir Edwin King and published in 1934.)

St John members everywhere will be pleased with the steps taken by the Museum to conserve and display the model. They will also be grateful to Mr and Mrs Strasburger for having made possible its display.

Accuracy of the model

Contemporary photographs indicate that the model is an accurate representation of the Hospital buildings as they were in the 1920s and 30s. This is seen when the model is compared to the above photograph from 1930.

The photograph was taken from the vicinity of Mount Zion, looking west across the Hinnom Valley to the rear side of the Hospital. The front entrance is on the opposite side of the Hospital, fronting the Bethlehem Road, which runs north-south or from right to left in the photograph.

Visitors to the present-day Mount Zion Hotel would agree that the buildings are still recognisable as those in the 1930 photograph, despite the renovations and extensions that have meanwhile transformed them into a luxury hotel.

The 'Old' Hospital was lost to the Order 73 years ago; and there is little about the present hotel to suggest that it was once an eye hospital. The model, however, reminds the present Hospital Group's supporters of what the Hospital looked like when Dr Strathearn was guiding its destinies during the 1920s and 1930s.

The new Hospital in East Jerusalem (1960)

As a result of the Arab–Israeli War of 1948 the St John Ophthalmic Hospital was lost to the Order of St John. So that it could pursue its care for 'our Lord's sick' in the Holy Land, the Order secured a site on which to build a new hospital, on the Jordanian side of the Jerusalem border in 1952, following many journeys to the Middle East made by Sir Stewart Duke-Elder GCVO, the Order Hospitaller. He had visited Jordan, Lebanon, Kuwait, Qatar,

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Bahrain and Iran to explore the feasibility of coordinating ophthalmic work, and of initiating a program of research into eye disease in the region.[12] Sir Stewart's *Hospitaller Report* for 1954 recorded that the Grand Council asked Mr Frank Law MD FRCS LRCP, a member of the Hospital Committee and Senior Ophthalmic Surgeon at Guy's Hospital, to look into prospective alternative sites.[13] By 1955, Mr Law had identified a potential site in East Jerusalem and His Majesty, King Hussein of Jordan, donated the land on the understanding it would revert to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, if not occupied by the Order of St John Ophthalmic Hospital.[14] British architect, John Simpson, designed the building with the active encouragement of Alfred, the Lord Bossam FRIBA, who sat on the Order's Hospital Committee and declared it should be 'built with a tower as in a Crusader's castle'.[15] It was called the 'New Crusader' architectural style.[16] The Order employed local contractor, Amin Shahin, to construct the edifice based on plans drawn up by Mr John Simpson, who designed the Ophthalmic Hospital building. It was Simpson who created the architect's model of the Hospital that was inspected in London in 1960 by the dignitaries of the Order at its headquarters at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell.

Sir Stewart Duke-Elder was largely responsible for finding the money for the project.[17] He persuaded many of the Middle East oil companies to underwrite the costs. The Grand Hospitaller, Sir Stewart Duke-Elder—the man most responsible for rebuilding the hospital—was a distinguished ophthalmologist, being President of both the Faculty of Ophthalmologists and the Ophthalmological Society of the United Kingdom (from which the College of Ophthalmologists arose). These connections ensured strong moral support from the College of Ophthalmologists, which continued to enjoy a close association with the Ophthalmic Hospital and its 'excellent and essential work', to quote the Deputy Hospitaller, Dr Peter G. Watson, who was also editor of the *Eye* (the chief scholarly ophthalmological journal of the United Kingdom).[18]

Dignitaries of the Order of St John view John Simpson's architectural model of the new Hospital (1960). Left–right: Lord Wakehurst (Lord Prior of the Order of St John); [unknown], [unknown]; Lord Bossam; Sir Frederick Hoare Bt (Lord Mayor of London); John Simpson.[19]

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On the new site in East Jerusalem the Order commissioned a Hospital research laboratory (completed in 1956), and a Warden's house and Sisters' quarters (occupied by late 1958).[20] In Jerusalem in February 1959, the Grand Hospitaller, the Chancellor of the Order and the Secretary of the Ophthalmic Hospital Committee took part in an impressive ceremony to lay two corner–stones for the new Hospital structure. Each stone carried an inscription—one in English, written by the Chancellor; a second, in Arabic, composed by the Hospitaller.

Mr Shahin oversaw the completion of the Hospital building in 1960. Altogether it cost the Order £325,000 (equivalent to £7.5 in current values).[21] Prior to its completion, the Order's humanitarian work continued being carried out in temporary quarters in the adjacent Watson and Strathearn Houses in the Old City of Jerusalem.[22] Hailed as a 'bridge for peace in a world at war', the Ophthalmic Hospital is located in Nashashibi Street in the Sheikh Jarrah quarter of East Jerusalem, an Arab neighbourhood (the political status of which is still hotly contested), and on the slopes of Mount Scopus. By a happy coincidence, Saladin's physician, Emir Hussam, received the title 'jarrah' (جراح), meaning 'healer' or 'surgeon' in Arabic. It soon came to serve as the main centre for specialised eye care for the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, all in Jordanian territory until 1967.[23] In the words of Sir Stewart Duke-Elder:

> Few hospitals in the world can trace a history that goes back thirteen and a half centuries … in 1960 the present modern hospital was built and is coping with 183,000 patients a year. The hospital is staffed by a large number of Arab nurses, British Sisters, and Surgeons from Britain and the United State of America, and is the only special hospital devoted to ophthalmology in the Middle East.[24]

Within the entrance, there is a plaque, commemorating the opening.

Left: John Simpson ARIBA MRSanI, designed the Ophthalmic Hospital building.[25] Right: local contractor, Amin Shahin, built the Hospital structure.[26]

The ceremonial opening of the impressive new Ophthalmic Hospital building occurred on 11 October 1960. Over 100 members of the Order flew into Jerusalem to attend the special even, while over a thousand chairs were arranged to accommodate guests local and international.[27] In the words of the Australian Priory Chancellor, Colonel Sir George Grafton Lees Stening ED MB FRCS, the Hospital represented 'an important landmark in the long history of the hospitals of the Order'.[28] Architecturally, it referenced the castles of the crusading era, while internally it included a modern medical research unit. It was located just outside the walled city, meaning it was close to the 1948 'no–go' zone between Jordan and Israel.

The Hospital cost £326,000 to build. The approval of the Arabic world was evident in the fact that His Majesty, King Hussein of Jordan, (unable to attend personally) sent his Minister

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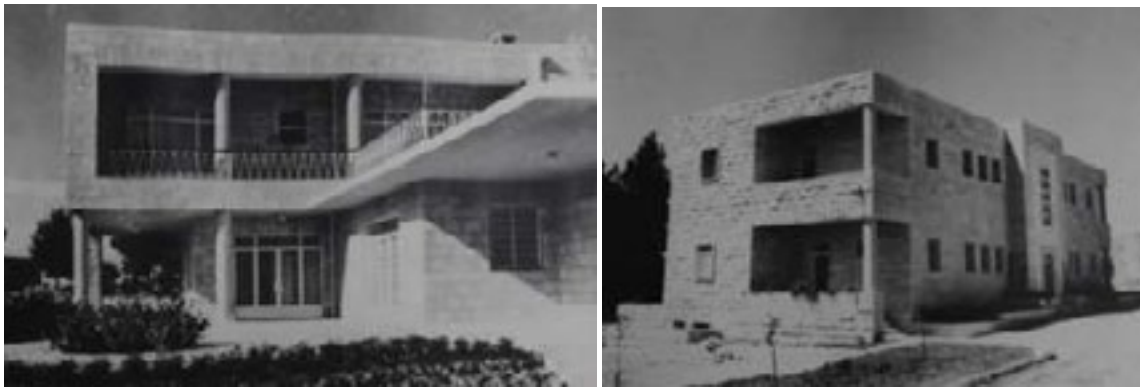

The Warden's House and Nursing Sisters' Home (1960).[29]

for Health in Jordan, Dr Jamil F. Tutunji MD, as his representative to the opening. The King of Jordan was a friend of the Order of St John and had lent his cooperation to the hospital project from the beginning.[30] The Lord Prior, The Lord Wakehurst KG KCMG, handed Dr Tutunji the key to the Hospital on a velvet cushion and the Jordanian Health Minister opened the doors. The magnitude of the event was evident in the prominence of the attendees, who included the Mayor of Jerusalem, Mordechai Ish-Shalom, and many heads of Church and State.[31]

The St John Ophthalmic Hospital at the time of opening (1960).[32]

In the words of the Hospitaller, Sir Stewart Duke-Elder: 'The year 1960 saw the fulfilment of one of the most important projects of the Order of St John'.[33] The project fired the enthusiasm of members of the Order of St John from around the Commonwealth. For example, the Australian Priory sent Dr Frances McKay OBE MB, the Chief Superintendent (Nursing) of the St John Ambulance Brigade in Australia.[34] She was present at the opening as the representative of the Australian Priory and wrote home in glowing terms that reflect the magnitude of the Order's achievement in sustaining its positive medical care impact in the heart of the mediaeval birth-place of the Knights Hospitaller:

> It was most heart–warming to be there for the opening of this splendid new amenity of the Order in almost exactly the same place as the Order had its inception 861 years ago.[35]

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Dr McKay's presence (and her high opinion of the hospital) helped cement the resolve of Australian members of St John Ambulance to lend their ongoing support and encouragement to this important humanitarian project of the Order. Similar reactions occurred in other Priories—notably Canada and New Zealand. Miss Margaret MacLaren, Superintendent-in-Chief of the Canadian St John Ambulance Brigade, attended the opening.[36] These accolades reinforce the sad truth that a prominent absence from the opening ceremony in 1960 was the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, the direct heir to the mediaeval hospitaller tradition. Another three years had to pass before a rapprochement occurred between the Most Venerable Order of St John and the Catholic Order of Malta; but from 1963 onwards the positive cooperation between the two distinguished Orders grew apace.[37]

As soon as he could, His Majesty, King Hussein of Jordan, visited the new Hospital. He was accommodated in the Warden's House and, the next morning, inspected every department of the Hospital and conducted an investiture on the premises.[38]

His Majesty King Hussein (1935–1999), Ruler of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (1960).[39]

The Hospital's outstanding record of effective care was already well renowned and the Order of St John could claim, with justice, that its Hospitaller activity in the Holy Land possessed a reputation as one of the foremost ophthalmological achievements in the world.[41] The significance of the humanitarian mission of the Order, and the fact of its beneficence in Jerusalem in the form of its Ophthalmic Hospital, continues to resonate with modern observers of all faiths. In the words of one Jewish–American writer:

> It is thus that the fighting monks of crusader days who were driven out of Jerusalem almost eight centuries ago are remembered today in the Holy City of their origin by an impressive memorial inscription in the Muristan and by a hospital for the treatment of eye diseases. After all their glories on the battlefield and their worldwide fame … their memory will, in all probability, endure. Jerusalem does not forget those whomade history within its walls.[42]

Local nurse, Loretta Nafal, with a Bedouin child patient (1965).[40]

For decades, this reputation had been drawing funding from a variety of philanthropic groups. Various facilities and equipment at the new Hospital were endowed by the Clothworkers' Company and the Masonic Order of Knights Templar. The latter group had been involved with the Hospital since the 1920s; now they supplied the furniture and equipment for the operating theatre suite at the new Hospital, leading the Committee to 'very much hope that any member of the Masonic Order who visits Jerusalem will make a point of seeing the practical results of their donations'.[43] Members continue to visit to this day.

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Demand for the new Hospital was high. On the very day of its opening, the Hospital treated outpatients in the Cloisters.[44] In 1960, the operating budget for the temporary clinics in Jerusalem was £36,000. The projected budget for activity in the new building going into 1962 was £54,600. One unlikely contributor to the higher costing was the fact that the new Hospital had electric lighting, whereas the previous structures in the Old City of Jerusalem had been illuminated by oil lamps. The disposal of Watson House and Strathearn House was designed, in part, to offset the higher operating costs of the new Hospital. Unfortunately, it was impossible to sell Watson House, due to the nature of the bequest by which it had been given to the Order. The money from the sale of Strathearn House went to the Order, adding much–needed cash for the Hospital budget.[45] In 1964, the Order sold the original Hospital building on Mount Zion.[46]

HM Queen Elizabeth II inspects the scale model of the Eye Hospital (created in 1986 by its original architect, John Simpson), in company with Rod Bull, Tony Mattar, HRH Prince Phillip, and Lord Vestey. St John of Jerusalem Eye Hospital Patron Reception (March 2008).[47]

In 1986, Mr John Simpson, the original architect of the St John of Jerusalem Ophthalmic Hospital in Sheikh Jarrah, created a scale model of the structure. It was smaller than his original architectural model, but the new version contained more extensive coverage of the Hospital grounds and surrounding neighbourhood. Mr Simpson donated the model to the Order of St John, which used it to advertise the merits of the Hospital.

The Order's Hospitaller at this time, Sir Stephen Miller, took the new scale model to America in order to enthuse the American Association of the Order of St John to continue its outstanding record of support for the Eye Hospital. The model was later placed on permanent display at the Order's administrative headquarters in London, at 1 Grosvenor Place.[48] It is now part of the Collection of the Museum of the Order of St John.

In London, a notable highlight of 2008 was The Chairman's Reception. Prior to stepping down as Chairman and becoming Patron of the Eye Hospital charity, The Lord Vestey hosted a function at St John's Gate in London, in March 2008. The event was attended by

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Her Majesty The Queen in her capacity as Sovereign Head of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem.

Other guests included His Royal Highness, Prince Philip, and Their Royal Highnesses, The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester.49 A suitable focus of attention on the night was Mr Simpson's scale model of the Eye Hospital.

Silver desk model of the Eye Hospital

A small model of the Eye Hospital, cast in metal, sits atop a coffee table in the office of the CEO of the St John of Jerusalem Eye Hospital Group. The office is located on the first floor of the Hospital's tower.

Small silver-toned model of the Eye Hospital, cast in metal. Measuring approximately 300 mm x 150 mm the model sits atop a marble base. Photographs kindly provided by Dr Ahmad Ma'ali, CEO of the St John of Jerusalem Eye Hospital Group, and Dania J. Omari, Personal Assistant to the CEO.

The model appears to have some age, but at the present time no-one knows when it was made, by whom or why. It lacks the architectural precision of Mr Simpson's models, but it is an accurate rendition of the Eye Hospital structure. Of special note is the prominent signage above the main patients' entrance, which says 'St John Eye Hospital' in English, followed by the same in Arabic – mustashfaa sanat jun lileuyun.

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Notes

1. With Professor John Pearn GCStJ, Dr Matthew Glozier OStJ, FRHistS, FSAScot and Dr Ian Howie-Willis KStJ, FRHistS are the co-authors of *A Beacon of Hope: The St John of Jerusalem Eye Hospital Group – 140 years of eye care in Palestine & Israel, 1882–2022*, the Hospital Group's official history. This book will be released during 2022.
2. The formal street address of the Mount Zion Hotel is 17 Hebron Road, Jerusalem 93546, Israel.
3. The Ophthalmic Hospital's development over the period 1882–1914 is charted in the annual reports of the Hospital's London-based Committee.
4. See *Annual Report* of the Hospital Committee, 1915, p. 5.
5. See *Annual Report* of the Chapter-General of the Venerable Order of St John, 1919, pp. 25-27.
6. Ibid.
7. The attempted Turkish destruction of the Ophthalmic Hospital is graphically described in the Hospital Committee's 1919 *Annual Report*, pp. 3–6.
8. The restoration program is outlined in the Hospital Committee's 1919 *Annual Report*, pp. 3–6.
9. The patient and treatment statistics are from the Hospital Committee's 1920 and 1924 annual reports.
10. The quotation is from the item description, 'A Model of the St John Eye Hospital' under the 'Collections' menu of the Museum website, http://museumstjohn.org.uk/collections/.
11. Ibid.
12. Australian Priory of the Order of St John, *Annual Report* (1960), p. 23 [hereafter AR Australian Priory].
13. *The New Ophthalmic Hospital for the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, at Jerusalem, October 1960: special Record of kits Production for the Lord Wakehurst KCMG, Lord Prior*, unpag.: Ophthalmic Hospital Records, St John's Gate, Box 24, bound MS [hereafter OHR SJG].
14. James Glaze, Deputy Secretary-General, to Sir Colin Imray, 8 May 1996: OHR SJG, Box 22, Buff folder: Hospital—General Correspondence 1996– , No. 122.
15. Sir Stephen J.H. Miller, *Ten Years as Hospitaller: The Ophthalmic Hospital in Jerusalem, 1981–1990* (London: Grand Priory of the Order of St John, 1990), p. 9.
16. J.G. O'Shea, 'A history of the St John Ophthalmic Hospital, Jerusalem', *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, Vol. 27 (1997), pp. 603–610 (607).
17. The Most Venerable Order of St John, *The Ophthalmic Hospital, Jerusalem* (London: Order of St John, 1966), in *Nurse Rosetta Clark and The Order of St John Ophthalmic Hospital, Jerusalem: Photographs from her personal collection, 1965–1967*, compiled by Brad Colley (2019), p. 7.
18. Sir Stephen Miller, 'The Knights of St John', *Eye*, Vol. 2 (Pt 5) (1988), pp. 455, 462.
19. *The New Ophthalmic Hospital for the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem at Jerusalem (October 1960)*, Special Record of its Production for The Lord Wakehurst KCMG, Lord Prior: OHR SJG, Box 24.
20. Alice Boase, *We Reach The Promised Land: A British couple's association with the world–famous St John of Jerusalem Eye Hospital, 1956–1969*, ed. Margaret Knowlden (Glebe NSW: Breakout Design & Print, 2003), p. 36.
21. The Ophthalmic Hospital in Jerusalem: A Landmark in the Middle East', *The Review of the Order of St John*, Vol. 33, No. 7 (September 1960), p. 13.
22. AR Australian Priory 1959, p. 23.
23. Nava Blum and Elizabeth Fee, 'The St John Eye Hospital: A Bridge for Peace', *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 32–33 @ https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih. gov/pmc/articles/PMC2636602/(accessed 10 June 2019).
24. The Order of St John: Priory in New Zealand, *Annual Report* (1968), p. 18 [hereafter AR NZ Priory].
25. *Nurse Rosetta Clark*, comp. Colley, p. 7.
26. Ibid.
27. A full account of the event in contained in 'New Ophthalmic Hospital Opened: A Proud Achievement for Humanity', *The Review of the Order of St John*, Vol. 33, No. 10 (December 1960), pp. 1–9 (2–3).
28. AR Australian Priory 1960, p. 22.
29. *The New Ophthalmic Hospital*, Special Record for Lord Wakehurst: OHR SJG, Box 24.
30. Hospitaller's Report: St John of Jerusalem Ophthalmic Hospital, *Annual Report* (1960), p.15 [hereafter AR SJJOH].
31. AR Australian Priory 1960, p. 22.
32. Christmas card offering greetings from the Order of St John: OHR SJG, Box 14.
33. Hospitaller's Report: AR SJJOH 1960, p.15.
34. *54th Annual Report: St John Ambulance Brigade Australia* (1956), p. 6.

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35. Ian Howie–Willis, *A Century for Australia: St John Ambulance in Australia, 1883–1983* (Canberra: Priory of the Order of St John in Australia, 1983), p. 431.
36. 'Ophthalmic Hospital Report: Seeing is believing', *St John in Canada Today: official publication of St John Ambulance in Canada* (Autumn 2003), p. 6.
37. 'As late as 1960 the Grand Magistry in Rome tried to prevent its Delegate for the Middle East from attending the opening of the Venerable Order's restored ophthalmic hospital in Jerusalem': Eric Vandenbroeck, 'The foundations of the National Associations of the Order in England and Germany' @ http://www.world-news-research.com/MaltaOrderEngland Germany.html (accessed 30 May 2020).
38. O'Shea, 'A history of the St John Ophthalmic Hospital', p. 607.
39. *Nurse Rosetta Clark*, comp. Colley, p. 3.
40. Ibid., p. 13.
41. Howie–Willis, *A Century for Australia*, p. 431.
42. Abraham Ezra Millgram, *Jerusalem Curiosities* (Philadelphia/New York: Edward E. Elson and the Jewish Publication Society, 1990), p. 34.
43. Warden's Report: AR SJJOH 1960, p. 20.
44. Hospitaller's Report: AR SJJOH 1960, p.16. 45 Miller, *Ten Years as Hospitaller*, pp. 9–10. 46 Hospitaller's Report: AR SJJOH 1964, p.14.
45. 'Happy 90th Birthday Queen Elizabeth II' (10 June 2016) @ https://www. stjohninternational.org/news/happy–90th–birthday–queen–elizabeth–ii (accessed 10 June 2019).
46. Sir Stephen J.H. Miller, *Ten Years as Hospitaller: The Ophthalmic Hospital in Jerusalem, 1981–1990* (London: Grand Priory of the Order of St John, 1990), p. 38.
47. AR SJJEH 2008, p. 3; Anthony Chignell, *The St John of Jerusalem Eye Hospital: A Personal Account of the years 2002 to 2008* (London: The Order of St John, October 2008), p. 5.

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The British railway ambulance movement 1879–1948.

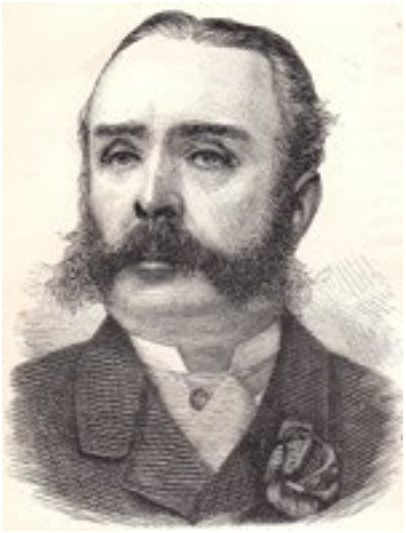
Alan J Sharkey MBE CStJ TD

The railways provided the backbone of the 'brigaded' ambulance movement in 1887. The part played by the railways in the development of the ambulance movement in the latter part of Queen Victoria's reign is greatly underestimated. A class for 40 railwaymen of the Great Western Railway (GWR) was started at Paddington Station on 13 April 1878, predating classes for the police.[1] The Great Eastern Railway (GER) established first aid classes and started to form railway ambulance corps by 1879.

In the late 19th Century the rapid development of the railways and industry, the plentiful supply of labour and scant regard for 'health and safety', led to many accidents and deaths on the railways. This workplace alone saw more than 1,000 deaths and 10,000 injuries annually. The period coincided with the burgeoning ambulance or 'aid to the injured' movement. The railways were quick to realise that for comparatively little outlay they could utilise the volunteer spirit of their staff by encouraging the ambulance movement on the railways. Railwaymen were encouraged with awards of certificates, medals and badges. Often handsome prizes or cash were rewards for success in ambulance competitions. There were other incentives: extra holidays, travel concessions, social gatherings, etc. In any event, the railways played a major part in the development of the popular Victorian ambulance movement, and in turn, the development of St John Ambulance in particular.

The efforts of the North Eastern Railway (NER) to provide assistance to injured railwaymen probably preceded the formation of the St John Ambulance Association (the Association) in 1877.

On Tuesday 14 January 1879, Major Francis Duncan, Director of the Order of St John's Ambulance Department visited the district of Sunderland to promote the cause of the new 'Aid to the Injured Movement'. He addressed a large audience at the Albert Hall in Sunderland to promote the new ambulance movement. Major Duncan told his audience that he had visited the NER South Dock earlier that day where an ambulance system had been in work for some years. He had been conveyed on the accident engine from the dock to the accident ward of the infirmary in 7 minutes. He admiringly noted that when the accident whistle sounded, everyone rushed to prepare the way for the accident engine, showing the regard these men felt for each another.



Francis Duncan, Director of the Ambulance Department 1877–1888.

Major Duncan urged that the addition of instructions on bandaging wounds, arresting haemorrhage and other useful procedures to the exisiting ambulance system,

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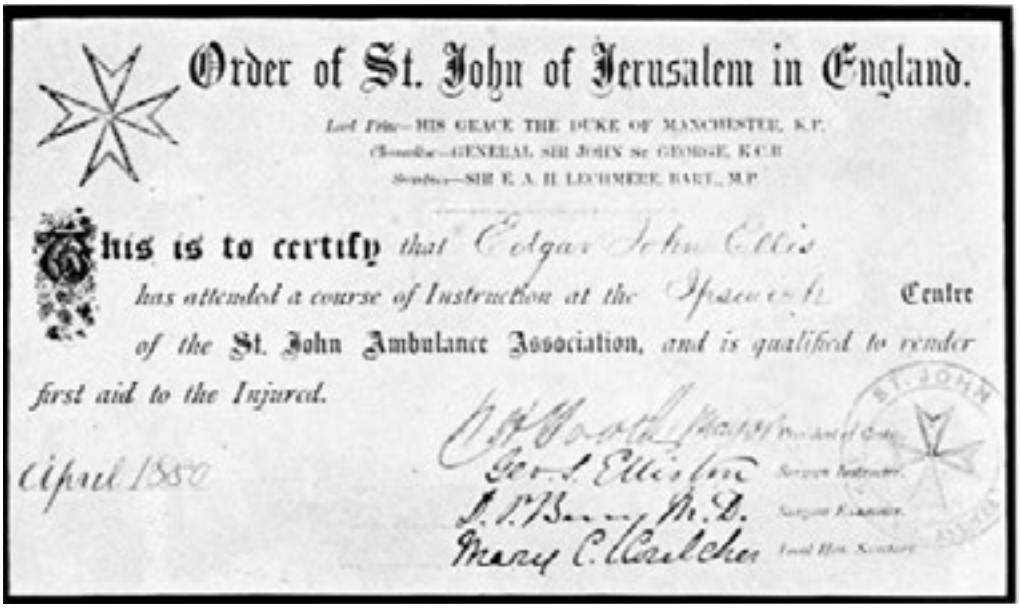
would see the percentage of deaths and serious results largely reduced. He pointed out that over the past year, 44 people had been conveyed to the infirmary on the accident engine, and that the sufferings of these men might have been materially alleviated if their first aiders had the described instructions—valuable to railwaymen, miners, policemen and others. Major Duncan then demonstrated aid for the injured with the assistance of the 'Life Brigade' members. By the end of the meeting, a resolution passed to begin a branch of the St John Ambulance Association in Sunderland.[2]

The example given by Major Duncan of the use of the NER's accident engine is the earliest known example of a formal ambulance system in place on the railway system.


Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

Lord Prior—HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P.

Chancellor—GENERAL SIR JOHN ST GEORGE, K.C.B.

Secretary—SIR E. A. H. LECHMERE, BART., M.P.

This is to certify that Edgar John Ellis has attended a course of Instruction at the Ipswich Centre of the St. John Ambulance Association, and is qualified to render first aid to the Injured.

April 1880

Geo. J. Elliston

J. T[illegible] M.D.

Mary C. Leatcher

The earliest known railway first aid certificate dated 1880.[3]

In June 1879 Major Duncan returned to Sunderland to present certificates to the successful candidates from the first classes. These included eight successful participants from a class of 40 from the NER—this did not signify a high failure rate but that many of the class did not (on this occasion) present themselves for examination![4] Sadly the names of those eight first aid pioneers are not known. However, on 18 August 1879, William Thompson, whilst in the employment of the NER, had his leg broken by a falling sleeper. He was immediately pounced upon 'by some men on the spot who had received lessons in the ambulance classes'. The ambulance litter was 'procured at the Monkwearmouth Dispensary, and the poor man was carried to the infirmary with a great saving of pain'.[5]

The NER directors decided in January 1884 (three and a half years before the formation of the uniformed St John Ambulance Brigade) to form the St John Ambulance Corps 'at all the more important places on their system' including York, Newcastle, Darlington, Leeds, Hull, Durham, Scarborough, Stockton, Sunderland, and the Hartlepools.[6] On 1 July 1890 the Company agreed to pay 5 shillings per head (about a day's pay) for the ambulance instruction of their employees. They also formed the York NER Centre of the Association for organising ambulance work throughout their whole system.[7]

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St John Ambulance Association

From the first class at Paddington in 1879, for some 100 years, the railways invariably arranged first aid training through the St John Ambulance Association (or the St Andrew's Ambulance Association in Scotland). Initially, training was organised with local centres and even exclusively for the local railway company, or shared by several companies. On 28 January 1879, Francis Duncan and John Furley, Director and Assistant Director of the Association, attended a meeting of the Board of Directors of the London and North Western Railway (LNWR) at Rugby 'with a view to arranging for the instruction of railway servants in first aid'.[8] The *Manchester Evening News* reported the event under the title 'Aid to the Injured':

> On Tuesday an ambulance centre, for the instruction of the railway employees in the first aid treatment of the injured, was opened at Rugby station, by permission of the directors of the London and North Western Railway. Dr Bucknill and Dr Simpson, the local medical advisers of the company, have consented to instruct the classes, in accordance with the prescribed Syllabus of the Order of St John, and the pupils will be examined by one of the London surgeons, acting for the central committee. Major F. Duncan, RA, and Mr J. Furley explained to the men the object of the movement.[9]

The presentation of certificates for the Rugby course took place on Wednesday 19 March 1879. Of the 40 students, 36 turned up for the examination and all passed.[10] Major Duncan returned to Rugby for the presentations, accompanied by Mr Herbert Page, the Company's consulting surgeon at Euston, who conducted the examinations:


The Grand Priory of
The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England.
The St. John Ambulance Association.
HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.
FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT, K.G.
This is to certify that Henry D. Thomas has attended a course of Instruction under the London and North Western Railway Centre of the St. John Ambulance Association, at Bangor and is qualified to render "First Aid to the Injured."
President of Centre.
Surgeon Instructor.
Surgeon Examiner.
Centre Secretary.
St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell,
London, E.C. April 1913

A London and North Western Railway customised certificate from 1913 (author's collection).

Major Duncan addressed the men, thanking Dr Simpson on behalf of the Association for giving the lectures, and complimenting him on the results. He congratulated the candidates on the success they had gained, and said that after such a good issue he had no doubt the LNWR would allow the Association to hold classes at all the large stations on the line.

The Association's Ipswich Centre was established in January 1880 by Mary Caroline Coulcher[11] in response to the need for a course for the GER staff in Ipswich. Dr (later Colonel) George Elliston[12] and Mary Coulcher's signatures appear on the first certificates as Honorary Secretary and Surgeon Instructor, respectively.[13]

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Another course was delivered in June 1881 with 54 men passing the examination and many more given instruction. The early courses were funded by the Ipswich Association Centre, from donations received. Mary Coulcher explained in a letter to the *Ipswich Journal* in March 1888 that the donations had been sufficient to meet the costs of both courses and also provided a balance paid to the central Association 'which they always expect'. The purpose of her letter was to generate further funds for a new course requested by the Ipswich GER Superintendent.[14]

In a letter to the local press in 1909[15] Miss Coulcher said:

> For many years the Centre instructed the GER employees of Ipswich until the GER formed their own Centre at Stratford in 1891.[16] The first railway class in England was held at Ipswich in 1880 paid for by subscription and instructed free by Colonel Elliston.[17]

By June 1882 local centres for the railways had been established by the GER at Kings Cross and Doncaster; the LNWR at Crewe and Lancaster; London and South Western Railway (LSWR) at Nine Elms, and Midland Railway (MR) at St Pancras.[18]

In February 1882, a course for 80 men of the locomotive and traffic departments of the NER was conducted at the Britannia Coffee Tavern in Crewe by Dr Lapage from Nantwich. The LNWR provided each pupil with a bandage, anatomical diagram, aide memoire and Peter Shepherd's manual, *First Aid to the Injured*.[19]

On Sunday 23 September 1883, Surgeon Major George Hutton arrived in Wigan to examine a joint class from LNWR and the Tramways Company.[20] Surgeon Major Hutton reminded the class that in 1,149 persons were killed on the railways and 8,676 were injured in 1881.

Famous for his ambulance crusades in the north of England and the Midlands on behalf of the Order of St John, Surgeon Major Hutton recalled the visit to Wigan in his reminiscences.[21] Whilst in Wigan he visited the infirmary and met a boy of sixteen years-of-age, a member of the LNWR ambulance class, who had suffered a very serious accident on the railway. During the visit, a railway man was brought in whose leg was nearly cut off at the knee, hanging only by a piece of skin and flesh. Pressure was applied at the knee, stopping the bleeding. The casualty was transported following rules taught at the class, under the guidance of Station Master Taberner[22] who was one of the successful candidates from the 1883 class.

On 4 January 1884, Surgeon Major Hutton returned to Wigan for the presentation of 460 certificates to men and 65 to women, including Station Master Taberner and others from the LNWR, gained since the formation of the Wigan Centre of the Association. He said 'in all probability they would not have long to wait before an occasion might occur for putting it into practice'.

Sadly, the LNWR men and women had to wait only two days! On 6 January 1884 on the LNW railway, near Coppull Station between Wigan and Preston, while preparing demolition of the bridge crossing the line, the construction fell upon the men working beneath, killing the inspector and six men, and injuring many more of the railway employees.[23] In writing to the press, Surgeon Major Hutton said:

> The excellent system of the St. John Ambulance Association was conspicuously serviceable. Mr Tongue (the assistant district superintendent), Mr Taberner (the Wigan stationmaster), and several of those actively assisting, are holders of the certificates of the association, and directing those who were not so qualified to render first aid in carrying and lifting the injured and utilising the litters and stretchers of the Wigan centre, they repeatedly elicited very hearty praise from the surgeons.

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Until 1895 all recognised classes were conducted either through local Association branches or, where a branch had not been formed, through detached classes supervised directly by the headquarters of the Association at St John's Gate. The structured organisation of first aid service on all the large railways, led the railway companies and the Association to think that there might be some benefit in the railways administering their own classes under the rules of the Association. The NER established the first railway centre on 1 November 1895, followed by the GWR on 14 March 1896, and the GER on 26 November 1896. Another 15 railway companies followed over the period 1897 to 1916.

When the NER Centre was established, a circular was issued by General Manager George Stegmann Gibb (later Sir George) sanctioning 'the wearing of ambulance badges by those who obtained the certificate of the Association'.[24] The NER Centre required all ambulance classes on its system to be run under its authority, and accepted responsibility for expenses. Within two years the NER Centre had 2,050 staff with the Association certificate and 170 stations equipped with ambulance material.

Always in the forefront of ambulance work, the GER was the first railway, in February 1904, to initiate first aid classes for the women 'employed in the service of the Company'. However, as was the case with all classes until well after World War 2, the women's classes were conducted separately from the men!

On passing the first aid examination, railway men received the St John Ambulance Association certificate. After 1895 the railways started to produce their own version of the certificate, identical to the 'public' certificate but with the printed name of the railway. Examples include a LNWR certificate to Joseph Turner dated January 1923, and a London–Midlands–Scottish Railway (LMSR) re-examination 'voucher' to the same man, dated December 1923. HRH Princess Helena (daughter of Queen Victoria), a Lady of Justice of the Order of St John and first Chairman of the GWR Ambulance Centre is said to have personally signed upwards of 20,000 certificates awarded to GWR ambulance workers until her death in 1923.[25] The earliest example is dated May 1911. After Princess Helena's death, the GWR produced its own customised certificate, the first one dated July 1924.

All the railway companies provided the St John Ambulance Association medallion to ambulance men who passed their third first aid examination and, from inception in 1905, annual year 'labels' for subsequent re-examinations. These medallions, with one exception, included the name of the recipient and a number allocated consecutively as the medallions were issued. The same number appeared on subsequent annual labels until World War 2. Numbers were discontinued on English medallions in 1960, and names and dates in 1964. England discontinued labels after 1963. The Priory for Wales issued its own design of named and numbered medallion from 1919 to 1970, and labels to 1967.

The Great Central Railway issued medallions in hallmarked silver from 1906 and added its own number to the standard Association number, with the prefix 'GCR'. Examples have been seen from 1906 (GCR [number] 162) to 1931 (GCR [number] 2549), substantially overlapping the grouping* of the GCR into the London, Midland and Scottish Railway. The 1906 example relates to medallion, number 22011 first gained in 1890. In 1906 the GCR issued new silver medallions to those railwaymen who previously received bronze medallions.

* The term 'grouping' and 'pre-' and 'post'-grouping is used in this essay, and refers to the merging of railway companies under the *Railways Act 1921*. (Wikipedia)

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A hallmarked silver medallion with both SJAA number and GCR number. Issued in 1925, this overlapped the grouping of 1923 (author's collection).

Ambulance Corps

The term 'ambulance class' or 'ambulance corps' was used to describe those men who had completed a course of instruction with the railway and were then available for ambulance work. They often met together to practice or to compete in first aid competitions. Sometimes they formed uniformed railway divisions of the St John Ambulance Brigade (the Brigade).

The GER formed ambulance corps units as early as 1879 following discussions between Massey Bromley, the Company's Locomotive Superintendent, and John Furley. The first unit was formed at Stratford in 1879 and took its place in the Metropolitan Corps of the Brigade, founded in 1887. In 1890 Chief Superintendent of the Brigade, William Church-Brasier, referred to the Stratford division as 'one of the strongest and best of the Metropolitan Corps'. Stratford was the strongest of 10 divisions that comprised the Metropolitan Corps, which included two other railway divisions; the others were the MR St Pancras (No. 1 Passenger) and St Pancras (No. 2 Goods).[26]

In June 1887, 40 members of the GER Ambulance Corps at Thorpe (Norwich) were presented with their certificates for examinations held on 13 and 20 April 1887. The *Norwich Mercury* said 'the whole of the 40 candidates passed, and have joined the Corps, who will now have a drill once every three weeks while rules for their guidance are supplied to each member'.[27] During the presentation, Mr Edwards, Honorary Secretary of the GER Centre, referred to a fatal accident which befell a porter:

> … which might have been prevented had his companions possessed sufficient elementary knowledge of setting a limb; as it was, the poor fellow really bled to death. One member of the class was present, but unfortunately he had been on the sick list, and had missed the lecture giving instructions as to how to treat fractures.

At the presentation of prizes to the Stratford men in 1890, Alfred Hill and Alex P. Parker[28] were presented with the 'gold' medallion of the Association. The medallion was proposed by the members, in recognition of Hill and Parker's first aid competence and the services rendered by them to the first aid movement. The medallion was issued in bronze but could be supplied in silver or gold if the costs were met. Needless to say, very few were supplied in gold.

George Gibb, GER General Manager, reorganised the railway's first aid provision in 1891. He instituted the GER Ambulance Corps of the Brigade for railwaymen trained and certificated

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by the Association. Gibb established ambulance classes throughout the line, agreeing to defray all expenses. Classes were subsequently formed at Bishopsgate, Cambridge, Fenchurch Street, Lynn, Liverpool Street, Lowestoft, Lynn, March, Norwich (Victoria and Thorpe), Parkeston, Peterborough and Yarmouth, with divisions of the Brigade being formed for the men who qualified at these locations. The Stratford men who were already members of the Brigade, transferred from the Metropolitan Corps to the new GER Ambulance Corps. A new division was formed at March in Cambridgeshire. The first man to sign the roll was shed foreman, Charles Crisp. He and other founder-members, Samuel Beales, Frederick Brundell and William Webb, were still serving with the March Brigade in 1915. Ipswich GER men were also active Brigade members of the divisions that formed the Ipswich Corps and largely transferred to the new Ipswich Division of the GER Corps. A few men remained with the local division.

The GER ambulance classes continued to be held under the auspices of local branches of the Association for the payment of one shilling for each man—a cost the GER defrayed. Every man who joined the classes received a book and an illustrated triangular bandage that cost the GER one shilling and sixpence. The GER also had to defray the cost of instructors (some may not have charged), and the London-appointed examiners who charged one guinea per class, including ten shillings for incidental expenses.

There was a substantial difference in numbers between the men who enrolled for classes and those who eventually qualified. This was largely due to the long hours and changing shifts worked by the railwaymen. In Cambridge, 145 men paid their shilling for a book and a bandage but just 121 attended the first lecture early in 1891. Of the 121 men, 72 got as far as four lectures out of five, and 63 were eligible to be examined from which 59 were successful. Nevertheless, the arrangements put in place by George Gibb were a huge success. In the first six months of 1891, 14 divisions of the Brigade's GER Ambulance Corps were establised with 484 new members successfully examined from classes at those locations. These included 59 at Cambridge (the largest), 52 at Ipswich, 33 at March, and 15 at Bishopsgate.

Mary Coulcher commented on the new arrangements in May 1892 when she said that the GER produced the largest number of certificates in Ipswich, and where the town once paid the company now did.

By 1894 the Brigade's GER Corps had grown to 25 divisions of 856 men of which 69 had received the medallion of the Association for passing their third examination.

A conference of the medical and ambulance officers of the GER Corps took place at Northampton on 9 March 1895. 'The burning question … was whether the drill laid down in the Brigade Drill Manual … should be compulsory on all corps and divisions, and our answer was definitely and emphatically in the negative'.[29] The strength of the Corps at that time was 825 officers and men across 25 divisions of the GER Corps of the Brigade.

By 1911, the 20th year of the GER Corps, 2,919 men had gained certificates. There were 48 divisions of the Brigade's GER Corps by 1912.

In 1912, after 21 years, the GER Ambulance Corps disbanded and the GER divisions returned to direct management by the Brigade. Colonel Elliston, the Deputy Commissioner in charge of the Brigade's Central and Eastern District (and who conducted the first GER course to be examined in Ipswich in 1880), returned to Ipswich in 1912 to present certificates, medallions and labels to the GER Corp railwaymen. Colonel Elliston warmly welcomed the GER men

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to the Brigade's Ipswich Corps, and 'spoke of the many advantages they would derive, and thanked all those who had been instrumental in bringing about the change'.[30]

On 20 February 1920, the South Eastern and Chatham Railway formed a complete district of the Brigade. One of twelve districts, No. XI (South Eastern and Chatham Railway) District was established by Ernest Richards who became its Commissioner. The District adopted the number 11 shoulder title vacated by the formation of the Priory for Wales in 1918. The District, renamed No. XI (Southern Railway) District on the grouping of the railway companies in 1923, was discontinued on 31 December 1928, the divisions being transferred largely to No. VIII District, with some to numbers I and II. Mr Richards was appointed Commissioner of No. VIII District.

First aid sleeve badge

All railways invariably issued a badge for wear on police or railway uniform by those staff who passed the Association examination. The Great Western and Great Northern railways introduced badges on 1 July 1890. The badge was given official approval on the North Eastern Railway when General Manager George Stegmann Gibb informed all staff on 1 November 1895 sanctioning 'the wearing of ambulance badges by those who obtained the certificate of the Association'.[31]

Sleeve badges were often of a generic design as used in the mines and quarries, by the police and other men from industry trained by the St John Ambulance Association. Sometime a scroll was fixed to the badge identifying the railway or industry that provided the training. Later most railways issued their own badges, usually incorporating the badge of the Order of St John or the Association. Lapel badges were issued to railway workers who did not wear a uniform. This practice continued until the privatisation of British Rail in the 1990s.

Men of the Great Eastern Railway Corps of the St John Ambulance Brigade. They are wearing the Brigade's GER Corps' sleeve badge and the Association's medallion on their watchchains. The sleeve badge (above right) was used by the Corps between 1891–1912.

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Order of St John

Exceptional service by railway workers to the St John Ambulance Association was recognised by bestowal of the Order of St John—an honour conferred at an investiture (usually at the St John's Gate headquarters of the Order) in the name of the reigning Sovereign as Patron of the Order. Such honours were conferred on members of the railway centres soon after their formation from 1895. Prior to 1926, honours were usually of Honorary Serving Brother. After 1926 Officers and Commanders became available. Over the years after grouping railwaymen continued to receive honours from the Order of St John largely for their services with the pregrouped companies or which straddled both pre-grouping and post-grouping activity.

London and North Eastern Railways (LNER) nominations included doctors who, although not railwaymen, had taught classes to the railways. Dr Archibald Fairlie had taught at Dunfermline for the St Andrew's Ambulance Association before moving to Blyth in 1894, and was lecturer at No. 1 Blyth ambulance classes since their inception. He was invested as Serving Brother in 1927. Dr James Benson, invested as Serving Brother in 1928, was the lecturer to the Middlesbrough class for 18 years and competition judge 'all over the area'.

One of the first railwaymen to be nominated by the LNER was CW Tapson of the Carriage and Wagon Department at Gorton. At a meeting of the Order's Chapter General on 22 February 1929, Mr Tapson was invested as a Serving Brother. He attended his first ambulance class in 1893. Besides being a member of the Gorton Works Ambulance Corps, from 1911 he was also Superintendent of the Brigade's Staleybridge and Dukinfield Divisions.

On Tuesday 23 June 1931, five LNER railway workers were among 160 people worldwide invested in the Order of St John at Buckingham Palace by His Majesty George V, the Sovereign Head of the Order. George Jackson (Hon. Ambulance Secretary North Eastern Area Centre) and Herbert Charles Higson (Hon. Ambulance Secretary Great Central Section Centre) were invested as Officers of the Order. Miss Philadelphia Pattenden (Superintendent's Department, Western Section, Liverpool Street) was invested as a Serving Sister. Police Inspector George Hastings Peck (Lowestoft) and Driver Samuel George Steele (Locomotive Running Department, Grimsby) were invested as Serving Brothers. The first four were gazetted in June 1931 and Steele in January 1931. Philadelphia Pattenden was the first female member of the LNER staff to be honoured by the Order.

Claire Ault was the first woman from any railway company known to have been honoured by the Order. She was employed by the GWR at Paddington Station for all her working life. Miss Ault was Assistant Ambulance Secretary for many years, and also served as (Acting) Secretary for more than four years while the substantive ambulance secretary was serving with the Colours during World War I. She was the first woman to serve as a railway's Centre Secretary, and was still serving in May 1921 when an article about her was published in the magazine *First Aid*[33] under the headline 'The First Woman Railway Centre Secretary'.

Miss Ault had to step down from the Centre Secretary role on the return of Walter Chapman later in 1921, but took up the reigns again in 1929. Miss Ault, who proved even more successful than her predecessor, was featured in Rosa Matheson's book *Women and the Great Western Railway* which says, in this extract from the GWR magazine on the occasion of her retirement:

> Miss C. Ault, GWR Ambulance Centre Secretary retires on 3 October after thirty years' service with the Company, during twenty-six of which she has been a member of the general manager's staff. For upwards of a quarter of a century, Miss Ault has been connected with

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Five LNER railway workers invested in the Order of St John at Buckingham Palace by His Majesty George V on the Centenary of the Order on 23 June 1931.[32]

> the GWR ambulance movement. During the last war when her predecessor, Mr W. G. Chapman, was ambulance secretary, she took over his duties for the four years he was serving with the Forces and upon his return acted as his assistant, until July 1929 when she was promoted ambulance centre secretary. During her period of office, the movement reached its zenith when in 1939 no fewer than 9,973 members of staff passed examinations in first aid.
>
> Her success has been largely due to high administrative abilities, coupled with a kindly and unobtrusive zeal for the cause she served, and an ability to infect others with her enthusiasm. During her centre secretaryship, Miss Ault has been a member of headquarters committees of the Order of St John and her work was specially recognised in 1925 by admission to the Order as a serving sister.

The only other GWR railway woman known to have been honoured by the Order was Ruby Marsh. A qualified nurse, she was employed by GWR for more than 20 years . At the start of World War 2, when the GWR established a Casualty Clearing Station in the Royal Waiting Rooms at Paddington station, Ruby was appointed Sister-in-Charge. She was also a member of the Maidenhead Nursing Division of the St John Ambulance Brigade.

Announced in the *London Gazette* of 21 June 1940, Ruby was invested as a Serving Sister of the Order of St John by Charles Hambro, GWR Chairman and recently appointed President of the GWR Ambulance Centre.

Ruby died on 12 August 1942 at the age of 39. Claire Ault attended her funeral.

Long-serving ambulance secretary Tom Mein[34] was honoured four times by the Order of St John culminating in June 1935 in the high honour of Commander of the Order of St John,[35] one of only a handful of LNER ambulancemen to achieve this level of honour entirely through his railway service.

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Members of the LNER Ambulance Centre were also eligible for recognition by the Order of St John by a 'Vellum Vote of Thanks'. Three Vellum Vote of Thanks certificates were presented in the boardroom at Liverpool Street on 14 November 1928 to members of the GE section 'for valuable ambulance services': H. Burrows, fitter, Loco Parkeston Quay; G. H. Peek, police sergeant, Parkeston Quay; and H. J. Spinks, chief parcels clerk, Lowestoft Central. Their services consisted mainly in organising ambulance classes over a period of many years and also teams for the GE section competition and local competitions as well as secretarial work.[36]

Railway workers were also frequently recipients of the Life Saving awards of the Order of St John—but they were not necessarily ambulance men. The Life Saving award was presented to 62 men from 27 different railway companies, between the years 1884–1925: 28 Certificates of Honour; 28 Bronze Medals; and 6 x Silver Medals.

The earliest award (presented in 1884) was the Silver Medal to Joseph Double of the Metropolitan Railway. On 2 November 1884, Emma Mathews foolishly crossed the line at Kings Cross Station, and subsequently stumbled and fell across the metals just in front of an advancing train. Joseph Double, a Metropolitan Railways Inspector at the station, gallantly jumped on the line and recovered her. Further details appeared in various newspapers. The *Worcester Journal* reported:

> On Sunday November 2, 1884, [at] about 5.30pm a poor woman who had taken a ticket for Baker Street, was at King's Cross Station on the wrong platform, and being informed of it she attempted to walk across the line just as the Baker Street train was entering the station. The inspector shouted to her to go back, but she continued to advance, and her foot catching against a projection she fell across the metals on which the incoming train was travelling. Not a moment was to be lost; the inspector sprang down and, seizing the woman, dragged her under the platform, which projects a little over the line, and at the risk of his own life held her firmly in a safe position till the train had passed.[37]

The Chapter General of the Order approved the award of its Silver Medal to Inspector Joseph Double on 9 December 1884. The award was presented by HRH Princess Christian at a public meeting at the Polytechnic Institute, Regent Street, London, on Tuesday 21 April 1885, on the occasion of a distribution of SJAA certificates.[38]

Men of the St John Ambulance Brigade were recognised with Bronze Medals in 1910 for their actions in the Newport Docks disaster of July 1909. The *South Wales Argus* of 19 March 1910 announced that eight men involved in the rescue attempts were to receive the Life Saving Medal. Five men were employees of the contractors Easton Gibb and Son, and three were SJAB members of the Alexandra Docks Division and employees of the Alexandra and Newport Docks Railway. The article reads:

> Col. H. C. Perrott, Secretary of the Grand Priory of the Order of St John of Jerusalem and England (St. John's Ambulance Association) has intimated that HRH the Prince of Wales, Grand Prior and the Chapter-General of the Order of St John of Jerusalem have awarded the bronze medal of the Order for gallantry in saving or attempting to save life on land at imminent risk to the following men: James Andrews, Charles Crogan, George Bradford, Anthony Kinsella and Walter Willis, in the employ of Messrs Easton Gibb and Son, and John Aldridge, dock gateman, Daniel McCarthy, dock constable, and George Osbourne, an inspector, in the employ of the Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Co. for conspicuous bravery on the occasion of Newport Docks Disaster, and an official notification of the fact has been sent to Viscount Tredegar, who signed the petition on their behalf. These men will be required to attend at Marlborough House on a day to be fixed by his Royal Highness for the presentation of the medals, and notice will be received in due course.

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> Mr G.H. Osbourne[39] is one of the hoist inspectors in the employ of Alexandra Dock Co., and superintendent of the Alexandra Docks division of the St John's Ambulance Brigade, while Messrs. McCarthy and Aldridge is also member of the Docks Division of the Ambulance Brigade. The men to whom this honor has been awarded were among the rescue parties at work immediately the disaster occurred, and at great risk to themselves went down among the large timbers, which every moment threatened to close in upon them, for the purpose of endeavoring to rescue.

Railway Service Medals

The first medal for first aid service on the railways was introduced by the South Eastern and Chatham Railway (SE&CR) in 1911, for service from 1905 when the SE&CR Ambulance Centre was instituted. The bronze medal (the size of the current-day £5 coin: 38.61 mm diameter/1.52 inches) with a ribbon of black and white strips, was presented to those who successfully passed seven first aid examinations. The medal was issued from 1911 to 1925, overlapping the grouping of the railways in 1923. The medal was engraved with the legend 'SOUTH EASTERN & CHATHAM RAILWAY CENTRE OF THE ST. JOHN

South Eastern and Catham Railway Service Medals (x1): Bronze (7 years), Silver (14 years) medals and a Southern Railway's gold (21 years) medal.

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AMBULANCE ASSN.' around the badge of the Order. In 1918 a silver medal was introduced for 14 years of service, with a different patterned ribbon of black and white stripes. Examples have been seen dated 1919 to 1925, again overlapping the 1923 grouping. The intention was to issue a gold medal for 21 years of service but none were ever issued, the first year of entitlement being 1925, three years after grouping.

On 1 January 1923 SE&CR was the main constituent of the grouped Southern Railway (SR). The SR adopted the SE&CR scheme of bronze, silver and gold medals for seven, fourteen and twenty-one years, respectively, with a new obverse design and new ribbons each in a different pattern of black and white stripes. The medals were issued from 1925 to 1949, slightly overlapping nationalisation. The gold medal was issued in silver gilt from 1943.

British Railways continued to issue bars for the Southern Railway medals: 20 years for the silver medal where a gold medal had not been received before nationalisation; then every five years from 25 years, to either silver or gold medals as appropriate. Several 40-years bars have been seen, the last in 1964. A 35-years bar was awarded in 1965.

In 1921 the Great Western Railway introduced a medal struck in nine-carat gold, 1 inch (25.4 mm) diameter, to recognise 15 years first aid efficiency. The *Limitation of Supplies Act* in 1941 prevented further manufacture of gold medals once stocks were used up. GWR had sufficient stocks hallmarked for 1940 to last into 1942. After the war the medal was struck in silver gilt from 1947 to 1953 (British Railways continued to honour those who qualified for the medal before nationalisation in 1948). Receipt of the medal brought with it an extra day's leave. A bar was issued for 20-years' service.

A Great Western Railway nine-carat gold medal (x2) in recognition of 15 years of first aid efficiency.

A Great Western Railway (x2) in recognition of 25 years of first aid efficiency.

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In 1928 'special quarter-century medals' were issued by the GWR. Again, the medal was struck in nine-carat gold but with enamelling. The staff magazine for June 1930 reported that 105 quarter-century medals had been issued to date. These medals also gave the receipienta further day's paid leave (two days in total) subject to first aid efficiency. 'It is a tribute to the good fellowship that exists among ambulance enthusiasts that this day is given up by large numbers of the medallists to an annual outing, when, with their wives, they visit some place of interest on the GWR system'.[40] Bars were awarded for each subsequent five years' service. A 25-years bar was issued by British Railways to those who qualified for the 20-year medal before 1948 but did not get a 25-years medal before nationalisation. At least one 50-years bar was issued in 1962.

The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway issued a 1¼ inch (31.75 mm) diameter silver medal for 'passing 12 ambulance examinations in first aid' but all the medals seen are hallmarked for 1921–1922 (July 1921–June 1922). The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway was absorbed into the London and North Western Railway on 1 January 1922, a full year before the 1923 grouping, so it is probable all the Lancashire and Yorkshire medals were issued by the London and North Western. The medal shows on the obverse the Order of St John badge above two oval shields bearing the arms of the company (Arms of York in one and Lancaster in the other), separated by a crown and red and white enamelled roses depicting the two counties, superimposed on laurel branches. This is surrounded by a blue enamel border inscribed 'LANCS & YORKS RAILWAY CENTRE ST JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCN'. Makers name 'Vaughton, Birm' below design. The reverse is inscribed in raised letters 'AWARDED TO (NAME) FOR PASSING TWELVE AMBULANCE EXAMINATIONS IN FIRST AID (DATE)'.

The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway's 12-year medal (x1.5).

The London and North Western Railway instituted a medal for passing twelve examinations with wording very similar to the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway medal and almost certainly inspired by it. Widely believed to have been in place for some years all the LNWR medals were in fact awarded after the 1923 grouping, dated 1922 (presented in 1923) to 1925.

The London and North Eastern Railway, and the London Midland and Scottish Railway were the other two grouped companies from the 1923 grouping in addition to the Great Western Railway and Southern Railway. Like GWR and SR, the LNER and LMSR offered medals for first aid service, in both cases nine-carat gold medals for 15 years' service. The LNER medals were announced in the staff magazine.[41] The magazine for January 1932[42] said that of the gold medals and bars introduced in the early part of 1930, 673 medals had been awarded by

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The London and North Western Railway 12-year medal.[43]

January 1932, including 489 service bars: 1 for 40 years; 9 for 35 years; 27 for 30 years; 113 for 25 years; and 339 for 20 years.

LNER and LMSR both provided Scottish variants of the medal for their staff trained by the St Andrew's Ambulance Association.

Both LNER and LMSR issued the medals in silver gilt after 1941. They both issued bars every five years from 20 years.

British Railways continued to issue bars to the medals of all four grouped companies until 1966. British Railways issued its own medal for 15 years' service completed after nationalisation with corresponding bars for subsequent five-year periods.

The LMS 15-year gold medal. The number 288406 relates to the SJAA medallion.

The LMS Scottish version of the 15-year gold medal.

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The LNER Scottish version of the 15-years gold medal with bars.

Meritorious First Aid

The larger railways encouraged railway workers by the award of medals for meritorious first aid rendered by their staff. Sometimes medals were available in gold or silver depending on the quality of the event. Usually there was no quota and the medals issued ranged from one or two a year to (on the Midland Railway) over one hundred. Often a certificate accompanied the medal and sometimes certificates were awarded where the circumstances were considered not to merit a medal.

The earliest examples of medals for meritorious first aid were on the Midland Railway in 1894.

> The Directors have decided to grant a sum annually to provide a number of Gold and Silver medals to be awarded in recognition of special skill shewn by Ambulance men in the employ of the Midland Railway Company in rendering 'first aid', and a Committee, consisting of representatives of the principal Departments, has been appointed to award the Medals annually to those who render prompt and efficient aid in severe cases of accident, either for (a) saving life, or (b) relieving suffering.[46]

In 1895, by 30 September, 24 applications were made for an award. These resulted in the award of 5 gold medals and 12 silver medals. By 30 September 1901, awards totalled 82 gold medals and 175 silver medals. This year also saw the illuminated certificates introduced, with 8 awarded. There were 108 applications of which 48 were not recognised. Another five certificates were awarded in 1902 by the ended of September; and for the first time, seven 'further endorsements' were added to the certificates. Memorandum ACF1 issued by the Ambulance Committee on 22 May 1901 said:

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Meritorious First Aid: The large two-inch silver medal issued by the Midland Railway 1894–1903.[44]

The gold medal issued by the Midland Railway for first aid rendered 1894–1925.[45]

The small silver medal issued by the Midland Railway for first aid rendered 1903–1925. This medal replaced the larger silver medal, probably on ground of cost! (Author's collection.)

The GWR gold medal for exceptional first aid. Usually one gold, one silver and one bronze medal was awarded annually from 1911 to 1946. (Author's collection.)

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> The Directors grant annually a number of gold and silver medals to ambulance men in the service of the company in recognition of special skill shewn by them in rendering 'First-aid' in cases of accidents occurring on premises belonging to, or used by, the Midland Company.

Over the 24 years to 30 September 1918, 3,040 applications were made for an award resulting in 343 gold medals, 1,113 silver medals, 346 illuminated certificates and 224 further endorsements. Unsuccessful applications for the award numbered 1,014. LMS employees continued to receive the Midland Railway medals for first aid rendered after regrouping in 1923 until at least 1926.

The directors of the North Eastern Railway determined on 12 May 1901 to 'award special medals to ambulance men who being in the employ of the company, were reported and approved for 'rendering meritorious first aid service'.[47] Tozer refers to a circular silver medal for meritorious first aid 1" in diameter with a 1¼" apple green ribbon.[48] In the illustration on page 70, Tozer describes the bronze cross as '(2)', i.e. second issue. However, it is clear from N. Corbet Fletcher that the medal authorised by NER on 12 May 1901 was the first issue by the NER of a medal for meritorious first aid.[49] Froggatt refers to 'a further medal in silver … awarded in recognition of specific acts of first aid'.[50] Both Tozer and Froggatt imply that this is a generic meritorious first aid medal but they are describing the Hartlepool Bombardment medal. With the exception of the special 'one off' Hartlepool Bombardment medal of 1915 the bronze cross was the only medal issued by NER for specific acts of meritorious first aid and the Hartlepool Bombardment medal was the only circular silver medal issued by the NER other than possibly competition prises!

The *Yorkshire Post* of 6 April 1903 and other newspapers of the period (e.g. *Leeds Mercury*, 11 April 1903) referred to the bronze cross medal as the 'Victoria Cross of ambulance' possibly because of its likeness in style to the Victoria Cross. The medal was usually presented at the annual finals of the NER ambulance competitions in April following the year for which earned.

The earliest recorded bronze cross medals were awarded to Lorenzo Bakes and Fred Myers at the ambulance competitions on 12 April 1902 for rendering efficient first aid to George Fish, a messenger boy whose legs were both severed when he was run over by an engine 'in the execution of his duty'—he was walking on the Hull and Barnsley railway tracks. The accident happened on 20 May 1901, just 8 days after the Board had put in place the arrangements for recognising meritorious first aid. In presenting the medals General Manager George Gibb (later Sir George) said to applause 'it must be gratifying to the receivers of (the medals) to be honoured with so great a distinction, and no doubt they would retain the memory of the giving of this kindly human aid during the whole of their lives'.

At the following year's NER competitions in 1903, two medals earned in 1902 were presented to Edward K. Clapham and Leonard Chadwick Cockerill. The news reports relating to Len Cockerill mentioned that he was the fourth recipient of the medal. Forty-two bronze cross medals have been identified as presented from 1902 to 1916.

The medal was awarded for the rendering of first aid by those who had been trained through the NER St John Ambulance Association centres. It would not have been awarded for example for bravery alone or to someone who did not possess a first aid certificate; there were other awards for which they could be nominated. The criteria for the medal seems to have been that the life of the casualty was endangered. In those cases where the details are known the

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life was saved, there is no record of a medal given where the casualty died. Bravery of, or risk to, the first aider do not seem to have been criteria. Certificates were awarded for examples of praise-worthy first aid, short of an endangered life. Len Cockerill who received his medal in April 1903 was one of four men who received a certificate at the same presentation 'for care and skill in the removal of four men buried beneath a brick kiln in Filey'. Cockerill received a further certificate in 1909. Sergeant RB Hobson of the NER police who received his medal in 1908 also received a certificate for a second act at the same time. The certificate was sparingly awarded and in about the same numbers as the medal.

The presentation to Henry Arnold at the NER final competition on Saturday 4 April 1914 was the last presentation of the bronze medal at a competition. Following the declaration of war on 4 August 1914 first aid competitions were suspended for the duration and did not resume until 1920. There is no record of the presentation of any bronze crosses after the war or when the competitions were resumed. There were two known examples in WW1, relating to the tragedy at St Bedes Junction at Jarrow on 17 December 1915', and the Zeppelin raids on York in 1916. The only other known example of the presentation of the bronze cross in WW1 was a result of bravery in rescuing and rendering first aid by W.T. Naylor, a bricklayer at York carriage works and a member of the NER Fire Brigade, during the Zeppelin raids on York in 1916:

> Without hesitation he entered a house, amidst falling bricks, mortar etc, which had been severely damaged by a Zepp bomb and rescued three persons (two women and one man). He also rescued a woman from another house who had been severely injured by a piece of flying shell, rendering the necessary first aid and arranging for conveyance to hospital.

Mr Naylor was presented with his medallion on 2 July 1917 at a meeting of the York City Council.

From 1912 the Great Western Railway introduced gold, silver and bronze medals for 'exceptionally efficient first aid'. Only one of each was usually awarded annually from 1912 (for first aid rendered in 1911) and the medals were presented at the GWR ambulance competition finals held at Paddington Station in April or early May. The award of the medals and certificates was determined by the GWR's Chief Medical Officer, Dr Salisbury Sharpe in, 1912. Award of medals may have lapsed over the war years when the competitions were suspended. In any event, presentations were less formal and fragmented. The gold medal for first aid in 1939 was presented to Raymond W. Manners, then serving with the Royal Army Service Corps, at Bristol station on 23 November 1940. Two certificates were presented at Oswestry on 15 November 1940.[51]

The NER bronze medal for exceptional first aid. Over the period 1902–1916 , 42 medals were awarded. (Author's collection.)

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Framed certificates were presented at the same time as the three medals. The rules allowed for awards for the 'twelve best cases'—three medals and a further nine certificates. The Ambulance Committee's minutes of 17 April 1913 record that 'In view of the comments made by Dr Sharpe as to the high standard of efficiency exhibited in a very large number of cases submitted, from which the twelve best cases in order of merit had to be selected, the question of increasing the number of certificate awards was discussed and deferred for further consideration.'

The formal requirement to find the best twelve cases had not changed by 1922 when the 'Safety & First Aid Handbook' specifically said that after the medals the next nine cases would be awarded certificates. In practice, despite the rules framed in 1911 and still in place in 1922, the number of certificates awarded varied according to the quality of the recommendations from the railway medical officers but ranged, in addition to those awarded with the medals, from four (in 1945) to as many as twenty-four (in 1929). Even so, they are relatively rare and certainly do not seem to come to the market!

There are several examples of railwaymen receiving more than one certificate. A motor driver from Neath, Noel Eschle, received certificates in 1936 and 1938. James Daniel from Worcester, a checker, was presented with certificates in 1921, 1930 and 1938.

Three men presented with certificates in 1939 – Emlyn Lewis (ganger Pengam), Albert G. Long (shunter Swansea High Street) and Aubrey J. Richmond (goods guard Stoke Gifford) – had received them on previous occasions.

There are two examples of men who were presented with more than one medal. Charles H.G. Hill, a goods guard at Panyffynnon, was presented with his first certificate for 1919 at the final competitions at Paddington station on Thursday 15 April 1920. He may have narrowly missed a medal as he is top of the list in the presentations programme that denotes the order of merit into which the awards were placed. After moving from Panyffynnon to Llanelly Docks he received his second certificate with a bronze medal when Albert Probert received the gold medal in 1930. Then in 1934 he received a third certificate with a second bronze medal. He must have been close to securing the full set of gold, silver and bronze!

Hill was not alone in winning two bronze medals. W.E. Harries, a blacksmith at Whitland, was singled out for distinction on no less than eight occasions. He received bronze medals in 1921 and 1923. Quite incredibly, he also received certificates in 1916, 1925, 1928, 1929, 1937 and 1939, a final tally of eight certificates and two medals!

The last recorded award of medals for exceptionally efficient first aid was in 1947, in respect of first aid rendered in 1946. The GWR staff magazine records the award of medals and certificates at the national competition in Portchester Hall in 1947 but no names or details are given. Almost certainly the medals were not carried over into nationalisation although the Western Region ambulance centre did carry on issuing bars to the GWR medals and even some belated medals after 1947.

There are five examples of more than one medal being awarded, the first 'double' not being until 1937 when Chief Medical Officer Dr Cavendish-Fuller awarded joint gold medals for (1936 first aid) to J. Davies, a traffic porter at Windmill End, and P.C. Inch, a guard at Stourbridge Junction. Both were recognised for their first aid when a passenger train ran into the back of a goods at Stourbridge Junction on 17 July 1936. Davies, although involved in the accident himself, rendered first aid to the engine driver who had been very severely injured,

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his injuries subsequently proving fatal. Inch 'shared in the difficulties and the risks involved' (GWR magazine, 1937).

The following year two bronze medals were awarded to Sidney Almond and Frederick Weston for first aid in 1937. Then in 1940 two bronze medals were awarded (for 1939 first aid) when George Pointer and George Taylor worked together in Fishguard Harbour to carry out artificial respiration in circumstances of extreme difficulty in the midst of a gale to the Chief Steward of the SS Great Western. Two bronze medals were awarded in 1943 but the circumstances are not known.

The award to Frederick Weston was the only posthumous award. Captain of the Bath GWR competition team he was found gassed at his home on the day he was due to receive his award for saving the life of a young woman in a motor accident at Dunkerton near Bath.

The Bombardment of Hartlepool Medal (North Eastern Railway)

On 16 December 1914, German warships shelled Scarborough, Whitby and Hartlepool in an attempt to lure the Royal Navy out into battle. Whitby and Scarborough were undefended but Hartlepool was defended by a coastal battery of six-inch guns and was able to fight back and cut short the planned hour long bombardment by twenty minutes.

The Bombardment of Hartlepool Medal (North Eastern Railway: The medal awarded for first aid services during the 1914 bombardment of Hartlepool.

At West Hartlepool Station, shortly after the Liverpool service departed, a shell smashed through the station wall at the south end of the 'up' platform. The same shell damaged the brake of the train due out at 0850, and the passenger line to the south was cut in several places. At first the staff ensured their families were safe, but after ascertaining that they were, they returned to their posts.

At Hartlepool Station only four staff and the stationmaster were working at the time of the bombardment. James Walker, a ticket collector, gave first aid to a sailor on the *SS Phoebe* in dock close to the station, who had been mortally wounded by shrapnel. Mr Llewellyn, a porter, made stretcher and ambulance materials ready, and Mr Willey, a porter, gathered women into the waiting rooms away from falling glass, as roof squares were constantly falling, especially at the west end of the station. In the docks, shunters and engine drivers remained at their posts until it was foolhardy to stay there. In many places the rails were cut by shells or blocked by debris. Railway operations for the rest of the day were mainly disrupted by both the damage to portions of track and damage to telegraph wires.

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Two North Eastern railway men were killed in the bombardment. George Dring, a mooringman, was wounded in the chest by a piece of shell and died later in the day. With around a dozen others he had taken shelter behind the dock masters offices. A shell struck one of the crabwinches which controlled the dock gates, smashing it, and wounding six or seven men and killing four, including George Dring. Mr Dring joined the North Eastern Railway in 1894, originally working on a dock dredger used by the Dock Engineers Department. In 1904 Dring was appointed to the position of mooringman (a Dock Pilot, in the Dockmaster's Department). He was known as a quiet and well conducted man, and left a widow and six sons and daughters, two of which were still at school.

William Sarginson, a shunter at West Hartlepool, was the second NER casualty. He died in hospital on 4 January 1915 from wounds received in the bombardment. He was on duty at Stag Island in the docks, and was dealing with wagons when he was struck by fragments from a shell. He called to his mate, Mr R. Coates, for assistance, which was promptly rendered. When he was being carried away on Mr Coates' back he was again struck, injuring Mr Coates as well. William Sarginson suffered twenty injuries in total to various parts of his body. Sarginson was 22, unmarried and well respected, and had been in the NER since 1913.

Following the raid, on June 18th, 1915, 34 members of the NER local ambulance classes were given medals by General Manager Sir A. Kaye Butterworth for distinguishing themselves under fire during the bombardment. After the June presentation it was discovered that two ticket collectors, James P. Devlin and James Walker, had also rendered special services but had escaped official recognition. Sir A. Kaye Butterworth agreed these men should also have medals. They were presented with the medals by General Superintendent Major H.A. Watson on 21 September 1915.

First Aid Competitions

The Caledonian Railway was the first railway to establish in 1892 a formal first aid competition, quickly followed by other railway companies. The Great Eastern Railway strongly encouraged first aid competitions and was the first company in England, in 1893, to run a network-wide competition for a trophy provided by the directors. From the start, the GER railwaymen readily took to this new way to demonstrate their skills. All 19 divisions of the GER Ambulance Corps took part in four district competitions to find the teams to compete in the inaugural final at the Stratford Works for the GER cup, presented by Lord Claud Hamilton.[52]

Of the GER Corps, 12 out of the 25 divisions entered the second competition in 1894. Five divisions entered two teams making 24 competing teams in five sectional competitions in total, seven of them entering for the first time. The five highest scoring teams competed in the final at the Stratford Wagon Shops.

On 18 December 1896 H.G. Drury[53] and Alfred Hill represented GER at a meeting at the St John's Gate headquarters of the St John Ambulance Association. The purpose was to discuss the conditions for a new Inter Railway competition to be hosted by the Association in 1897. The competition was to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria and the Association presented three challenge shields: one for the St John Ambulance Brigade, one for the railways, and the other for 'general competition'. The latter was short-lived and not competed for after 1897 but the railway and brigade national competitions lasted into the 21st century.

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The team from March, Cambridgeshire, with the Inter Railway Shield they won in the first aid competitions of 1903, 1904 and 1907, and the GER Directors Cup won every year 1903–1910 except 1905. The team is pictured here at the Band Room at March Railway Station, their headquarters, which still stands today.[54]

The Southern Railway Waterloo A., the winning team of the first aid competition of 1936, with the Inter Railway Shield.

In the centre is Ernest Richards, long-serving SECR and SR Centre Secretary, and one time Commissioner of No XI (SECR/SR) District St John Ambulance Brigade.

The winning team in the first Inter Railway completion was the GER team from Liverpool Street. The GER team from Cambridge came second in the concurrent general competition to a team from the Dublin Police but well ahead of the only other railway team from the Great Western Railway Plymouth. The Annual Report of the Order of St John for 1897 said:

> Without wishing to appear invidious, the Committee desires to express its great satisfaction, after so hard fought a contest, at the work of the police team from the Sister Island and of the team belonging to the Great Eastern Railway, a railway company which has for many years past given every possible encouragement to the formation of ambulance classes.

Liverpool Street repeated their double performance (the GER Directors Challenge Cup and Inter Railway Challenge Shield) in 1898, beating the Great Northern Kings Cross team by 27 marks. The event was held in the Portman Rooms on 12 May and celebrated afterwards in the Grill Room of the Liverpool Street Hotel, most of the chief officers of the company being present.

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In 1903 the March GER team won the Inter Railway trophy for the third time. The March team were the winners of the GER Directors Challenge Cup every year from 1903 to 1910 (except 1905), and won the Inter Railway trophy again in 1904 and 1907.

The GER Directors Cup instituted in 1893 for England's first railway first aid competition. Later used by the LNER as a regional trophy when this picture was taken in 1947.

It is difficult to know how St John Ambulance would have progressed without the railway ambulance movement. The initial training of railway men through local Association Centres and later through their own Railway Association Centres, advantaged the Association with the subsequent sale of first aid books, bandages, and training materials. The railways equipped all their railway stations with a first aid cupboard stocked with stretchers and equipment invariably purchased from the St John stores department. The St John Ambulance Brigade also benefitted with the large number of trained men, ready and willing to be 'brigaded' in 1887, with a steady stream of trained and enthusiastic recruits over the following years. The railways guaranteed St John an income stream and financial stability as well as a very substantial body of trained men. The railways certainly made a huge impact on the ambulance movement that has been greatly underestimated with the passage of time and the decline of the railway industry.

I hope this article has brought to life the stories of some truly remarkable men and women.

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The Alexandra Docks & railway ambulance movement: men, medals and insignia (Whittlesey: Edgehill Enterprises, 2017).
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Notes

1. N. Corbet Fletcher, *Annals of the Ambulance Department* (Clerkenwell: St John Ambulance Association, 1949), p. 17.
2. *Sunderland Daily Echo & Shipping Gazette* (15 January 1879).
3. *GER* staff magazine (July 1911), p. 224.
4. *Newcastle Courant* (27 June 1879).
5. *Sunderland Daily Echo & Shipping Gazette* (19 August 1879).
6. *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail* (15 January 1884).
7. N. Corbet Fletcher, *Annals of the Ambulance Department*, p. 53.
8. Ibid., pp. 20, 21.
9. Manchester Evening News (30 January 1879).
10. *Nuneaton Advertiser* (22 March 1879).
11. Mary Caroline Coulcher was later Lady Superintendent (most senior female), St John Ambulance Brigade Suffolk, a Lady of Grace of the Order of St John, and CBE for her work in WW1 as Commandant of a VAD hospital.
12. Dr Elliston was an original member of the Order's medical committee and later Deputy Commissioner (i.e. officer in charge) of the Central & East (No III) District of the St John Ambulance Brigade.
13. N. Corbet Fletcher, *Annals of the Ambulance Department*, p. 157.
14. *Ipswich Journal* (14 March 1888).
15. *Evening Star* (25 August 1909).
16. Relates to a local centre for the benefit of the GER, not a railway centre which was formed in 1896.
17. Not quite true; Miss Coulcher was unaware of the 1879 Paddington class!
18. N. Corbet Fletcher, *Annals of the Ambulance Department*, p. 29.
19. *Nantwich Guardian* (25 February 1882).
20. *Leamington Spa Courier* (29 September 1883).
21. George Allan Hutton, *Reminiscences in the life of Surgeon-Major George A. Hutton: with an introduction by R. Lawton Roberts* (London: H. Lewis, 1907), p. 138.
22. John Taberner (1832–1908) was station master at Wigan 1868–1885 and Newton-le-Willows 1885–1899 when he retired from L&NWR after over 50 years service.
23. A full account of the Coppull disaster is given in Annex A.
24. N. Corbet Fletcher, *Annals of the Ambulance Department*, pp. 56, 69.
25. Ibid., pp. 69–70.
26. Ibid., p. 49.
27. *Norwich Mercury* (14 June 1887).
28. Alex P. Parker was secretary to the Locomotive Superintendent and author of the chapter 'The Great Eastern Railway Works at Stratford', in Anon., *Round the Works of Our Great Railways* (London: Edward Arnold, 1893).

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29. *GER Magazine* (December 1911), p. 365.
30. *First Aid Journal* (August 1912), p. 26.
31. N. Corbet Fletcher, *Annals of the Ambulance Department*, pp. 52–53.
32. *LNER Magazine* (1931), p. 434.
33. *First Aid* (May 1921), p. 171.
34. Tom Mein served as Secretary of both the Great Eastern and LNER Centres.
35. *London Gazette*, No. 34174 (25 June 1935), p. 4084.
36. *LNER magazine* (1928), p. 674.
37. *Worcester Journal* (Saturday, 25 April 1885).
38. With thanks to John Wilson and Roger Willoughby for this extract from their forthcoming book 'For Service in the Cause of Humanity'.
39. Incorrectly spelt by the newspaper; should read 'Osborne'.
40. *GWR Staff Magazine* (June 1930).
41. *LNER Staff Magazine* (November 1929), p. 589.
42. LNER Staff Magazine (January 1932), p. 30.
43. Picture; Tony Fielding.
44. National Railway Museum York.
45. National Railway Museum York.
46. Midland Railway General Order 383 N.S.68 dated October 1st 1894
47. Corbet Fletcher, Annals of the Ambulance Department, p. 83
48. Charles W. Tozer, *The Insignia and Medals of the Grand Priory of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem* (London: J.B. Hayward & Sons / Orders & Medals Research Society, 1975), p. 73.
49. N. Corbet Fletcher, *Annals of the Ambulance Department*, p. 83.
50. David J. Froggatt, Railway Buttons, Badges & Uniforms (Abergavenny: Malaga Books/Ian Allan Ltd. 1986), p. 112.
51. *First Aid Journal*, 1940.
52. Lord Claud Hamilton (1843–1925) was a director of GER from 1872 becoming Chairman in 1893. In 1900, the Great Eastern Railway named the first of its new class of 4-4-0 express passenger trains after its chairman, and the whole class came to be known as the 'Claud Hamilton' type.
53. HG Drury was Superintendent of the Line.
54. Picture: March Museum.

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The numismatics of the Order of St John.

John Pearn GCStJ AO RFD

Numismatics is the collection, study and research of coins, medals, medallions and badges. The numismatic record of the several Orders of St John and of St John Ambulance is particularly rich. This enduring heritage comprises many thousands of different artefacts which form an objective and permanent record of great events in history; and a permanent witness of the lives of many individuals who have shaped them. The St John numismatic collection comprises crusader coins; Order medals of esteem and service; laudatory medals which perpetuate the names of those who have given the world the profession of pre-hospital care; commemorative coins and medals; and many hundreds of different badges of office and association in national, state, county and local societies and associations. In the twenty and twenty-first centuries in western nations, these latter all portray the derivative Amalfi Cross, the eight-pointed Crusader Cross.

Crusader coins comprise that miscellany of coins carried by pilgrims from western Europe, principally deniers minted in France from 1095; and coins specifically minted in such city states as Jerusalem, Antioch and Tripolis throughout the 196 years (1095–1291) of the eight Crusades. They comprise also those coins minted over the ensuing five centuries in the great St John medieval cities at Rhodes and Malta.

Modern commemorative coins and medals include the 900-hundred-year (1099–1999) gilded medal of the Order of St John struck by the Royal Mint in Pontyclun, Wales; and the limited edition (10,000) one ringgit coin in Nordic gold, struck and issued on the 24 June 2008 by the Central Bank of Malaysia (Bank Negara Malaysia) to commemorate the centenary of St John Ambulance in Malaysia. The founder of civilian first aid, Dr Peter Shepherd (1841–1879), is commemorated in the Shepherd Gold Medal, bestowed as a medal of primacy in the ranked examinations in surgery at the University of Aberdeen. In Australia, the several Brassey Medals commemorate the life and service of Earl Brassey (1836–1918), who with the first Lady Brassey were successful advocates for the establishment of the St John Ambulance Association in Australia.

These objects of fine art collectively comprise the most enduring record of past events; and of the individuals whose leadership and service developed the profession of pre-hospital care and caritas enjoyed throughout the world. As one early numismatist put it:

> Of all antiquities, coins are the smallest, yet, as a class, the most authoritative in record. No history is so unbroken as that which they tell; no geography so complete; no art so continuous in sequence, nor so broad in extent … unknown kings and lost towns, forgotten divinities and new schools of art, have here their authentic record. (Reginald Stuart Poole, *The Study of Coins*, 1884.)

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Numismatics

As mentioned, numismatics is the study of coins, medals and badges. Coins are objects of pragmatic commerce and both coins and medals are one form of fine art. Coins are the means of trade and the repository of wealth. Medals are enduring records of personal esteem and commemoration.[1–4] For historians, numismatic artefacts are invaluable records of times, places and people. Sometimes, they comprise the only surviving evidence of events of the past,[5] sending their messages to those in the future who might look upon these objects, and wonder.

Coins were invented by the Lydians, a kingdom in what today is the central western coast of Turkey, during the reign of King Croesus, in the seventh century before the current era (BCE).[6] Small naturally-occurring geological ingots of the natural alloy of gold and silver electrum, occur as alluvial pebbles in the gravels of Lydian rivers, flowing westwards into the Mediterranean Sea. The River Pactolus was particularly rich in these alluvial electrum fragments. Small bead-sized specimens were 'dollied' and sifted from the gravels. These were hammered more or less flat, graded by size and stamped with a hammer die, initially on one side. It was an invention which was to change the world. Our simile, to be 'rich as Croesus', records that event and those times.

Medals, as commemorative objects of esteem and events, were invented some four centuries later, by the Romans. Initially, they took the form of large and beautiful coin-like objects, minted not for commerce but as presentations of esteem. Badges, as symbols of collegiate identity, evolved from the personal adornments with which hunter-gatherer peoples of Palaeolithic times decorated themselves (initially with flowers or leaves) at times of special tribal celebrations.[7]

The 900-year history of the several Orders of St John is particularly rich in numismatic heritage.[8–10] Thousands of different coins, medals and badges comprise the St John numismatic collection. This paper is a brief précis of this rich and enduring record which enjoins us all not only in the profession of pre-hospital care today but links us with the endeavours and chronology of those who have gone before. The author classifies the St John numismatic thesaurus[11] into five classes:

1. Crusader coins
2. medals and medallions of the Order of St John
3. medals portraying members
4. commemorative coins and medals
5. badges.

In this work, the 600-year history of Crusader coins refers particularly to those struck by the authority of the princes and regents in the Middle East from the time of the First Crusade (1095); and the later coins of the Knights Hospitallers as members of the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of St John, Called of Jerusalem, Called of Rhodes, Called of Malta—called the 'Sovereign Military Order'. The section referring to medals and medallions refers to those of relevance to The Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the secular Royal Order of Chivalry raised by Queen Victoria in 1888, and generally referred to as the 'Order of St John'.

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Crusader coins

The First Crusade began in Europe. Baldwin of Boulogne, with his military Lotharingian Retinue, established the city-state of Edessa in 1098. A few months later, Bohemond I of Taranto and his Norman-Italian followers captured and settled Antioch. The fighting Crusaders initially comprised Franco-Normans, Provençales, Norman-Italians and Lotharingians. They continued southwards and seized and fortified Jerusalem in 1099.[12]

There were eight Crusades in all, extending over the ensuing 196 years. Individual pilgrims and small bands of travellers continued to visit the Holy Lands for the ensuing 500 years, visiting and passing through the great St John city-states of the Knights Hospitallers of St John, at Rhodes and Malta. So too do tourists and latter-day pilgrims today.

The Crusades themselves were brutal, often a failure, and were always a contradiction of the Faith they purported to uphold and defend. It was an era of Islamic leadership, indeed dominance in science and education—one when the Islamic world was promoting and enjoying astronomy, philosophy and medicine; and when 'those in Europe could not tell the hours of the day, thought the earth was flat, and saw disease as punishment from God'.[13]

However, like so many other examples where warfare has brought unexpected secondary benefits,[14] two beneficial legacies resulted from the Crusades. They were to advance the causes of both health and commerce. In the field of health, the returning Crusaders and pilgrims brought back both preventative and curative medical knowledge from the Arab world to the notice of medieval Europe.[12] The second benefit was a numismatic legacy of international commerce whose coins endure today.[15–18] In the twenty-first century, anyone (admittedly after some self-denial and saving!) can buy a Crusader coin and hold in their hands a tangible artefact of the history of the Crusader pilgrims and of the Knights Hospitallers of St John (Figures 1–3).

The leaders and pilgrims of the First Crusade came from lands where coined money did not play a major economic role,[19] at least at the level of common men and women. Barter and exchange were the normal means of interpersonal commercial transactions. Nevertheless, before setting out on their eastern journey of adventure and devotion, the pilgrim leaders made estimates of the travelling money they would need on the journey. For those leaving from England or France, the intended journey stretched for more than four thousand kilometres before them. No coins were minted, en passage, on the great pilgrim routes.

In preparation for their pilgrimages, some group leaders collected monies from devout members of the Royal families and aristocracies of France, Flanders, Germany and England. These chests of coins were intended to buy food and other necessities for the pilgrims who formed themselves into small travelling bands, en route. Peter the Hermit was one such leader who collected money and goods, but his wagon containing the entire pilgrimage treasure for his band was carried off by Bulgarian raiders as the pilgrims neared Constantinople.[19] Surviving manuscripts from Raymond of Aguilers lists coins that the French leaders of the Crusades took—particularly billon deniers.[20] A hoard of 662 coins was found in 2000, dating from the First Crusade.[21] The buried coins were all feudal deniers (and one obol), minted principally at the Norman towns of Le Puy and Melgueil.

En route to Jerusalem, Norman, Flemish and English pilgrims encountered the Byzantine coinage of Constantinople; and rates of exchange were immediately established. An anonymous historian of the First Crusade recorded that during the siege of Antioch (1097–98) the price of a donkey was 120 deniers, at a calculated exchange rate of 180 (Norman) deniers to one (Byzantine) gold hyperpiron.[19]

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Figure 1. A Crusader coin, a silver gros, of the Tripoli mint; struck in the reign of Bohemond VI (1251–1275).

Left: the obverse face, with a cross patée within an angled quatrelobe. The inscription, '+ Boemundus Comes', translates as 'Bohemond the ruler's representative'.

Right: the reverse face features an eight-rayed star with the inscription 'ð+ the City-State of Tripolis'.

Figure 2. An early Crusader coin of Antioch, a bronze follies (3.12 grams), struck in the reign of the regent, Tancred (1101–1112).

Left: the obverse, showing a nimbate bust of St. Peter.

Right: the reverse face, with the crude abbreviated inscription O/ΠE-T-[POC]/[KE] BO [I]/OH TO [ΔV]/AO COV [T]/ANKP[I].

Deniers were silver coins which were the most transacted of all coins in France and Western Europe in medieval times (Figure 3). They were current from the reign of Charlemagne (768–814) to the time of the French revolution (1789–1799). The name 'denier' derives from the Roman denarius. In Italy this type of coin was known as the 'danero' or 'denaro'; in Spain as the 'dinaro'; in Portugal as the 'dinheiro'; and in the Byzantine east as the 'dinar'. The word 'billon' refers to a silver coin debased with more than 50 percent of copper or tin. The international popularity of locally-struck (feudal) Norman billon deniers resulted, at least in part, from commerce at the great international trade fairs at Troyes and Provins. These two cities possessed mints; and the municipal fairs there played an important part in the expansion of European commercial life for more than two centuries (1100 to 1300 AD).[22] The local deniers were the natural currency at the fairs and were much in demand, figuring in the accounts of money-changers as far afield as Flanders (e.g. at Bruges) and Italy. As the Crusader pilgrims journeyed to the Holy Lands, international exchange rates for coinage became a necessity.

Figure 3. A Crusader coin, a billon denier tournoise, from the Principality of Achaea, struck in the reign of Philip of Taranto (1306–1313).

Left: the obverse, showing an encircled, cross patée.

Right: the reverse, showing crown with the encircling inscription 'De Clarencia'.

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Mints in the Crusader cities

In the numismatic context, the Crusades resulted in two new developments. They were the establishment of new Crusader-State mints; and the development of systems of international currency exchange which extended across many borders.

The Crusaders established cities, indeed autonomous kingdoms, along the line of march from Europe to the Levant; and (from 1187) along the line of retreat. Local mints were established within these cities. The Grand Masters ruled over them, artists engraved the anvil and hammer dies, and moneyers supervised the striking, assaying and issuing of coinage. Mints flourished at Edessa from 1100 to 1144; at Antioch from 1100; and at Cyprus (at Nicosia and Famagusta) from 1218 to 1254.

The great pilgrim route constituted a medieval highway, some 4,500 kilometres in extent, stretching from as far northwest as Torphichen in Scotland[23] eastwards across Europe to the Levant. The pilgrims' routes funnelled into Syria and finally to Jerusalem. Along this line, over a period of almost two hundred years, the Hospitallers established centres of hospitality, hospitals for medical care and hospices for philanthropic support. In the Holy Lands, the Crusaders established the Kingdom of Jerusalem; and three other independent Latin States in the Levant: at Edessa, Antioch and Tripolis. The rulers, Grand Masters and regents of the city states, each minted their own coinage.

Successively, from 1187 until the final fall of Malta to Napoleon on 10 May 1798,[24] the Crusaders and the Knights of St John were driven westwards along a line of withdrawal, successively making stands at Edessa, Tyre, Tripolis, Acre, Cyprus, Rhodes and finally at Malta. With the exception of Cyprus, Crusader coins were minted at each of these city-states;[25] and comprise an enduring and objective record of those momentous events (Figures 4–6).

Figure 4. A copper coin, a grain, struck in the mint of the Knights Hospitallers of Sovereign Military Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, on Malta. This coin was struck in the reign of the Grand Master Emmanuel Pinto (1741–1773). Left: obverse, showing a Crusader or Maltese Cross. Right: reverse, showing both cross and crescent moons.

Figure 5. A copper coin of the Knights of St John, struck at Malta in 1780, during the reign of the Grand Master, Emmanuel de Rohan. The Latin inscriptor, 'NON AES[-] sed Fides', is not of great intrinsic monetary value, but trustworthy' and refers to true friendship, symbolised by the clasped hands.

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Figure 6. A silver 30-tari piece, struck in the mint of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, at Malta, in 1790, during the reign of the Grand Master, Emmanual de Rohan (1775–1797). This is the reverse side, showing the arms of the Grand Master incorporating a headless eagle surmounted by a royal crown with Crusader Cross.

A line of pilgrimage and commerce

The movement of pilgrims, priests and nuns, traders and soldiers, along this line of pilgrim march, meant that coins were needed for trans-national commerce across borders—just as they are by tourists today who spend Euros minted in Rome in France or Germany or Greece.

The early Crusaders came from various religious Orders, particularly Benedictines; and from 1120 from those of the three fighting military Orders of Hospitallers, Templars and Teutonic Knights. The travellers also included pilgrim- adventurers and traders from dozens of nations along the sweep of Europe from Scotland in the north-west to sailors from Italy (particularly from Venice and Genoa) and Greece; and fishermen and traders from Europe and North Africa plying their crafts, skills and trades in the Holy Lands themselves. Over the 196 years of the Crusades and throughout the 500 years thereafter, many hundreds of different types of coins were struck to facilitate the daily requirements of this exchange and commerce; and perhaps millions of individual coins. A skilled engraver carved the dies, in intaglio. Each coin was struck by hand, using both an anvil die and0 a hammer die. Under the instruction and authority of the moneyer, a planchet of hot disk metal of standard weight formed the 'blank' which the mint worker struck.

Whereas medals are lawful for anyone to strike and issue, a coin is a manifestation of sovereignty. Coins can be issued only by sovereign powers, whether by kings, presidents, despots, governments, Grand Masters or their agents. The rulers of the Crusader cities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem did this as did the Emperors of Constantinople and their princes at Achaia, as well as the Dukes of Athens, the Despots of Romania and Thessaly and the Sires of Corfu, Cephalonia and Ithaca.[25]

Coins of the Crusader cities – Middle East

The oldest of the coins of the Crusades, struck in the year 1103 or 1104, commemorated the occupation of Antioch by the (Christian) Norman adventurer, Bohemond I (*c.* 1005–1111 A.D.),[26] one of the most important figures in the First Crusade (1095–1099). His coins portrayed St Peter, the tutelary saint of Antioch. When Bohemond was away, his lieutenant Tancred had coins struck, but with his own name on the reverse. Such self-promotion was to recur many times over the ensuing six centuries (Figures 1 and 2).

This universal tendency to immortalise one's name in coinage, in this instance whilst the ruler was absent, brings to mind the words of the nineteenth century numismatist, Dr Reginald Stuart Poole:

Of all antiquities, coins are the smallest, yet, as a class, the most authoritative in record … unknown kings and lost towns, forgotten divinities … have here their authentic record. Individual character is illustrated and the tendencies of races defined.[27]

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The engravers of the dies were artists or smiths and were often themselves uneducated. That early coin of the Crusades, the Tancred coin of Antioch, is an example. The four lines of lettering on the reverse were deemed by Dr Robert Morris, another nineteenth century numismatic scholar, as unexcelled 'for inaccuracy, grammatical and orthographic'.[28]

Many of the medieval coins of the era continued with the tradition of Greek inscriptions, not only as a relic of the dominant Greek coinage of a millennium earlier, but also as the language of the Bible. Almost all the early coins portrayed the Christian cross in some form usually as a crux patée. However, within 150 years of the fall of Jerusalem (1099), coins were struck with both Christian and Islamic features, in a pragmatic manifestation of the over-riding influence of ecumenism needed for trade and commerce—in the words of American slang, 'a buck is a buck'.

The sea ports of what is present-day Syria, Lebanon and Israel—Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, Acre and Jaffa—were, as now, centres of international trade in the millennia before the Crusades. Greek and especially Venetian (and other Italian) sailor-merchants were the principal intermediaries in this international trade. In their trading vessels, throughout the favourable shipping seasons of spring and autumn, they shipped skins, wool, metals and wheat to the Lands of the Levant. In exchange they exported huge quantities of worked brass, silver vessels, rich silk and cotton fabrics, spices and sugar. Syria in that era supplied Western Europe with most of its sugar, a crop grown in the hinterlands of Tyre and Tripolis and throughout the Jordan valley.[29] Pepper was a major and highly prized export. By 1250, as a consequence of the Crusades, pepper 'now reached Europe in abundance for the first time since Roman days'.[29] An internal audit of the possessions of the Knights Hospitallers in England in 1338 recorded that pepper cost 13 pence per pound, at a time when eggs were sold at 20 for a penny and pigeons were twopence per dozen.[30]

With the profit imperative over-ruling any religious insularity or dogma, the pragmatic rulers of the Crusader Kingdoms struck coins with both Christian and Islamic obeisance. One example was the gold bezant struck at Akka (Acre) in 1250. On the obverse is a Christian cross. On the reverse at the centre is the Islamic script 'Allah Wahid', or 'God is one'; surrounded by the contradictory inscription, also in Arabic script, 'The Faith, the Son and the Holy Spirit'. The coins of the era were of gold, electrum, silver and copper; and were of a bewildering array of weights, sizes and patterns. Coin hoards which continue to be discovered today[21] show that Crusader currencies had many origins.

Besides those coins brought from Western Europe by the pilgrims themselves, many were minted in the Kingdoms of the Holy Lands. Until the fall of Constantinople in 1453, many hundreds of different coins were also minted throughout the Byzantine Empire and became part of the mix of currency used in market-places throughout the entire region.

Many of the names of those coins have passed into history, and remain only in the specialist lexicon of numismatists:

gold coins	nomisma
	hyperperon
silver	milaresion
	trachy (1/48th of a hyperperon)
electrum	aspron trachy
copper	follis
	tetateron.[31]

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The coins of Rhodes and Malta

The Crusaders suffered progressive defeats following the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and were driven progressively back along the line of their original fighting pilgrimage. After the loss of Acre in the final collapse of Latin Syria in 1291, the Hospitallers withdrew and established their headquarters on Cyprus. Although the traditions of care and protection for the poor and sick remained of spiritual and moral significance to the Order, the Hospitallers had by that time become a predominantly military institution. Although the Hospitallers original Rule, a derivative from its Benedictine origins, focussed on the care of the poor, the practical expression of the Hospitallers' work was directed at those local poor or visiting pilgrims who became ill. It is recorded that there evolved a contemporary urge to give practical, even secular help to the suffering 'as an end in itself, rather than as a means through which the agent of the good works might hope to secure salvation'.[32]

What was significant was the municipal safety and security, and civil good order which the St John city-states provided and within which trade and commerce could flourish. The great hospital on Cyprus, established as part of the St John Convent, housed 2,000 patients and more than 50 dead were sometimes carried from it in a single day.[31] When the St John centre there was in turn lost in 1309, the fortified base at Rhodes became the centre of Hospitaller sovereignty. The huge, fortified medieval city on Rhodes persists to this day.

The city-state of Rhodes was established from 1309 and mints were established immediately.[9] The other fighting Orders, the Knights Templar and the Teutonic Knights, never possessed the same municipal local sovereignty, and although numismatic pieces were struck by these latter bodies, they did not circulate as coins. The first coins minted on Rhodes by the Hospitallers were silver pieces struck in the reign of Fulke de Villaret.[10]

The third Grand Master on Rhodes, Deodat de Gozon (Grand Master from 1346 to 1353) was the first to introduce gold coinage, copying the ducats and zecchinis of Venice. Although the first coins portrayed the figure of Christ surmounted by a halo of stars, this pious representation was soon replaced by the portraits of the reigning Grand Masters themselves. With the security ensured by the fighting navy of the Hospitallers, over the ensuing centuries the coins became more beautiful and indeed are regarded today as exquisite examples of fine art. Raymond Perellos was the first to strike ten zecchini pieces in 1699, 'gold coins which are worthy of note, combining as they do nobelness and simplicity of conception, with perfect execution'.[33]

After Rhodes fell, the last St John city-state was established on Malta, and there was struck the most exquisite coins associated with the Order of St John. It is said that the coins struck during the reign of Grand Master De Vilhena (1722–1726) have never been surpassed. He was the only Grand Master who issued large gold 12-zecchini pieces—so valuable and beautiful that they almost certainly never circulated as coins, but were used for presentation and kept (as rare coins and medals are today) uncirculated as personal treasures. Silver coinage was struck in Malta from 1530 to 1797. One, two, three, four and six-tari silver coins were struck during this period. Dates were included on the obverse of the coins from 1529; and the value of the coin was included in its inscriptions from 1609. As had happened since the time of Tancred at Antioch seven centuries earlier, in 1720 on Malta, Mark Anthony Zondadari replaced the head of John the Baptist on the coins, with a portrait of himself.[33]

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Prior to Napoleon's predations in the Mediterranean, the stability and security on Malta led to increasing commercial stability. During the Grand Mastership of Manoel de Vilhena (1722–1736), the silver content of the Maltese coins was raised, and two scudi, and twelve, eight, six and four-tari pieces were struck, 'of great artistic beauty and perfect finish'.[10,34] A 30-tari coin, struck in 1790 at the St John mint at Malta, is shown in Figure 6.

One of the last Grand Masters on Malta, Pinto (1741–1773), introduced the 'pezza' or 'oncia', known as the 'Maltese dollar'. Pinto was a humble and devout man, and placed the figure of St John the Baptist on the coins struck during his regency. This trend was soon reversed, and the succeeding Grand Masters again replaced the holy figure, symbolic of the Order, with their own portraits usually grandly attired in figured-armour.

The St John coins of Rhodes and Malta daily commerce were largely small denomination coins, of copper (Figure 4 and 5). Pilgrims, and the great majority of the population, being relatively poor, used these for the daily transactions of bread and other foods. The smallest copper coin, the 'picciolo', or 'diniere', was the smallest copper coin ever minted over the entire seven centuries of St John coinage. It was the sixth part of a grain. The first one was struck in Malta in the reign of the Grand Master, Claude de La Sengle (1553–1557). 34 Inflation seems to be an inevitable feature of all society, and the 'picciolo' would eventually not even buy an egg, and was finally withdrawn as being commercially useless by Raymond Perellos in 1699. Thereafter, the range of copper coinage extended from the lowest, the grain, up to a one-tari piece.

Medals and medallions of the Order

Following the establishment of the Order of St John as a secular Royal Order of Chivalry by Queen Victoria in 1888, the insignia of the Order have comprised a series of beautiful medals, each featuring the Crusader or Maltese Cross. The size, detail and intrinsic value of the medals is proportionate to the grade within the Order. Besides these bestowed medals of rank within the Order, there have been a series of other awards recognising dedicated service, and medals representing gallantry.

The Life Saving Medal of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem was established by formal Statue of the Order in 1871. Mr James Cheshire has published an extensive research analysis of the Life Saving Medal of the Order,[35] and records that this medal for gallantry was not instituted as an official award until 1874.[35] The first award was made to recognise the gallantry of Elijah Hallam and Frederick Vickers, two coal-miners who saved the lives of six of their fellow workers at the Alberta Colliery on 6 September 1875.[35] The first award of the Life Saving Medal of the Order in Australia, was bestowed upon Mr Edward Nicholls, in 1906.[36]

The many medals of esteem and long-service (especially the Service Medal of the Order), are covered by the *Statutes of the Order* (2004). Statute 52 refers to the creation, bestowal and regulation of 'medals, certificates of honour, and votes of thanks'. Being a Royal Order of Chivalry, the awards are ultimately made 'in the name of the Sovereign Head', and are promulgated in various Government Gazettes, principally in London; and occasionally in equivalent Gazettes within the nations of the recipients.

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Founders, leaders and servants

The Order of St John and its good works is about people. Many who have served within the various Orders of St John and its secular associations, over the nine millennia of its traditions, have had their service recorded 'Monumentum in aere'—their service 'perpetuated in bronze'.[37]

In Renaissance times, from 1492, one expression of the resurgence of creative art was the casting of medals of personal esteem. These tributes in fine art were not manifestations of self-promotion or propaganda as in the case of coins; but were contemporary witnesses of esteem—cast and chased to form a robust and enduring memorial of service. Such practice continues today, indeed with increasing impetus and enthusiasm in the twenty-first century.

It is a universal facet of the personalities that serve their fellow men and women, that they do not do so in isolation of all other activities, but in all aspects of their lives. For this reason, many of the modern leaders of St John Ambulance and those who serve within the Order of St John have excelled also in other fields of human endeavour. A number have had their 'Monumentum in aere' in commemorative medals of esteem, bestowed by bodies outside those of the Order of St John.

The principal founder of St John Ambulance was Surgeon-Major Peter Shepherd (1841–1879), the Scottish doctor-soldier who in 1878 wrote *Aids for Cases of Injuries and Sudden Illness*, later codified and published as *First Aid to the Injured*.[38] It was Shepherd who brought von Esmarck's phrase 'Erste Hilfe' directly into English as 'First Aid'. Peter Shepherd had the innovative and radical concept of teaching the drills and skills of army stretcher bearers to the civilian public. In 1878, together with Colonel Francis Duncan (1836–1888) he taught the first 'First Aid Classes' (segregated by gender) in the hired Presbyterian School Hall in Woolwich, near the Woolwich Arsenal, beside the Thames in London. Major Peter Shepherd was killed in 1879 in the massacre of the entire British force at the Battle of Isandhlwana, in the Anglo-Zulu War. No headstone marks his grave, but the Shepherd Gold Medal,[39] bestowed by the University of Aberdeen, is the enduring memorial to this founder, not only of St John Ambulance, but of the profession of civilian pre-hospital care in all its forms.

In Australia, St John Ambulance was established largely due to the advocacy of Lord (later, Earl) Brassey and especially that of the first Lady Brassey. Earl Brassey (1836–1918) was a lawyer, businessman, British Parliamentarian, Civil Lord of the Admiralty (1880–1884), writer and publicist of naval and maritime affairs, and Governor of Victoria (1895–1900). [40,41] His first wife, Lady Brassey (née Annie Allnutt, d. 1887), had become a passionate advocate for first aid work in the early 1880s. She was instrumental in establishing the Middlesborough and Cleveland St John Ambulance Centre on Teeside. Lady Brassey:

> had taken up ambulance work at a time when it was little in fashion; and after qualifying in first aid in which she became most proficient, 'by years of hard work, in speech, in letter, by interview, by pamphlet [for she was an avid author], by personal example and by devotion, she spread to the multitudes the knowledge of the art of ministering first aid to the injured'.[40]

In an antipodean cruise on their steam-yacht, the RYS *Sunbeam*, the Brassey addressed many meetings throughout Australia, following which a St John Ambulance Association and then Centres were set up in their wake. Lord Brassey's term as Governor of Victoria was marked by his 'support for Federation [which] was unwavering, and impulsive to a degree which embarrassed Imperial officials involving in negotiating the final form of [the] Constitution. He gave unqualified praise to Deakin's part in the [Federation] movement'.[42]

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Earl Brassey's service to Australia is commemorated in several silver medals. One, the Governor's Prize, was personally awarded by him as an annual award to the top animal husbandry exhibit at the National Agricultural Society of Victoria Exhibition (Figure 7). Other Brassey medals include those military awards given to Victorian military forces in the pre-Federation era. The medals are listed on the Register of the Australian War Memorial.

Figure 7. The Governor's Prize Medal, commissioned, struck and awarded by Baron Brassey (1836–1918), a founder of St John Ambulance in Australia. During his term as Governor of Victoria (1895–1900), Baron Brassey awarded this silver medal to the best exhibitor at the National Agricultural Society of Victoria Show.

Right: the reverse portrays the armorial bearings of Baron Brassey 'with a mallard duck top left quarter [of the shield] and similar above, supported by two collared tufted birds with pendant shields'. The motto 'ARDUIS SAPE. METU. NUMQUAM' is translated as 'Often in difficulties but never afraid'. Silver, 46 mm, 51 grams.

Commemorative coins and medals

Commemorations are never isolated or single events—and what today might be commemorated as a centenary will be recommemorated, perhaps with heightened significance, after 250 years and for centuries thereafter. Of the many hundreds of commemorative medals that have been struck to commemorate the work of St John (Figures 8–10), one of the most beautiful is that struck by the Royal Mint in 1999, to commemorate the 900 years of tradition of the Knight Hospitallers[43] and the derivative traditions of the profession of pre-hospital care This gilded medal portrays (on the obverse) the Crusader Cross, with the appellation '900 Years of Caring' (Figure 10). The reverse features a St John Hospitaller ministering to an injured victim. It was designed by the engraver, Matthew Bonaccorsi, and was struck by the Royal Mint at Llantrisant in Wales.

Figure 8. The international War Service Badge of the Grand Priory of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem. Issued from June 1918, with the 'Australia' suspension clasp, under authority from the St John Ambulance Brigade Overseas.

Photograph courtesy of Mrs Betty Stirton DStJ and Miss Beth Dawson AM DStJ, with acknowledgments.

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Figure 9 . The most recent coin which commemorates the work of St John is the one-ringgit coin issued by St John Ambulance of Malaysia, to commemorate its centenary of service in that country.

The coin portrays (on the obverse) an enwreathed Crusader Cross.

The reverse shows a scene of loading an injured victim into an ambulance vehicle. This 30 mm coin (x1.5 actual size) weighs 8.8 grams, and was struck in Nordic gold. It was issued in a limited edition of 10,000 pieces by the Central Bank of Malaysia (Bank Negara Malaysia) on the 24 June 2008.

Figure 10. The 900-year Anniversary coin (nickel-brass, 38.6 mm, 28.28 grams), '900 Years of Caring', struck by the Royal Mint (UK) as a tribute to the work of volunteers in the field of pre-hospital care, in the tradition of the Knights Hospitallers of St John.

The reverse, shown here (1.5 x actual size), portrays a Hospitaller Knight caring for a sick, bed-ridden patient.

The Crusader Cross

The Crusader Cross is the universal numismatic emblem on the coins, medals and badges of the Order of St John (Figures 8–10). In the Western World it is a common metonymic emblem. It dates from the first aid and hospital work of the Knights of St John, the original order of which persists as the Sovereign Military and Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem, called of Rhodes, called of Malta; and known more simply as the Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

The British Commonwealth Royal Order of Chivalry founded by Queen Victoria on 14 May 1888 is The Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, known more simply as The Order of St John. In the twenty- first century, the Order of St John has more than 40 national branches throughout the world, including those in Eire, the United States of America and Sri Lanka. The Order of St John teaches and promotes resuscitation, first aid and pre-hospital care in all its forms. The emblem of all the Orders which identify with the charitable work of the Crusader Knights of St John have adopted the eight-pointed Maltese Cross as their symbol of service. This Cross, one of more than a hundred used heraldically (Figure 11), has its origins in the commercial emblem of a religious guild of merchants from Amalfi. In the eleventh century, Amalfi was a small but prosperous independent Republic situated on the Gulf of Salerno, south-east of Naples. The Governor of Jerusalem assigned to the Amalfitans a site for a hospice close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, near Charlemagne's Hospital.

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Crosses in numismatics

The Amalfitan flag with its eight-pointed white cross, which today enjoins the various Orders of St John and many societies and charitable associations was adopted by the Benedictine monks and nuns who staffed the Jerusalem hospice. In 1070, a group of Benedictine nuns had, for the first time, been referred to as the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem. Subsequently, the Crusader Knights of St John affixed the Amalfitan eight-pointed white cross to their ecclesiastical capes; and, as a fighting military Crusader order, emblazoned the eight-pointed cross on their shields, on the battlements of their castles and on the sails of their warships.

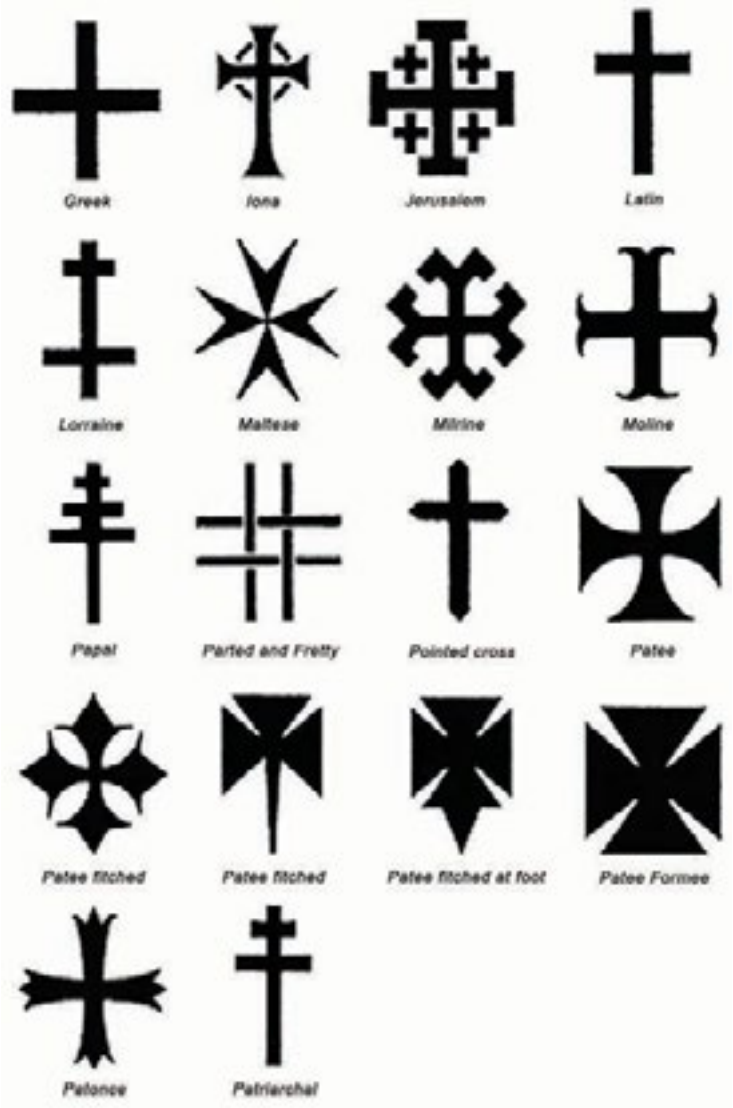

Figure 11. Crosses imply caritas or compassionate care. Crosses are used extensively in heraldry and therefore on medals and coins. More than 300 crosses are used heraldically. In the disciplines of medicine and health the commonest forms of the cross are the Greek Cross (and its derivative, the Red Cross); Maltese Cross, Cross Patée, Cross Patée Formée, and the Crusader or Maltese Cross.

Numismatics is a dynamic and vibrant profession and pastime. Although much of the printed word is being replaced by digital and electronic communication, and although much commerce is being replaced by digital transactions, coins will undoubtedly endure as the intermediary (for interpersonal and low-level commerce). The use of coins as the medium of celebratory and political messages will inevitably continue. The place of medals, as enduring tributes of esteem, has continued to become more popular in the first decade of the twenty-first century. In an increasing digital age, these 'memorials in bronze' will endure as witnesses of people, places and events, just as they have in the spheres of St John, throughout the last 900 years.

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The Grand Masters of Malta.

Their heraldry and coinage.

Ian A Crowther JCD MBE GCStJ and Mark Goodman OStJ

This article originates in a superb but half-forgotten ancient coin collection in the possession of the Priory for South Africa of the Order of St John. The collection was originally assembled by members of the Railways and Harbours Sub-District of the Order of St John in Natal in 1937. Certain gold coins were later presented by Alpheus F Williams when he was Sub Prior in 1948. Other donations have been made to the collection since those early times (see Acknowledgements, page).

Because of its value, the collection was very carefully stored away and only in 2006 was it revisited, but then only the main collection, which was photographed and catalogued. However, on 18 January 2012 the Chief Executive Officer for St John South Africa, Craig Troeberg KStJ, was clearing out cupboards in the Library, when he came across an old catalogue of the coins. He knew that the Prior was doing some research connected with the coin collection and would be delighted to receive this additional information. He gave the catalogue to the Prior. The Prior read through the catalogue, which mentioned a separate box of gold coins. He asked where these gold coins were now kept. The safe was eventually opened and seven gold coins in exquisite condition were found in a specially-made box. This find is considered of great historical value to the Order of St John as a whole.

Buried treasure: the collection of mounted gold coins of the ancient Order of St John.

The article which now follows describes the coins, but to set them in context it outlines the history of the Order. It also profiles the Grand Masters during whose reign the coins were issued and describes their distinctive heraldic devices, their coats of arms, which appear on some of the coins.

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The islands of Malta

The three islands, Malta, Gozo and Comino, comprise the present independent nation of Malta and are located in the Mediterranean Sea less than 100 kilometres south of Sicily, 390 kilometres east of Tunis and 360 kilometres north of Tripoli. They cover just 320 square kilometres, with the highest point at 253 metres. The current population is approximately 420,000. Despite its seeming insignificance, several times in its history Malta has become the focus of hard fighting between its residents and outsiders wishing to benefit from its strategic location.

For 268 years, between 1530 and 1798, Malta was the home of the Knights of St John. As well as running an international hospital of over 700 beds, the Knights took it upon themselves to rid the Mediterranean of the scourge of the Ottomans, and as a result the Ottomans attempted on several occasion to take Malta from the Knights, most famously in the Great Siege of 1565, when 500 Knights and an army of 5500 held off an Ottoman force nearly eight times that number.

As a result of the influence of the Order throughout Europe in the late 18th century, Napoleon knew that if his plan for European domination and his campaign in Egypt were to be successful, he must remove the Order from Malta. This he achieved without a fight, thanks largely to the hopelessness of the Knights' then Grand Master, Ferdinand von Hompesch.

During World War II, the Allies used Malta as their 'unsinkable aircraft carrier' to disrupt the Nazi campaign in North Africa and to enable it to be used as a stepping stone for the Allied landings to re- take Italy. Despite the fearful damage and privations caused by extensive Nazi bombing, Malta again held out. For this King George VI awarded the island and her people the George Cross, the civilian equivalent of the Victoria Cross, and at the time the Commonwealth's highest civilian gallantry award. Today the flag of Malta includes an image of the George Cross.

Heraldry: A form of unique identification

The gentle science of heraldry was developed for the easy identification of individuals in battle. Consequently, each heraldic design is unique to an individual, not, as is commonly believed today, associated with a particular surname.

Sheet armour began to be used as a means of protection in the early Middle Ages, but when locked inside a suit of armour in the mêlée of battle or at a jousting tournament, recognition was virtually impossible. There was no point in writing your name over your armour because very few people in those days could read or write.

Knights wore a thin cotton or woollen coat over their armour, principally to hide the vulnerable chinks and damaged armour from the enemy, however it was on this coat that their unique design, or 'arms', was painted or embroidered. This gave rise to the expression 'coat-of-arms'. The same design was also painted on the knight's shield, and the shield became the most convenient item to use to represent the coat of arms. The shield, with the arms depicted on it, forms the central part of the achievement of arms, the full display of all the heraldic components to which the bearer of arms is entitled.

When describing a coat of arms, it is done from the perspective of the wearer (i.e. from behind it). Hence in heraldry the dexter or right side of the shield is in fact on the left, and the sinister or left side is on the right, very much like in stage directions.

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The next most important part of the achievement is the helm or helmet. In battle, a coat of arms might not be visible, so a secondary identification feature was used; the crest. This was a design or adornment fitted to the top of the helmet.

On an achievement, the helmet sits above the shield, and its design indicates the rank of the bearer. The Queen's helm, for example, is gold and looks straight forward. For those who have no title, a plain metal helm is used, facing to the dexter side.

The crest usually sits on a wreath formed of the main colour and main metal of the coat of arms. The mantling, originally thought to have been used to protect the knight from the glare of the sun when on crusade, is usually depicted cascading down both sides of the helm.

The coat of arms of Elizabeth II, Sovereign Head of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem.

The colours, metals and furs used in heraldry are known as the tinctures. They are referred to by their old French names, and are as follows:

- colours: azure (blue); gules (red); sable (black); vert (green); purpure (purple).
- metals: or (gold); argent (silver).
- furs: ermine; ermines; erminois; pean (based on the winter coat of the stoat); vair; counter vair; potent; counter potent (a check based on the back and belly fur of a squirrel).

In the early days of heraldry the designs were fairly simple, often with just a cross or a chevron since there were relatively few knights. However, as time went by designs became ever more complex in order to keep them unique. As a result, the rules of heraldry were developed, and institutions were established, like the College of Arms in the UK, in order to regulate and adjudicate heraldic matters.

As well as being granted to individuals, coats of arms were also granted to institutions, such as schools, universities and organisations like the Order of St John. The relatively simple arms of the Order ('Gules, a cross argent') are indicative of its great age.

Bailiffs and Dames Grand Cross of the Order are entitled to add the Order's arms to their own coats of arm, putting it 'in chief' (i.e. at the top). They are also entitled to add supporters on either side of the shield and a compartment, the ground on which the supporters stand.

Instead of placing the Order's arms in chief as is done today, the Grand Masters of the Order of St John used to quarter their own arms with those of the Order. This can be seen on the coins that they minted.

In most commercial and industrial undertakings today, the use of heraldic devices has been substituted by 'logos', but they retain the same basic function: a quick way to identify the individual company. In the case of the Order of St John, fortunately the Order's cross with its lions and unicorns given by Queen Victoria in 1888, remains unaltered.

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It is strongly hoped that these traditions, including the illustrious, artistic and strikingly beautiful heraldic designs, will long continue in the Order of St John. They bear witness to the extraordinary record of the Order's care and concern for humanity in communities around the world.

The coinage of the Order of St John

The Knights of St John had minted their own coins while in Rhodes, but when Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain and Sicily, donated the islands of Malta to the Order of St John in 1530, the legal documents omitted the 'sovereign privilege' to mint their own currency in Malta. It took Grand Master Philip de Villiers De L'Isle Adam seven months to correct this significant omission, eventually being granted the privilege by Pope Clement VII, despite the objections of the Master of the Mint at Messina in Sicily. Grand Master Petro de Ponte was the first Grand Master to strike his own coins in Malta, and the coinmaker's art reached its peak under Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena in the early 18th century.

The designs evolved throughout the period. Initially they depicted simple subjects relating to St John the Baptist, but later the bust and arms of the Grand Masters became more common. A ducal coronet was introduced by Grand Master Hugh de Loubenx Verdala, and was used by subsequent Grand Masters until Emmanuel Pinto introduced a royal crown. Verdala was also created a Cardinal by Pope Gregory XIII, and his coat of arms was additionally surmounted by a galero, the broad-brimmed tasselled hat of a cardinal.

In 1777 the ancient Order of St Anthony of Vienne was incorporated into the Order of St John. Thenceforth the coat of arms of the Order of St John and its Grand Master was borne upon an imperial eagle with a Tau cross (the emblem of the Order of St Anthony) in its beak. The eagle is always headless on the coins of de Rohan, but on the coins of de Hompesch, the coat of arms is carried on the breast of a double-headed eagle.

The Master of the Mint in Malta was appointed by the Grand Master and all goldsmiths and silversmiths came under the control of the Master of the Mint. Up to 1673, the salary of the Master of the Mint was twenty scudi per month plus free accommodation. Between 1609 and 1798 there were 75 different Masters of the Mint.

As elsewhere, the currency of Malta was made from one of three metals: gold, silver or copper. The standard gold coin was the zecchino (a sequin) and the main silver coin was the scudo. The coin values in Malta were:

- 5 grani = 1 cinquina
- 2 cinquine = 1 carlino (i.e. 10 grani)
- 2 carlini = 1 taro (i.e. 20 grani)
- 12 tari = 1 scudo (i.e. 240 grani)

Obverse and reverse

The term obverse refers to the front of a coin or medal and reverse to the back. However there is no absolute definition for either. Throughout this paper, the authors have used the generally accepted principle that the obverse is the side that depicts the larger image, especially if it is of a head of a monarch or, in this case, a Grand Master. In the absence of such a defining image, that which is most typical of the location, such as a coat of arms of a Grand Master, is depicted The reverse usually, but not always, bears a description of the currency, particularly the value of the coin.

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The cross of the Order

The cross of the Order of St John is the subject of on-going discussion as to its origin and the date it became the cross of the Order. It is widely believed to have been adopted as a result of the funds provided for the rebuilding of the hospital in Jerusalem by the people of the Italian state of Amalfi, which was the only western European state trading in the Middle East. At the time of the formation of the Order in the 11th century, the arms of Amalfi was a white, eight-pointed cross on a blue background.

The Blessed Gerard, founder of the Order of St John, appears to have adopted a black habit bearing an eight-pointed star in white on the left breast, prior to 1113, when Pope Paschal II first officially recognised the Order. What is certain is that this form of cross is now usually referred to as the Maltese cross, a consequence of the Order's 268 year residence on the Island of Malta.

Heraldry and casts of St John at Acre

Guerin de Montaigu (1207–1228)

De Montaigu was the 13th Grand Master of the Order of St John. He helped raise the siege of Acre and distinguished himself at the 5th Crusade. His brother Pedro was the Grand Master of the Knights Templar at the same time (1218–1232). The link between the two Orders was strong at this time, indeed both brothers led their respective Orders at the capture of Damietta, on the Nile delta. Guerin's arms were 'Gules, a three-tiered tower proper.'

A lead bulla (seal) from Guerin de Montaigu's period as Grand Master at Acre in 1220 was the seal of all the Grand Masters and remained virtually unchanged until 1798. It must have come into use by 1113, as it would have been a prerequisite for allowing the Order to carry out business. It is the earliest artefact in the South African Priory's possession. The obverse shows the Grand Master praying in front of a patriarchal cross. The inscription reads 'F: GVARINUS: CUSTOS'. (Brother Guerin, Guardian).

A lead seal from Guerin de Montaigu's period as Grand Master at Acre in 1220. The seal of all the Grand Masters remained almost unchanged from about 1113 until 1798.

Indistinctly between the Master and the Cross are the Greek letters 'α' and 'ω' (alpha and omega). On the reverse, the words 'HOSPITALIS IHERVSALEMA' are clearly legible around the seal. In the middle is what seems to be a patient on an operating table, lying in front of a representation of the hospital. At the top is a small eight-pointed cross.

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Heraldry and coins of St John at Rhodes

Pierre D'Aubusson (1476–1503)

Pierre D'Aubusson was Grand Master in Rhodes and was responsible for the defence of Rhodes against the Ottomans during the three month siege in 1480 when 70,000 Ottomans attacked the island. The island was successfully defended by just over 5000 people, of which 450 were Knights. His coat of arms were: 'or, a cross moline, gules'.

A gold zecchino coin was issued during D'Aubusson's reign. The obverse of this 532-year-old gold zecchino shows John the Baptist presenting the Grand Master with the banner of the Order. On the reverse, within an oval of pellets, is depicted the standing figure of Christ flanked by nine mullets (heraldic stars), five to his left and four to his right.

The 1480 'Pierre D'Aubusson' gold Zecchino coin. The coin is from the year in which D'Aubusson led the Knights in their successful defence of Rhodes.

obverse reverse

Heraldry and coins in England at the time of the grant of Malta to the Order Of St John

Henry VIII (1509–1547)

The Order having been driven from Rhodes, Grand Master de L'Isle Adam undertook extensive tours of Europe seeking a new home for the Order. He interviewed Henry VIII at the Priory of England in Clerkenwell in London and later at St James's Palace. As a result, the King gave de L'Isle Adam a gift of 19 great cannon and 1023 cannon balls. They were sent out to Malta in 1530. One of these cannon was found in 1908, half buried in the harbour at Famagusta in Cyprus. On the barrel are moulded the royal arms of Henry VIII and the arms of De L'Isle Adam and the arms of the Order of St John. There is also the number XIIII, proving the gun to be part of King Henry's gift. This cannon is now in the Museum of the Order of St John at Clerkenwell.

The 1562 'Henry VIII' English groat coin. Though dated 13 years after his death, the obverse still bore a crude image of his head.

obverse reverse

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At the time of the grant of the Islands of Malta to the Order of St John, much of Henry VIII's currency was adorned with the King's head, as can be seen on the English groat dated 1562. On the reverse are the arms of the King: the first and fourth quarters show three fleur-de-lys; the second and third quarters, three lions passant. The three lions have long been the arms of England, and the fleur-de-lys representing France, over which the English King had claim.

Heraldry, coins and medals of St John at Malta

Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam (1521–1534)

Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam was Grand Master during the final Siege of Rhodes when 600 Knights and 4500 soldiers defended the island from attack by 200,000 Ottomans under Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. They held out for six months but eventually, in order to save the inhabitants of Rhodes from certain slaughter, de L'Isle-Adam negotiated a surrender, which allowed the Knights and civilians to leave Rhodes with full military honours. This Suleiman was later to regret.

The Order had no home, and so de L'Isle-Adam travelled the continent to seek assistance from the crowned heads. It was during this period that Henry VIII presented the cannons mentioned above. After seven years of wandering, de L'Isle-Adam negotiated the gift of Malta to the Order by Charles V, King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor. This was critical since many European monarchs were already greedily eyeing the various properties that the Order possessed throughout Europe. Although Malta was to be the fief of the 'sovereign' Order, a nominal rent was agreed: the gift of a falcon to the Viceroy of Sicily on each successive All Soul's Day.

Despite the desperate state of the Island and its rudimentary defences, de L'Isle Adam saw its advantages and began to improve the fortifications. Suffering from poor health he died in 1534 at the age of 75. He had reigned for two years in Rhodes, and then four years on Malta. He was a brave soldier, competent commander and skilful diplomat. He succeeded in keeping the Order together and ensured that it would be able to continue its work. Thus he prevented the Knights Hospitaller from going the way of the Knights Templar.

Pietro del Ponte (1534–1535)

Pietro Del Ponte was from the noble Italian family of Lombriaco, Asti and Calabria. He had been governor of the island of Lango at the time of the fall of Rhodes. During his reign, the Order co-operated with Charles V of Spain in an attack against the Ottomans at Tunis, no doubt a quid pro quo for giving the Order the island of Malta. With 370 ships and 30,000 soldiers, the cost of Charles V's combined army was 1,000,000 ducats. Fortunately for him this was offset by the 2,000,000 ducats paid to the Conquistadors by the Incas for the release of their king Atahualpa in 1533, who was killed nevertheless. Having seen the Ottoman army routed before Tunis, Barbarossa vowed to wreak vengeance on the Christian prisoners held within the fortifications of Tunis. However, among these prisoners was a young Knight of St John called Paul Simeoni who managed to bribe some guards to give him a hammer and chisel to remove his shackles. Once free, he set to work to free the other prisoners. He then made his way to the ramparts of the city where he waved a flag to indicate that the castle was in Christian hands. On hearing of his actions, Charles V said to Simeoni, 'Brother Knight, blessed be forever your courageous resolution, which has made you break your chains, has

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facilitated my conquest and heightened the glory of your Order'. Simeoni went on to be Prior of Lombardy and General of the Order's Galleys.

Del Ponte died soon afterwards, on 18 November 1535. No coins of del Ponte were found for over 300 years, until in 1865.

Didier St Jaille (1535–1536)

Didier St Jaille was a Frenchman and Prior of Toulouse who took part in the defence of Rhodes. He never reached Malta, dying on his way to taking up his office. No coins were minted during his time as Grand Master.

John de Homedes (Juan de Omedes) (1536–1553)

From Aragon, John de Homedes was a Bailiff of Caspe. During his rule there were heavy losses against the Ottomans at Susa and Monastir. In 1551 Malta was invaded by Dragut who besieged Notabile. However Varganon, a well-known French Knight, and six other Knights were sent to assist the inhabitants. The cheers of the besieged inhabitants at the arrival of such a Knight, along with a false report that reinforcements were landing, led the Ottomans to abandon the siege. However they turned their attention to Gozo, which soon afterwards capitulated, resulting in 6000 Christians being taken into slavery. This led to the building of further defences on Malta. Dragut then turned his attentions to Tripoli which had been part of the gift of Malta from Charles V, albeit rather an onerous one for the Order. Dragut successful besieged Tripoli and it was lost. The Order did however rescue Tunis. Homedes died on 6t September 1553 after 17 years as Grand Master. There were no copper coins struck during his reign, however a silver one taro piece was. Its obverse shows the arms of the Grand Master. On the reverse is a depiction of the Paschal Lamb, a reference to John 1:29: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world'. The date 1539 appears between two pellets in the exergue. The legend reads 'ANNVS DEI QVI TOLLIT PECCATA MUNDI': 'Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the World'.

Claude de la Sengle (1553–1557)

Claude de la Sengle had been the Grand Hospitaller but was heavily involved in the battles against Dragut. He continued the defences of Malta, and initiated the development of the city of Senglea, which was named after him. A cyclone caused the loss of several of the Order's galleys, but these losses were soon made up with donations from around Europe. When aged 63, la Sengle became sick. He appointed the French Knight de la Vallette as Lieutenant. La Sengle died on 18 August 1557. There were no gold coins struck in this reign.

Jean Parisot de la Valette (1557–1568)

Coming from a long line of chief magistrates in Toulouse, Jean Parisot de la Valette was a great character, a superb leader and initiator, and he was not afraid to get his hands dirty. He is best known for his leadership of Malta during the Great Siege of 1565. However his rise to Grand Master was not a smooth one. In 1538 he was put in jail for severely beating a layman, and on his release was despatched as the military Governor of Tripoli, then still in the possession of the Order. On his return from Tripoli, he was again punished for bringing with him a North African slave. In 1541 he was captured by the Ottomans and spent a year as a galley slave on one of Dragut's vessels. Thereafter he was made Grand Admiral of the Order's galleys, an unusual honour given that this role was traditionally reserved for the head

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of the Tongue of Italy. This is where his reputation was made. He was one of the outstanding maritime commanders of the age, and on the death of la Sengle, the Order, knowing that an attack from the Ottomans was imminent, elected him Grand Master.

In 1565, 30,000 Ottomans under the command of the same, but rather older Suleiman the Magnificent, along with 193 ships, arrived to besiege Malta. The Knights of St John held out for three months, in one of the most brutal and desperate sieges ever to take place. Of the 9000 defenders of Malta, only 600 survived.

A portrait of La Valette by the French artist Antoine Favray (1706–1792) hangs in the Grand Master's Palace, Valetta. Painted some two centuries after its subject's death, it depicts him wearing the surcoat of the Order.

As soon as the Ottomans departed, la Vallette started work on rebuilding the island's defence to render it safe from further attack. This included building a new city, named Valletta in his honour and which became and still is the capital of Malta. La Vallette, one of the Order's most distinguished Grand Masters, died on 21 August 1568 as the work to build Valetta was continuing, and was the first person to be buried within it. Many gold, silver and copper coins were minted as well as medals to commemorate the siege. A bust of him was commissioned, probably shortly after his death. It is currently (2012) on loan to the Museum of the Order in London.

The oberse of the 1567 'Jean Parisot de la Vallette' two tari coin. This was the first of the Order's coins on Malta to display the Amalfitan cross, which in time became known as the Maltese cross.

One of the coins minted during La Valette's reign is very significant. A two tari coin, one of low denomination, was the first coin to bear a representation of the Amalfi Cross in a Maltese context, an association that is now so strong that this form of cross is generally better known as a Maltese Cross. On the reverse of the coin, the joined hands symbolise the trust that the money would be repaid in silver. The inscription 'NON AES SED FIDES' means 'Not brass (money) but faith'. Despite the financial assistance for the building of Valetta provided by the likes of Pope Pius V, Charles IX of France, Philip II of Spain and Sebastian of Portugal, the Order faced financial difficulties. It was therefore found necessary to issue fiduciary copper coins, which were a copper version of coins that previously had been of silver. These coins depicted shaking hands, symbolic of the promise to repay the amount in silver. However these fiduciary copper coins continued to be issued by many subsequent Grand Masters, even up to the time of Grand Master Jean Paul Lascaris Castellar between 1636 and 1657, so it appears that few if any repayments were actually made.

A beautiful coin of La Valette's reign was the silver three tari piece showing the arms of Grand Master la Valette surrounded by the inscription 'F.JOHANNES DE VALLETTE

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M.HOSP.H.: Brother. Jean de Vallette Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem'. Interestingly, it is spelt with a double 'L'. On the reverse we see the eight-pointed star, with the inscription 'SVB HOC SIGNO MILITAMVS: Under this sign we fight'.

A medal struck to commemorate Valette's death in 1568 shows a bearded profile bust of Valette, wearing a cuirass bearing the Order's cross, and inscribed 'F J Valleta' F.J.VALLETA HOSPIT.HIER'; the reverse is inscribed: 'NATUS GALLIA OBIT MELITAE AN MDLXXIII MDCCCXX: Born France Died Malta' (the dates are indistinct). A bust of La Valette is on view at the Museum of the Order of St John in London. (See Maydon G. 'The recent development of the Order Museum in London' in *St John History*, Volume 12, page 56.)

Peter Guidalotti del Monte (1568–1572)

Peter Guidalotti del Monte was a Prior of Capua and a nephew of Pope Julius III, and took part in the defence of Rhodes and Malta. He continued La Valette's work and moved the Convent to Valetta in 1571 with considerable pomp. The navy gained considerable strength at this time. He died at age 76 on 27 January 1572. Gold, silver and copper coins were minted in his era.

John Levesque de la Cassiere (1572–1581)

John Levesque de la Cassiere was head of the Tongue of Auvergne and had been the Grand Marshall of the Order. He had a considerable reputation for bravery, and he commissioned the building of St John's Cathedral, the Conventual Church of the Order. However, during his period as Grand Master there were three significant rebukes handed to the Order by the Pope. One concerned the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Malta; the second as a result of the capture of a Venetian ship by one of the Order's galleys; the third rebuke concerned the interference of Phillip II of Spain in the appointment of a relative to the Grand Priory of Castile and Leon. In each case Pope Gregory XIII had to intervene to settle things. However La Cassiere was seen as the source of these conflicts and the Knights ended up imprisoning him. The Pope again intervened and La Cassiere's reputation was restored. While attending the enquiry into his action and behaviour in Rome La Cassiere died on 21 December 1581 at the age of 78.

Hugh de Loubenx Verdala (1582–1595)

Regrettably, discord continued during Hugh de Loubenx Verdala's rule. He was too much of a gentle and peace-loving man to impose himself and restore concord. The Pope, however, made him a Cardinal of St Mary in Portico, although this might just have been a ruse designed to impress the discontented knights. He died at the age of 64 on 4 May 1595.

From the death of La Cassiere in 1582, Pope Gregory XIII ordered that a ducal coronet be placed atop the coats of arms of deceased Grand Masters. This coin also shows the cardinal's hat above the coronet. The hands 'of trust' appear on the reverse.

A marvellous example of a gold zecchino from Verdala's reign has recently been discovered in the Priory for South Africa. It shows fine craftsmanship, despite being little more that a centimetre in diameter. The obverse shows John the Baptist blessing the Grand Master. It is inscribed 'M. H F H De LOVBIN VERDLA: Grand Master Brother H de Loubenx Verdala'. The reverse show the figure of Christ surrounded by nine mullets (stars) with an amygdale-shaped ring of pellets. The meaning of the inscription, which appears to read 'DA MICHIVIRIVTE CONTRA HOSTESTI', is not known.

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Martin Garzes (1595–1601)

Also a gentle and mild man, Garzes was devoted to the Order. He brought about an end to the discord. His reign was relatively uneventful except in 1597 when the Order's Cavalry commander, Beauregard, repulsed 2000 Turks who had landed on Gozo. He left a third of his estate to the Order with instructions to build a fort on Gozo. The Fort built there five years later was called Fort Martin.

The obverse of the Martin Garzes' gold zecchio coin.

On the obverse of the Garzes gold zecchino, St John the Baptist is seen presenting the Order banner to a kneeling Grand Master, but there is a remarkable resemblance in design to the D'Aubusson gold coin of 1480. Behind the banner are the letters MH for 'Magister Hospitalia' above a small quartrefoil. The reverse again shows the figure of Christ flanked by nine mullets (stars) within an amygdala shape a ring of pellets. On the D'Abusson coin of 1480, there were five mullets on the left and four on the right.

Alof de Wignacourt (1601–1622)

A naval commander who secured several successes at sea, notably in 1615 when the Turks were ignominiously defeated. He constructed a much needed nine-mile aqueduct to carry water to all parts of Valetta. He was patron of the turbulent painter Caravaggio, who himself was briefly a Knight of St John, before being expelled 'as a foul and rotten member'. Wignacourt died aged 75, on 14 September 1622. His portrait by Caravaggio, briefly a Serving Brother of the Order on Malta, now hangs in the Louvre Paris. Wignacourt's parade armour is exhibited in the Palace Armoury, Valetta.

The portrait of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt, painted by Caravaggio, now hanging in the Louvre, Paris.

Louis Mendez de Vasconcelos (1622–1623)

A Portuguese octogenarian, Bailiff of Acre and former Governor of Angola, Louis Mendez de Vasconcelos had distinguished himself in several naval conflicts against the Turks. He lasted only six months. No gold coins were struck in this reign.

Anthony de Paule (1623–1636)

Anthony De Paule took office at age 71. He was a bon viveur and built himself a palace outside Valetta, which is now the official residence of the President of Malta. He died at the age of 85 on 10 June 1636. Gold, silver and copper coins were minted during his reign.

John Paul Lascaris (1636–1657)

John Paul Lascaris was a member of the noble Genoese family of Vintimiglia and was a descendant of Theodore Lascaris, Emperor of Constantinople, who had introduced the double-headed eagle as a Byzantine symbol, hence Lascaris' coat of arms. He was elected at

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the age of 76 and was attached to the Tongue of Provence. In 1639 a submission was made to Lascaris, with the approval of the English monarch, Charles I, for the re-establishment of the Tongue of England, which had effectively ceased to exist once Henry VIII had broken with the Catholic Church, and confiscated the properties of the Priory of England. A famously dour man, the Maltese apparently still have an expression 'wiċċ Laskri' ('face of Lascaris') to denote a sour facial expression. He concerned himself with some naval activity and died at the age of 97 on 14 August 1657. Gold, silver and copper coins were minted during his reign.

Today in Malta, as one walks down the delightful streets towards the harbour in Valetta, one passes the 'Lascaris' steps, a long series of steps that rise from the harbour. They are not however appreciated by all. The authors came across two versions of Lord Byron's verse:

Lord Byron living in Valette
Spoke of life with one regret
Curse each bloody Maltese stair
That is where I learned to swear.

And the official version—'Farewell to Malta' by Lord Byron, 1832:

Adieu, ye joys of La Valette!
Adieu, Sirocco, sun, and sweat!
Adieu, thou palace rarely entered!
Adieu, ye mansions where I've ventured!
Adieu, ye curséd streets of stairs!
(How surely he who mounts them swears!)

The obverse of a silver carlino coin of the Lascaris reign shows the arms of Grand Master Lascaris on a plain shield surmounted by a ducal coronet surrounded by the inscription 'F. JO. PAVLVS. LASCARIS MM. HH: Brother John Paul Lascaris Master of the Knights of the Hospital of Jerusalem'. The reverse shows a shield bearing the arms of the Order surrounded by the words 'S.IOAN. BAP.PRO.ORA. NOBIS: St John the Baptist Pray for us'.

Martin de Redin (1657–1660)

Martin de Redin took office in opposition to the Grand Inquisitor Odi who employed some rather odious methods to discredit de Redin. De Redin however was backed by the King of Spain and the Pope. For the better protection of the Island he constructed, at his own expense, thirteen fortified towers to guard the east and south coast of Malta, still known as the Redin Towers. He also raised a standing regiment of 4000 musketeers. He died at the age of 69 on 6 February 1660. No gold or copper coins of this Grand Master are known.

Annet de Chattes Clerment Gessan (February–June 1660)

Of the family of the Counts of Clermont, Annet de Chattes Clerment Gessan was 76 when he became Grand Master. He had distinguished himself at the Battle of Mahometta in Africa in 1606 but had been wounded. He died of his wounds after four months in office, on 2 June 1660. No gold or copper coins were minted in his brief rule.

Raphael Cotoner (1660–1663)

A good administrator and very popular, Raphael Cotoner assisted the Venetians during their siege of Candia, Crete. As a result the Knights of St John were rewarded with the privilege of being permitted to carry arms in public in Venice, an honour never known in that Republic.

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He died of a fever at the age of 63 on 10 October 1663. No gold or copper coins were struck in his reign. In heraldic custom it was often the case to display a design indicating a play on the name of the recipient, hence a cotton tree for Cotoner.

Nicholas Cotoner (1663–1680)

Like his brother and predecessor, Nicholar Cotoner was Bailiff of Majorca. He was at the helm during many of the naval victories that helped in continuing the Order's reputation as a power in the Mediterranean. The siege of Candia which had lasted 25 years ended in 1670. The 'Cottonera lines' were constructed at this time, but were not completed till 1716. During his tenure a plague claimed the lives of 113,000 in spite of precautions. Nicholas Cotoner died at the age of 75 on 29 April 1680. No gold or copper coins were minted during this reign.

Gregory Carafa (1680–1690)

Gregory Carafa continued defensive work and constructed four batteries at the foot of Fort St Angelo. A league was formed comprising the Pope, the Republic of Venice and the Knights of St John, all determined to rid themselves of the Ottoman scourge. After some fierce fighting on the northern Mediterranean coast by troops under the command of Correa, the general of the galleys and commander of the Maltese contingent, and Count Heberstein, Grand Prior of Hungary, the Moslems were finally driven from the Adriatic. Carafa died from a fever contracted during the siege of Negropont (Greece) at the age of 73 on 21 July 1690.

Adrian de Wignacourt (1690–1697)

Adrian de Wignacourt was Grand Treasurer of the Order who created a widow's and orphan's fund for the Maltese soldiery. In 1693 Malta was struck by a great earthquake and the Grand Masters and Knights of St John contributed greatly to the relief. He died at 79 on 4 February 1697.

Raymond Perellos Roccaful (1697–1720)

Raymond Perellos Roccaful was elected at age 60 and was full of energy. He came from Aragon. He had a particularly good relationship with Pope Innocent XII, who returned to the Order the right to appoint heads of Commanderies of the Italian Tongue, a right that had been usurped by a previous Pope. Naval conflicts with the Ottomans continued, and Perellos had several new battleships built, including one at his own expense named the St Raymond. The Order captured an 80-gun Tunisian Man-o-War, which was returned to the Order's use and renamed the Santa Croce. He died at the age of 84 on 10 January 1720.

A silver carlino coin of the Perellos reign shows the arms of Perellos on the obverse surmounted by a coronet, and surrounded by the inscription 'F. D. RAYMVN. PERELOS. MM. HH'. The three pears in his coat of arms are a play on the pronunciation of his name: 'Pear-ellos'. On the reverse is a cross of the Order surmounted by a coronet.

Mark Anthony Zondadari (1720–1722)

Mark Anthony Zondadari was from an illustrious Venetian family and he was a nephew of Pope Alexander VII and brother of Cardinal Zondadari. He was previously General of Galleys and also Master of the Horse. More naval battles took place at this time and more enemy ships were captured, and as a result the Ottomans ventured less often into the Mediterranean

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than before. He earned a reputation for his literary ability and wrote a history of the Order, published in Paris in 1719. He died 15 June 1722.

A silver carlino (10 grani) from Zondadari's reign shows on the obverse, the arms of the Order surmounted by a coronet, supported by palm leaves, surrounded by the inscription 'MARCVS ANTONIVS ZONDADARI MM.HH'. This coin also demonstrates the difficulty with the definitions of obverse and reverse. In this case the obverse is the side with the more significant depiction, the arms of the Order. However, on the previous Perellos carlino the arms of the Order were deemed to be the reverse, as the coat of arms of the Grand Master, like the head of a sovereign, was on the obverse. On the reverse there is a rose tree bearing three roses, surrounded by the inscription 'GRATIA OBVIA VLTIO QVAESITA' (the translation is uncertain but is possibly 'obvious grace; desired revenge'). The rose tree is a device associated with the Zondadari family, which also appeared on the Tuscan coinage of the period.

Anthony Manoel de Vilhena (1722–1736)

Anthony Manoel de Vilhena came from Castile and was ruler when many minor naval conflicts took place. He was famous for his wise administration and charitable zeal. Like many Grand Masters, de Velhena had spies in Constantinople. From these he heard of an Ottoman plot to attack the island. As a result he built Fort Manoel on the island in Marsamusetto harbour, and struck medals to commemorate this. A good, charitable and capable man, he was a popular Grand Master. De Vilhena's rule also saw an improvement in the quality of the Maltese coinage. Pieces of twelve, ten, four, two and one zecchino were struck in gold. A complete alteration in the silver coinage also took place during de Vilhena's time and exquisitely finished pieces of two scudi and one to five tari were placed in circulation. Sadly the Priory of South Africa does not have any coins from this period. However, due to the economic conditions of the time, the Maltese gold coins were worth more overseas as bullion, so large quantities were exported. To prevent this flight, no gold coins were struck during the reign of de Vilhena's successor. Further changes were made by Pinto in 1741 and pieces of twenty, ten and five scudi were issued instead of the old zecchini. As a result of this export, gold coins of this period are rare. De Velhena died 12 December 1736.

A copy of a bronze medal which was struck by de Vilhena was found under a statue erected at Fort Manoel. The medal was found in 1887 when the statue was moved. The lion rampant on de Vilhena's shoulder, is the arms of the Manoel family and on his cuirass can be seen the cross of the Order. Around it is the inscriptions 'F.D. AN. MANOEL. DE. VILHENA. M. H. MDCCXXV (1725). On the reverse, the words 'TERRAQ MARIQUE' ('by land and sea'?). Next to the figure is a lion rampant of the Manoel family and on the shield are the arms of de Vilhena. At the feet of the figure is a stone inscribed 'ETERNITAS: Eternity' along with a snake, the symbol of eternity. To the left is the Fort Manoel and to the right is one of the Order's galleys. In the exergue is the inscription 'FORTES CREANTUR FORTIBUS: The brave beget the brave'.

Raymond Despuig (1736–1741)

Nothing of great importance happened during Raymond Despuig's five years as Grand Master. He captured a number of Algerian vessels and died at the age of 71 on 15 January 1741. No gold coins were minted during this reign.

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Emmanuel Pinto (1741–1773)

Emmanuel Pinto was from the noble Portuguese house of De Fonseca. The only incident of significance during his rule was a plot by the Ottoman prisoners on Malta to overthrow the Order, massacre the Christian population of the island, and hand the island over to Constantinople. A mutiny by the Christian slaves on his ship had brought the Ottoman Governor of Rhodes, Pasha Mustafa, to Malta where he had been well looked after and allowed considerable freedom. He hatched a plot that 1500 prisoners should break out and wreak havoc, while most of the inhabitants of Valetta were at a festival in Notabile. The plot would probably have been successful, were it not for a fight that broke out in an inn, when a young member of Pinto's body guard, named Cassar, refused to join the plotters. On hearing the cause of this fight, Cohen, the innkeeper, alerted the authorities. Cassar was promoted to command Pinto's bodyguard, and Cohen was rewarded for his initiative. Pinto claimed for himself the title 'Most Eminent Highness' and was the first Grand Master to use the Imperial crown. Pinto died on 24 January 1773 at the age of 92.

During Pinto's 32 years as Grand Master many beautiful and well-crafted coins were minted, such as the 1756 gold zecchino and gold 5 scudi, and gold 10 scudi of 1763. The obverse carries the imperial crown surmounting the arms of Pinto. The reverse has John the Baptist carrying the standard of the Order with the paschal lamb lying at his feet. Around them is the inscription 'NON SURREXTI MAIOR: none arose greater', a quote about John the Baptist from Matthew xi:11. 'S.V' appears in the exergue for 5 scudi, and note the 'S.X' in the exergue for 10 scudi.

obverse reverse

The 1756 'Emmanuel Pinto de Fonseca' gold 5 scudi coin.

A silver 15 tari piece from Pinto's reign shows the arms of the Grand Master on the obverse in an ornamental shield surmounted by a crown and the date 1759. 'F. EMMANVEL PINTO M.M.H.S.S'. The reverse shows the banner of the Order in the right hand of St John the Baptist and the paschal lamb lying at his feet. They are surrounded by the inscription 'NON SURREXIT MAIOR', with 'T.XV' in the exergue (15 tari).

Francois Ximenez de Texada (1773–1775)

Grand Master Francois Ximenez de Texada was the cause of much discontent on the island, both within the Convent, and the Maltese population. Although he had shown bravery in battle, he was unsuited to the office of Grand Master. The taxation of bread, the suppression of certain appointments in the University, and restrictions he imposed on field sports were some of the bones of contention. Arevolt took place on 1 September 1775, which resulted in the perpetrators being executed and their heads impaled on spikes. Thus was nurtured the seedling of discontent that led to the end of the Order's control of Malta. Although Grand Master von Hompesch capitulated to Napoleon in 1798, the Treaty of Amiens of

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1802 delivered the island back to the Order of St John, but such was the hatred which had grown, that the Maltese population refused to have them back. This was in large part due to the mismanagement and oppression imposed by Grand Masters such as de Texada. De Texada died on 11 November 1775 at the age of 72.

A beautiful gold 10 scudi piece was minted the year de Texada became Grand Master. Dated 1773, it shows the arms of de Texada, surmounted by a crown, with 'S.X' for 10 scudi on either side. Surrounding it is the inscription 'M.M.H ET SANCTI SEPV: IERVSA' an abbreviation for 'Grand Master of the Hospital and the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem'. It shows the date 1773. A silver one scudo piece of the following year shows the unmistakable profile of de Texada facing on the obverse with the inscription 'FR. D. FRANSISCVS XIMENEZ DE TEXADA. M'. On the reverse are the arms of the Grand Master, the date 1774, and 'S1' for one scudo.

The silver two tari coin in the accompanying picture is dated 1774. It shows the arms of the Grand Master on the obverse surmounted by a crown and enclosed by olive branches. It bears the inscription 'F. D. FRAN. XIMENEZ. DE. TEXADA'. The reverse brings back to the cross of the Order, this time with the date between the four arms. It bears the inscription 'M.M.H.ET.SANCTI. SEPV. IERVSA: Grand Master of the Hospital and the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem'.

The reverse of the 1774 'Francis Ximenes de Texada' 2 Tari coin.

Emmanuel De Rohan (1777–1797)

Emmanuel De Rohan was a Frenchman who convoked the Chapter General which had not taken place for 155 years. The statutes were revised, new regulations introduced and reforms enacted. He did a lot to ameliorate the unpopularity of the previous years. In 1781 the Order of St Anthony was incorporated in to the Order of St John and their property transferred to the Order. In 1782 the Anglo- Bavarian Tongue was established. It represented a rebirth of the English Tongue which had fizzled out with the disestablishment of the Catholic Church by Henry VIII in 1538. It was endowed by the Elector of Bavaria. In 1889, however, the French Revolution began and Malta, seen as a bastion of aristocracy, became a target for agents bent on sedition, seeds of which were sown and would later contribute to the downfall of the Order. The Order was particularly vulnerable since a significant proportion of the Knights were French and half of the Order's revenue came from France. In 1792 the French commanderies were confiscated by the Revolutionary government. De Rohan died on 13 July 1797, in the midst of this crisis.

The gold 20 scudi coin dated 1782 is a beautiful example of the minting art. The Order's cross can again been seen on de Rohan's breastplate. The arms of de Rohan and the Order are shown accoltée, The 'S20' stands for 20 scudi.

obverse

reverse

The 1782 'Emmanuel De Rohan' gold 20 Scudi coin.

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Another delightful example of minting from De Rohan's reign was a silver 30 tari piece. The obverse is ordinary but has a small eagle below the head. The reverse shows the arms of Grand Master de Rohan placed on the breast of a headless eagle, surmounted by a crown flanked by the value 'T30'.

Ferdinand de Hompesch (1797–1799)

Ferdinand De Hompesch had been the Grand Bailiff of Brandenburg, and was from one of the noblest families in the Lower Rhine. He had been a page to Grand Master Pinto, the Order's Ambassador to Vienna for 25 years and chief of the Anglo-Bavarian Tongue. However, he paid little attention to the growing numbers of warnings that Napoleon had designs on Malta and intended to destroy the Order. Having done nothing to prepare for an attack, de Hompesch looked out on 9 June 1798 to see the French fleet lying off Valetta. This fleet included the flagship L'Orient, which along with several of the other ships would be destroyed by Nelson at the Battle of the Nile two months later. Napoleon sent a message to de Hompesch asking if his fleet might enter the Grand Harbour to take on water. De Hompesch replied that due to Malta's neutrality they could only admit four vessels at a time. Napoleon used this as the pretext to send a threat to de Hompesch. The Grand Master was not the man for such a moment. In addition he was poorly advised and many of the French Knights were in any case scheming to bring about his demise. The stench of treachery hung heavy in the Mediterranean air. He could not inspire the remaining Knights into any form of combat, as so many previous Grand Master's had done against the Ottoman hordes. On Sunday 10 June, 15,000 Frenchmen landed at eleven different points on the island and in less than two hours Malta was occupied by the French, and two days later the Knights of St John delivered to the French army the town and forts of Malta. De Hompesch died on the 12 May 1805.

A very Germanic looking de Hompesch appears on the silver 30 tari piece obverse in the accompanying picture. The reverse shows a very Germanic representation of his arms quartered with those of the Order and placed on the breast of a double-headed eagle holding in each beak a Tau or St Anthony's cross, the symbol of the Order of St Anthony, which had been incorporated in 1781, and surmounted by a crown flanked by the value 'T30' and the date.

The 1798 'Ferdinand von Hompesch' silver 30 tari coin. Minted in the year in which Napoleon expelled the Knights from Malta, it must have been among the last issued there by the Grand Masters.

Malta under British rule

Napoleon looted the majority of the possessions of the Order of St John, including large quantities of gold and silver, which was melted down, and taken away. Even the silver dishes used by the patients in the Hospital were melted down. A pair of solid silver sacristy gates was however saved by the quick thinking of one of the Knights who painted them black. The

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French occupation lasted only two years. After a siege undertaken by the Maltese people and their allies, the French surrendered and the Maltese population, who had lost 20,000 men in the process, put themselves under the protection of the British. Despite the 1802 Treaty of Amiens giving the island back to the Order of St John, the Maltese refused to allow this, so it remained a Britain protectorate until 30 May 1814, when, under the Treaty of Paris 'the Island of Malta with its dependencies is appertained in full authority and sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty'.

Malta prospered under British rule for 164 years, 1800–1964, until the nation achieved its independence in 1964. In its earlier decades as a British colony, however, the standard of living in Malta was much lower than in Britain, where the smallest British denomination was the farthing (one quarter of a penny). It was therefore necessary for the currency to be divided still further, which gave rise to the 'grano' which was one third of a farthing (one twelfth of a penny). These special British coins

were only for use in Malta and they began being minted in 1827, when George IV was on the throne. In England, these coins remained in use until 1913 when King of George V was on the throne. Copper coins of the Order of St John were eventually recalled in 1827, and those in silver were not recalled until 1886.

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Commemorating the 1926 Mediterranean pilgrimage of the Order of St John.

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On the morning of 4 March 1926 over a hundred men and women—many members of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, as well as friends, well-wishers and photographers—stood on the platform of Victoria station in London awaiting the two o'clock train which would begin their four-week tour of the Mediterranean.[1] The Order had hired the *SS Asia* to take the party from Venice to Jaffa, from where they would visit Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and then return via Rhodes and Cyprus. The Earl of Scarbrough, Sub-Prior and leader of the party, wrote in the Order's official history of the expedition that it was a 'voyage of outstanding significance in the history of the Grand Priory of England'.[2]

The pilgrimage, as it became known, was more than an aristocratic pleasure cruise or historical tour. As a landmark occasion—the first return of the Hospitallers to ancient properties since their departure claimed Scarbrough—the visits were marked with ceremony and expressions of devotion denoting their gravity. For example, upon their arrival at Jaffa and disembarkation, the leaders of the expedition dropped to their knees and recited the Lord's Prayer before taking the train to Jerusalem.[3] As well as praying in the Holy Sepulchre and taking in, among other sites, the Mount of Olives and the Garden of Gethsemane the Order conducted ceremonies of investiture in the Anglican St George's Church—similar ceremonies were held in Rhodes and Malta. To mark the momentous year which had included both the pilgrimage and the granting of a new Royal Charter, the Order commissioned a commemorative medal, which was presented to British monarchs, the Prince of Wales, the Italian King, and the Grand Prior of the Order who featured on its face.[4] Designed by Edward Caruana Dingli, the Maltese painter who would paint King George V in the regalia of the Order, the medal represented the importance of the year's events. The Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, Rennie MacInnes, considered the pilgrimage to have had a 'deep spiritual atmosphere', while the pilgrimage's historian and the Order's Librarian, Colonel E.J. King, concluded that, 'The Pilgrimage of 1926 must stand out for all time as one of the greatest and most significant events in the modern history of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.'[5]

In what follows, I will unpack the different dimensions of the pilgrimage of 1926 in order to put the medal into context.

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Map of the pilgrimage route [Box 13: 18(5), © MOSJ].

'An Official Pilgrimage of the Order'[6]

Regularly described as a 'pilgrimage' by both national press and members of the Order, the trip had precedence in the years following the First World War. Ever since the devastation caused by the 1914–18 conflict, people had travelled to the sites of significant battles for a plethora of reasons. Some went to see where a loved one had fought or died, some wanted to see for themselves what it had been like and some wanted to commemorate—to remember and honour appropriately—the sacrifice of so many. 'The French' wrote a reporter in *The Times* in 1920, 'have a better term for what are described in this country as battlefield tours. They call them pilgrimages.'[7] The prominent trip of King George V in 1922 to the battlefields of northern France and Belgium was publicised in a book of pictures of the trip titled *The King's Pilgrimage*, and included Rudyard Kipling's verse of the same name.[8] Moreover, as the tourism industry picked up and travel became easier, traditional pilgrimage sites came within the means of many: an Anglo-Catholic pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1924 exemplified this trend.[9] The British administration of Palestine under the League of Nations Mandate, beginning with its capture in 1917, has been credited with transforming the potential of Jerusalem for tourism.[10] The Order's 1926 pilgrimage encapsulated the feasibility of travel and expressed the desire of building post-war connections with the past, potentially bridging and thereby mitigating the traumatic damage done to history by the war.[11] It was the Hospitaller past to which the Order turned to assert continuity.

The idea of the trip, wrote Scarbrough later:

> developed into a veritable pilgrimage designed to revive in our minds the heritage of the past, and to bring home to our members and workers the close connection between that heritage, and the present day work of the Grand Priory carried on throughout the Empire in the service of mankind by its two great branches, the ambulance Association, and the Ambulance Brigade.[12]

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This was borne out in the mixture of devotional and ceremonial activities of the Order on tour. Trips to traditional pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land, such as Bethlehem, the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane and the Holy Sepulchre, evoked the life and passion of Jesus Christ, while visits to the Western Wall and the Dome of the Rock completed the tourist itinerary.

March 1926 pilgrimage itinerary

Thursday 4th:	Departed from Victorian station.
Saturday 6th:	Visited the Grand Priory of Venice.
Sunday 7th:	Departed from Venice aboard the *SS Asia*.
Tuesday 9th:	Stopped at Corfu; met the British Consul.
Saturday 13th:	Arrived at Jaffa, took the train to Jerusalem. Visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Mount of Olives, Bethany, and the Garden of Gethsemane.
Sunday 14th:	Mass at previous Hospitaller church, known as Mar Hanna; service in St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem.
Monday 15th:	Drove to Bethlehem, tour of Jerusalem. Evening reception hosted by Lord Plumer, the High Commissioner of Palestine, at Government House with Investiture Ceremony.
Tuesday 16th:	Visited Jericho, Jordan, the Dead Sea or Ain Karin, the Church of St. John. Afternoon reception at Opthalmic Hospital of the Order. Evening tour by Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem, of Solomon's Quarries.
Wednesday 17th:	Departure from Jerusalem via Nablus and Nazareth and embarked aboard the *SS Asia* for Cyprus.
Thursday 18th:	Arrived at Cyprus; evening reception held by the Governor.
Friday 19th:	Visited Famagusta and Cyrenia; departed Cyprus.
Monday 22nd:	Arrived at Rhodes; investiture of the Italian Governor into the Order, followed by reception.
Tuesday 23rd:	Departed Rhodes.
Thursday 24th:	Arrived at Malta; dinner for senior members of the Order hosted by the Governor; evening Investiture Ceremony.
Friday 25th:	Sightseeing in Malta; departed in the evening.
Tuesday 30th:	Disembarked at Venice.
Wednesday 31st:	Arrived back in London.

The route was laden with historical resonance for the Order from start to finish. Venice was 'a favourite port of embarkation for Crusaders in the days when the Christian Kings of Jerusalem still reigned in Palestine';[13] passing through the strait of Corfu engendered a tale of the sixteenth-century Hospitaller admiral Leo Strozzi;[14] and the sights of Jerusalem generated a cacophony of classical, biblical and crusading history – the latter expressly covered by a display of artefacts from the crusader kingdom at the museum run by the Department of Antiquities. Cyprus, Rhodes and Malta all evoked the events of the Order's past as the pilgrims walked the same streets as their spiritual ancestors and imaginatively engaged with their actions, thereby reinforcing the historical associations for each member.

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Pilgrims tour the walls of Jerusalem. [Box 13: 34(19), © MOSJ].

A significant aim of the tour was to conduct three ceremonies of investiture. The Sub-Prior was specifically empowered to induct new members by the Chapter-General, and they took the processional Cross, Sword and Standard of the Order with them. The ceremony in Jerusalem was conducted in the High Commissioner's Residence, as its occupant, Field-Marshal Lord Plumer, was a Knight of Grace of the Order. Those who became members included Bishop MacInnes; John Strathearn, Warden of the Order's Eye Hospital; Professor John Garstang, Director of Antiquities at the Museum of the Department of Antiquities; and Lady Storrs, wife of Sir Ronald. Present were many local dignitaries: the Consuls-General of France, Italy and Greece, representatives of the Orthodox and Armenian Patriarchs, and other religious, civil and military leaders.[15] In his account, King took pains to emphasise that the investiture bridged the gap between the Hospitaller ceremonies of the medieval crusader kingdom of Jerusalem and the present, calling it an 'historic and never to be forgotten occasion, the first reception of new knights in to the Order of St. John that Jerusalem has seen, since its capture by Saladin in 1187'.[16]

While there was no ceremony in Cyprus, the members of the Order were hosted by the Governor, Sir Malcolm Stevenson, at Government House. At the Italian-ruled island of Rhodes, the hall of the knights was used for their ceremony and the local governor made an honorary knight. Again, the historical echoes resonated for King:

> There can have been few present who were not deeply moved by the privilege of taking part in an investiture of our English Order in the very hall at Rhodes, in which the English Knights of a past age had fulfilled that part of their vows, which related to the poor and the suffering. It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful and impressive scene, set in more appropriate surroundings.[17]

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He complemented the Italians on their stewardship of the Hospitaller sites, as compared to their condition under the Turks. Heritage preservation (or lack of), Astrid Swenson has argued, was a marker of civilisation and a feature of imperial competition, particularly between the older imperial powers of Britain and France and the newly ambitious Italy.[18]

Fincham in the Street of the Knights, Rhodes. [Box 8: 53(14), © MOSJ].

At Malta the pattern repeated. The senior members were entertained by the British Governor, Sir Walter Congreve, and met the Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet on board the battleship HMS *Queen Elizabeth*.[19] The investiture included the Maltese painter E.C. Dingli, who memorialised the event on canvas, and the historian Hannibal Publius Scicluna, whose collection of books has eventually found its way to the Bodleian Library in Oxford. These events simultaneously conducted the business of the Order—adding new members—and were statements of prestige: high profile events in historically significant sites and which, in Malta at least, drew local ire. Considering that the trip was facilitated by the British Foreign and Colonial Offices and that upon its conclusion the Order received notes from the Italian sovereign and King George V, as well as other British and Italian dignitaries, it could be considered a success on several fronts. The King wrote:

> I have great pleasure in congratulating you, the Grand Prior, and the Members of the Grand Priory, upon the completion of their very successful Pilgrimage to those places especially connected with the history of the Order. This undertaking creates a new incident in its tradition and will increase the interest taken in its general welfare and activities.

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Investiture at Malta, Grand Master's Palace, Edward Caruana Dingli. [LDOSJ 1780 © MOSJ].

Material devotion: objects of memory

Pilgrimages would traditionally involve the acquisition of material objects which could act as the focus of remembrance of the devotional journey – these might be explicitly made *en masse* and sold to pilgrims or be something that had individual meaning. Unsurprisingly, the Order's pilgrimage attracted a range of material which is represented in the Museum's archive. In addition to the published account of the trip, two large scrapbooks contain newspaper cuttings, memoranda, dinner seating plans, correspondence and printed photos from the pilgrimage.[20] Glass slides of the photographs taken are meant for slideshow displays. Members of the Order clearly treated the trip with reverence, as much of this ephemera has been preserved with an eye for posterity.

Most permanently, the Order sought to cement the memory of the pilgrimage in stone. A plaque commemorating the communion taken in St. George's Cathedral was installed in the same church, and a tablet of 'burnt glass' featuring the Order's arms, motto and an inscription was placed in the entrance to the Church of Mar Hanna in Jerusalem memorialising 14 March 1926.[21] At the suggestion of Henry Pirie-Gordon the Pro-Jerusalem Society produced a series of five tiles which could be purchased by members of the Order. They were especially made – said the President of the Society – on the site of the Roman Garrison on the Temple Mount and included a central tile with 'Jesus' written in Aramaic script, flanked by the arms of the Order, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre and the cross of the Order of St John.[22]

Plaque commemorating the 1926 Pilgrimage, 14 March 1926, St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem. [© MOSJ].

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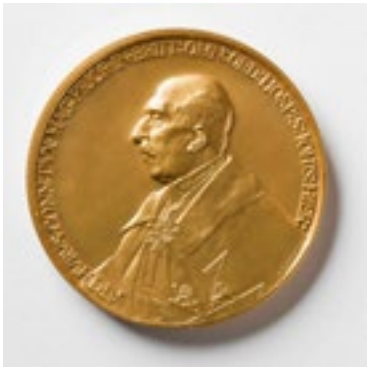
The impulse to appropriately mark the pilgrimage extended to the painting by Dingli of the investiture at Malta mentioned above, which is now in the Museum of the Order of St John. Dingli's work found sufficient favour that he was later commissioned to paint King George V in the regalia of the Order.[23] One journalist reported that three tons of cannonballs used in the siege of Rhodes were being shipped to Clerkenwell; a number of which still reside in the archive.[24] On an individual level, at the Garden of Gethsemane in Jerusalem members of the Order were permitted to each pick three violets and were presented with a sprig of olive and rosemary: these could serve as personal devotional reminders of the pilgrimage.[25] Similarly, the pilgrims were given small bronze badges in Malta featuring the head of St John the Baptist; one of these badges was on display as part of the *Holy City, Holy War* collection.[26] These were personal souvenirs of the trip, able to be worn or displayed or kept as private keepsakes.

Pilgrimage badge depicting the head of St. John. [LDOSJ 432.6 © MOSJ].

The Commemorative Medal

Upon their return from the East, the Order commissioned medals commemorating the pilgrimage and the further Royal Charter granted in 1926. Measuring roughly 7 centimetres in diameter they were available in silver or in bronze versions to be bought from the Order; a silver one cost £3 10s (shillings) and a bronze one £2 2s in 1927. Silver medals were sent to King George V, the King of Italy, the Prince of Wales and the Grand Prior of the Order, while those members of the Order who had been involved in organising the pilgrimage or offering hospitality to pilgrims were also sent medals.[27] The front of the medals featured the Grand Prior 'wearing the Mantle of the Order over a Field-Marshal's uniform' while the obverse included a fifteenth-century ship of the Order whose design was modelled on an image of Columbus' ship the *Santa Maria* and whose sails bore the Order's cross. Designed by Dingli, the medals were struck by Charles Wright Ltd of Edgware Medallists.[28] The Order's end of year report for 1927 recorded that 36 silver and 34 bronze medals had been sold, with 5 silver and 48 bronze medals remaining.



Commemorative medal issued for the 1926 pilgrimage and new Royal Charter. [© MOSJ].

Commemorative medal, obverse. [© MOSJ].

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Reception. 'New Crusade: From Clerkenwell to Jerusalem'[29]

The pilgrimage was not merely of interest to members of the Order. The Order's royal connections ensured the touring party could expect the hospitality of British officials wherever they went; indeed, many were already members of the Order or became such on the trip. The archbishop of York wrote prayers for the pilgrimage and it attracted the attention of the international press and their reporters in the places visited.[30] Many dwelt on a romantic history of the crusades and presented the Order—at least in their headlines—as new crusaders.

This association, built on the perception of continuity between the medieval military order born in the crusades and the modern order of chivalry, fired the imagination of reporters. The *Yorkshire Press* ran an article in December 1925 titled 'Old Crusades Revived', while the *Daily Chronicle* wrote of the 'Glories of the Crusaders Revived'.[31] The historical roots of the Order were repeated unquestioningly in many accounts: the sites visited were 'ancient strongholds' of the Order, the pilgrims were 'modern crusaders' and their banner was the same one 'borne by the Crusaders in the eleventh century'.[32] According to the *Belfast Telegraph* the Order was the 'oldest and sole survivor of the many orders of knighthood formed in connection with the Crusades'.[33] The articles often repeated a standard text which included the observation that noted the Foreign Office assistance for the trip and often recalled a quirk of maritime law: 'An old Admiralty order of 1700 directs all ships of the Navy to salute the flag of the Order, and as this has never been repealed, presumably they will do so during the present cruise.'[34]

The newspapers continued to track the progress of the pilgrimage, with W.M. Duckworth of the *Daily News* publishing several articles, suggesting his own participation. Indeed, he seemed to have thoroughly engaged with the pilgrimage and the spirit in which it was undertaken:

> Hardly any of us had imagined it possible to organise a Twentieth Century Crusade with real Knights wearing black mantles and carrying their Sword of State and other insignia with which they intend to revive the mediæval panoply of their venerable order. It will take some little time for a too rapidly moving world in which mere chivalry counts for so little to assimilate half-forgotten romance of this kind. Yet here we are, over a hundred of us, distinguished and undistinguished, making our pilgrimage in the luxury of a modern liner [...] We do not intend to march or ride on horse or palfrey through the windswept wastes of Asia Minor. We come with passports instead of swords, but with the same dauntless spirit of healing brotherhood that has made the Order of St. John of Jerusalem the most honoured of all Orders of Knighthood[35]

The Times published the Order's itinerary and posted reports from Jerusalem, Malta and Rhodes while *The Guardian* included a picture of the procession in Jerusalem, and the *Daily Mail* noted the progress of the pilgrimage.[36] Even commentators at home could vicariously experience the thrill of the pilgrimage. One contributor to the *The Graphic* wrote that:

> It is with the keenest interest that we will follow them on their pilgrimage to the Holy City [...] surely the deep thrill of sacred feelings that every Christian is bound to experience on reaching the city of holy memories will be intensified by the very fact of their being the perpetuators of this most ancient Christian Knighthood, whose valiant deeds in defence of the Holy Sepulchre against the infidels are well known in history[37]

The level of newspaper coverage demonstrates that the pilgrimage resonated beyond the members of the Order—there was broad interest in the pilgrimage amongst the British public it seems.

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Not all the reception abroad was positive, however. While in Malta the Order managed to secure the Throne Room of the Grand Master's Palace for their final investiture. Local papers reveal that there was some opposition to the staging of the English Order's ceremony at the centre of the original Order's home. The *Malta Herald* suggested that the ceremony going ahead would be 'very indelicate'; another piece translated from Italian more strongly called the Order's intention a 'profanation' of the Palace.[38] The *Daily Malta Chronicle* fought back and labelled the opposition to the Order's investiture 'anti-British and pro-Italian' agitation which the *Herald* denied.[39] Any objections—whether political or religious—came to naught as the Order held its investiture without incident.

Pilgrims at Rhodes. [Box 13: 78(74), © MOSJ].

In visiting traditional holy places in Jerusalem and Mandate Palestine, as well as previous homes of the Hospitaller Order, the 1926 expedition of the Order of St John contained both spiritual pilgrims and 'roots tourists' seeking the Order's heritage.[40] The Order sought to bridge the rupture between its modern foundation in 1831 and its medieval heritage, in part through physically retracing the steps of the Hospitallers' Western peregrination. Moreover, the impulse to establish connection took material form. As well as the commemorative plaques placed in churches in Jerusalem, records suggest that throughout 1925 the Order corresponded with the British Colonial Office with the intention of purchasing parts of the Muristan—the site of the first Hospitaller complex in the city.[41] By 1926, this seems to have been successful; one report commenting that 'This gives our Grand Priory a footing in the ancient home of the Order in Jerusalem.'[42]

For the public, the image of the modern crusade of a medieval knightly order carried weight. It placed the pilgrimage in a romantic narrative of British crusading which had become

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entwined with British self-perception in the Victorian and Edwardian periods and persisted through the First World War.[43] In the context of the post-war world the trip of the high-profile Order sought to build continuity with the past and look to the future with ceremonies of investiture of new members. The commemorative impulse, encapsulated by the medals, illustrates that the pilgrimage was clearly understood by contemporaries to be a moment of lasting historical significance. Indeed, members of the Order, both those who undertook the journey and those at home, saw it as a moment of long-awaited homecoming for the British Order to its Mediterranean roots.

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Coronation and Jubilee Medals.

Todd Skilton OStJ JP

in conjunction with the Museum of the Order of St John, Clerkenwell, London

From weddings to funerals, coronations to jubilees, St John Ambulance has been on hand to assist at events relating to the British Monarchy for over 130 years. The work of the St John Ambulance Brigade at these events has had a big effect on enhancing its perception and the reputation of the Order of St John overall.

Some of the biggest events have been the Coronation and subsequent Jubilees of Monarchs. Ever since Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, it has been customary to award medals as a personal souvenir of the event from the Sovereign. They were originally awarded to recognise service at the celebration events and later as a type of honour recognising their service.

There is normally one design of official medal that is awarded to all recipients whether military or civilian but for the period between the 1887 Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria and the Coronation of George V in 1911, other special types of medals were issued as well as the official type.

Of particular interest to St John, were the 'Police' Coronation and Jubilee Medals, known as such because the majority of the medals were awarded to the Metropolitan and City of London Police. There were a number of different reverse designs of the Police medal which show the organisation in which it was awarded and on three occasions (1897, 1902 and 1911) there was a reverse design which incorporated the words 'St John Ambulance Brigade'. These special variation medals were almost exclusively awarded to those who conducted duty during the public celebrations.

In addition to awards granted by the Sovereign of the United Kingdom, St John members have also received awards instituted outside of the United Kingdom which are not comprehensively covered in this article.

1887–1911

Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, 1887

St John's first significant royal celebration was the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria on 20 June 1887. At the time, the service was referred to as the 'Invalid Transport Corps' and only 50 men participated at the invitation of the Police.1

Both official and Police Jubilee medals were sanctioned by Queen Victoria in 1887. Eligibility of the Police version of the medal was restricted to members of the Metropolitan and City of London Police on duty in London during the Jubilee celebrations meaning St John personnel were not eligible.

John Furley who was in executive command of the duty for the Golden Jubilee Celebrations and Dr Samuel Osborn FRCS, who took charge of medical arrangements and all members

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present on duty, were both awarded the official Jubilee Medal 'in recognition of the services of the Brigade at the Jubilee Celebrations'.[2]

Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, 1897

St John Ambulance was called upon to provide first aid support during Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee which was held on 22 June 1897. Members travelled from around the country to take part, some losing two days' pay to be involved in the special event. St John paid for their lodging and rations but the volunteers had to pay for their own travel. Following an early morning inspection, the members marched to their posts where they were stationed for the rest of the day to fulfil their duties. In total, 40 surgeons, 102 nursing sisters and 700 men with 14 litters and 7 ambulance wagons worked together and manned 95 stations along the route which straddled both sides of the River Thames.[3]

The Police Diamond Jubilee Medal was awarded for duty at the principal Jubilee events on the same basis as the 1887 medal but as eligibility was widened to include firemen and members of ambulance units, St John personnel were eligible. The annual report of the Order records that awards were made to 807 men and 103 women.[4]

Medals awarded to Brigade Chief Superintendent W.J. Church Brasier, including Queen Victoria Police. Image © Museum of the Order of St John.[5]

Left to right: Police Diamond Jubilee Medal; King Edward VII Coronation Medal; Order of St John medal (missing); St John Service Medal; St John South Africa Medal; the sixth medal was not identified.

Coronation of King George V, 1902

The Coronation ceremony for King Edward VII had been scheduled for 26 June 1902, but on 24 June it was announced that the king had caught a severe cold while attending a searchlight tattoo at Government House. The Coronation was therefore postponed to 9 August 1902.

Due to postponement, the Coronation route was shortened and it was unnecessary to use St John personnel from outside London (No. 1 District) apart from representative Deputy Commissioners. Reports record that 912 members of the Brigade were on duty, consisting of 34 Honorary Surgeons, 47 officers, 715 men and 116 Nursing Sisters, all of whom were issued the St John Ambulance version of the Coronation Medal.[6]

It is also possible that 'some of the leading men' received the standard issue Coronation Medal by the King's own wish, however this has not been substantiated.[7]

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Coronation of King Edward VII, 1911

For the 1911 coronation members of St John Ambulance were drawn from all over the country and this medal is the most common of the Coronation Medals issued to members of the Brigade.

The exact number of St John recipients of the 'Police' Coronation Medal has not been established, but 2,755 medals were named[8] with records confirming that St John purchased 2,885 medals.[9] The medals were named to recipients on the rim.[10]

In addition, 11 members of the Brigade were awarded the official medal as a result of HM King George V wishing to confer his 'own' medal upon some of the 'senior men' of the Brigade who had rendered valuable services on ambulance duty during the time of the Coronation festivities. The medal was awarded to the following members: the Chief Commissioner, the Medical Officer-in-Chief, the Lady Superintendent-in-Chief of the Nursing Corps, the Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Corps and the Commissioners of the seven regional Districts.[11]

Two other events were held in 1911 associated with the Coronation, which St John Ambulance supported and subsequently received medallic recognition for: King George V's visit to Ireland, and an assembly held in Delhi, India to mark the Coronation.

Visit to Ireland, 1911

The King George V's Visit Police Commemoration Medal 1911 (Ireland) was awarded to those members of the Irish Police Forces, their civil staff and 92 members of the Dublin St John Ambulance Brigade on duty during the various engagements of King George V's visit to Ireland in July 1911.[12] Staying in Dublin, he drove in state through the city in an open carriage as well as attending a number of official ceremonies to celebrate his recent coronation.[13]

The King granted the right to wear the medal to those members of the St John Ambulance Brigade who had been on duty during his stay. These unnamed medals were presented by Mr Justice Ross on 18 July 1912 in Lord Iveagh's gardens, St Stephen's Green. The Corps was under the command of Dr Lumsden, St James' Gate Division.[14] Medals were presented to:

- St James' Gate Division: 53 officers and men
- Messrs Jacobs' Division: 17 officers and men
- City of Dublin Division: 12 officers and men
- City of Dublin Nursing Division: Lady Superintendent and 5 nurses.

Delhi Durbar, 1911

The Delhi Durbar was an Indian imperial-style mass assembly held in Delhi, India, to mark the succession of an Emperor or Empress of India. Following the Coronation of King Edward VII, the assembly was held on 12 December 1911.[15]

The Delhi Durbar Medal (1911) was awarded in silver to the men and officers of the British and Indian Armies who participated in the 1911 event. Forty Brigade Members from the Calcutta, Lucknow, Peshawar and Bombay Divisions and one from the Royal Army Medical Corps were awarded the Medal.[16] Several members of the Brigade from the United Kingdom travelled to India to help train members of the fledgling Indian St John Ambulance Brigade in public duties and worked alongside them for the ten-day event.[17] The printed medal rolls do not indicate that these members received the Medal, however Corbet-Fletcher states that there was a contingent of nearly 100 St John members present, all of whom were awarded the medal.[18]

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Medals awarded to Mrs E. Denchfield (1902–1934) © Museum of the Order of St John.[19]

Left to right: King Edward VII Coronation Medal; King George V Coronation Medal; and the St John Service Medal with bars.

1935–1977

The 1935 Jubilee saw a change in policy as to how awards were allocated. United Kingdom authorities decided on a total number to be produced, and then allocated a proportion to each of the United Kingdom, Commonwealth countries and Crown dependencies and possessions. No longer would every St John member who performed duties at the celebrations received the medal, as the award of the medals was then at the discretion of the government, who were free to decide who would be awarded a medal and why. Records of the St John personnel who received the medals were not centrally maintained and therefore details are inconsistent across all jurisdictions.

King George V Silver Jubilee, 1935

Five-hundred Jubilee Medals were awarded for distribution among St John members in the United Kingdom by HRH King George V 'to be worn in commemoration of Their Majesties' Silver Jubilee'.[20]

In addition, 84,400 units of the medal were awarded throughout the Commonwealth. The Dominion of New Zealand was allocated 1,500 medals; 11 of those were awarded to St John personnel.[21] In Australia, 6,500 were issued to selected Australians.

Miniature medals of an unidentified Australian Officer (Brother or Sister) of the Order of St John who received the King George V Silver Jubilee Medal 1935, and the King George VI Coronation Medal 1937.[22]

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Coronation of King George VI, 1937

The total issue of this medal was approximately 90,000.[23] A number of issues of the general Coronation 1937 Medal were made to St John personnel in the United Kingdom, but it has not been possible to find a specific number in records.

In addition, the medal was awarded as part of allocations through the Commonwealth: for example, the Dominion of New Zealand was allocated 1,600 medals and 14 were awarded to St John personnel.[24] In Australia, 6,500 were issued to representative Australians (90,279 total across the commonwealth).

The orders, decorations and medals of Brigadier George Frederick Arthur Pigot-Moodie MC (1888–1959) who became an Officer (Brother) of the Order of St John in 1952. He served with the 2nd Dragoons (The Royal Scots Greys) from 1908 to 1938. © The Royal Scots Dragoon Guards Museum.[25]

Left to right: Military Cross 1915; Officer (Brother) of the Order of St John 1952; 1914 Star ('Mons Star') with clasp '5th August–22nd November'; British War Medal 1914–20; Allied Victory Medal 1914–19 with Oak Leaf (signifying Mention in Dispatches); King George V Silver Jubilee Medal 1935; King George VI Coronation Medal 1937; and the Rusian Order of St Anne, 2nd Class, with swords, 1915.

Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 1953

In the United Kingdom, 203 men and 95 women members of the Order, the Association, and the Brigade were awarded the Coronation Medal 1953.[26]

In addition, the medal was awarded as part of allocations through the Commonwealth: for example, New Zealand was allocated 2,500 medals and 27 were awarded to St John personnel.[27]

Silver Jubilee of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 1977

The total issue of this medal was very restricted compared to earlier issues, totalling 30,000 in the United Kingdom.[28] Thirty-two women members of St John in the UK received the 1977 Jubilee medal.

A number of issues of the general Jubilee Medal were made to St John personnel in the United Kingdom, but it has not been possible to find a specific number in records.

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In addition, the medal was awarded as part of allocations through the Commonwealth: for example, New Zealand was allocated 1,500 medals and 23 were awarded to St John personnel.[29]

Canada instituted its own distinctive Jubilee Medal and made 30,000 awards overall, with 70 allocated and awarded to St John personnel.[30]

2002–present

The Golden Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II in 2002 saw another change in the policy as to how awards were distributed. The change meant that no longer would awards be made on a discretionary basis and instead the medal was awarded to only those personnel in specified organisations, primarily the armed services and front line emergency services, along with members of the Royal Household who had served for five or more years.

As a result, for both Queen Elizabeth's Golden Jubilee 2002, and Queen Elizabeth's Diamond Jubilee 2012, St John was not listed as a specified organisation as it was not considered to be a frontline ambulance service. However, some members received the medal due to qualifying in other capacities, including as first responders within the National Health Service.

HRH the Duke of Gloucester, Grand Prior of the Order of St John, wearing the sash and star of the Order of the Garter, along with the Grand Prior's neck badge and several Jubilee medals.

Left to right: Coronation Medal 1953; Silver Jubilee Medal 1977; Golden Jubilee Medal 2002; Diamond Jubilee Medal 2012; Soloman Islands Independence Medal 1978; St John Service Medal; the 7th medal is not identified. © The Royal family via Twitter.[31]

The Medal was not generally offered outside of the United Kingdom. Due to this Canada instituted its own special distinctive medals to recognise the 2002 and 2012 Jubilees to be awarded on a discretionary basis. For the 2002 Golden Jubilee, 203 medals were allotted and awarded to St John personnel. For the 2012 Diamond Jubilee, 45 were allotted, however the actual number awarded to St John Ambulance personnel (which could have been through a Minister of Parliament, Senator, Lieutenant Governor, the Office of the Secretary to the Governor-General or from membership in another organisation), along with those allotted to the Priory of Canada, was 65.[32]

In 2001, after being advised that St John would not be eligible to receive the official Queen Elizabeth Golden Jubilee Medal, St John developed a proposal to institute its own medal under the Statutes of the Order. This was informally agreed to, but it was indicated that approval for the medal to be included in the Order of Wear was unlikely. As a result, the Order decided not to proceed with the matter.[33]

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In November 2020, it was announced that a Platinum Jubilee medal will be issued should her Majesty remain on the throne until 6 February 2022.[34] However again, despite representations being made, the Order of St John was not included in the list of organisations when the eligibility criteria were announced [ref. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/platinum-jubilee-medal-revealed].

Acknowledgments

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One St John
Guidelines for contributors

One St John: The International Historical Journal of the Most Venerable Order of St John aims to present, and encourage, writing about the history of the Most Venerable Order of St John, the Order's Foundations and Establishments, and related subject areas.

One St John was launched by the Grand Prior, HRH Prince Richard Duke of Gloucester, in May 2015 during the Order's Grand Council meeting in Edinburgh.

One St John is an online journal published by St John International.

It is the aim of St John International that *One St John* is a truly global publication, with management of publication shared by all Priory librarians and historians. In the interim, the Co-Editors will continue to be:

- Dr Matthew Glozier FRHistS, FSAScot (Archivist–Librarian and Official Historian of St John Ambulance Australia [New South Wales])
- Dr Ian Howie-Willis KStJ (Historical Adviser, Office of the Priory, St John Ambulance Australia)
- Professor John Pearn GCStJ (Priory Librarian, St John Ambulance Australia).

The nature of *One St John*

The proposal for *One St John* agreed to by the Standing Committee of the Grand Council of the Most Venerable Order of St John in February 2015, was for a publication that:

- appeals to a broad spectrum of the international St John community
- contains articles contributed by diverse authors, inclusive of all backgrounds
- contains articles that result from thorough research
- are written at the level of the general lay reader, using the principles of Plain English to allow their work to be understood by a wide audience, where English might not be a first or even a second language.

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One St John will accept:

- unsolicited, previously unpublished articles that fit within the scope of the history of the Order of St John
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Although One St John is an historical journal, 'history' may be interpreted broadly to include: biography, the history of ideas, technological history, institutional history, administrative history, archaeology, genealogy, historiography, heraldry, philately, numismatics, museology and other areas of history.

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Your article must be submitted as an electronic file in Microsoft Word (.doc) or Word (.docx) format. Please do ***not*** send it in PDF format.

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Article submissions should include:

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The preferred referencing system to use is called the documentary-note system. This system is preferred given the diversity of authors published in *One St John*, the large number of citations generally associated with this subject matter, and the opportunity for further explanation or further personal observation by the author. This system allows for relatively easy use, and reader accessibility.

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For example:

Superscript reference in text:

> Khaled Zuaiter confirmed that more than half of the 50-plus patients consulted on an average day had never seen an eye doctor before: If we weren't here … There will be more blindness in this country.[49]

Reference in Notes:

> 49. M Kalman, 'Lack of vision threatens vital West Bank eye clinics: St John of Jerusalem eye hospital is losing funding for outreach clinics for Palestinian patients', *The Guardian*, 1 March 2014, accessed 10 June 2019.

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The Co-Editors believe that the authors' reward will be the satisfaction of seeing their material published before an international audience via *One St John*.

January 2022

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