

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF IRELAND

**Occasional Papers
59 – 66**

Edited by
Ronan Fitzpatrick



Dedicated to passed members who have enriched our knowledge through their
commitment to the study of numismatics and their engagement with
The Numismatic Society of Ireland.

Front cover: The pin of the Society. Actual size 15.5mm

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**CENTRAL BANK &
FINANCIAL SERVICES
AUTHORITY OF IRELAND**

EUROSYSTEM

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P R E F A C E

Those who founded our society in 1961 adopted the aim of ‘advancing the study and fostering interest in numismatics especially Irish numismatics’. One of the approaches to that has been the publication of scholarly papers when these are available and the current committee are very pleased to be able to continue this tradition with our Occasional Papers. The tradition continues in the belief that it is incumbent on those of us who are passing this way at this time to leave our knowledge and understanding for future numismatists.

The seven papers in this edition are very significant and in some cases add new knowledge while in others there are new dimensions to topics that are of great interest to members of our society. All papers have an important Irish interest and there is a rich variety of topics. The depth of the research means that the papers are confidently illustrated in a way appropriate to the content and adds to the reading. Two of the papers have been read to the society and content from another was introduced at a society talk. That talk is now fully extended into a complete paper. The remaining four papers are completely new. So, there is much for both home and oversea members to enjoy. The seven authors are from Ireland, the UK and America which clearly indicates the broader prestige our publications are generating.

Authors have expressed the hope that their research will stimulate further research and debate around these subjects and they specifically invite members to share with them anything that adds to general understanding. The Numismatic Society of Ireland agrees with this and encourages all members to contribute in every way they can and to support those contributors.

We express our sincere thanks to the authors for supporting the society and thank them for engaging with our editorial process. We also thank them for their patience while we brought their work to publication. We wish them every success in their continued research and publication and hope that their research will lead to further papers and perhaps books for the society to publish. We also thank our sponsors whose continued support makes it possible to publish these papers. And, we look forward to more members being inspired to contribute to future Occasional Papers.

Ronan Fitzpatrick,
Dublin,
Autumn 2017.

**AN EXCITING RECENT DISCOVERY –
UNIQUE BRADBURY WILKINSON ESSAYS
PREPARED FOR THE CURRENCY COMMISSION IN NOVEMBER 1927**

**Jonathan Callaway
International Bank Note Society**

An exciting recent discovery has cast new light on the process undertaken by the newly formed government of the Irish Free State to set up a distinct and separate currency for Ireland. This process did not begin immediately given the security offered by the continuation of a stable currency environment in Ireland despite the widespread civil unrest prior to and immediately after independence. The paper currency issues of the six leading Irish commercial banks and the existing British coinage thus continued to circulate unaffected by the turmoil.

There was, however, the clear intention that an independent Ireland should establish its own currency and that this should take shape in the form of distinctly Irish notes and coins. An early guiding principle made it clear that the maintenance of currency stability was paramount; Ireland had been in currency union with Britain since 1826 when the Irish pound was abolished and Sterling became the sole currency of the whole United Kingdom. Parity and free exchangeability was thus considered essential.

In March 1926 a Commission of Enquiry into currency, banking and the note issue was established under the chairmanship of the American Professor Henry Parker-Willis. The Commission's main recommendations were incorporated in the Currency Act of September 1927:

- The creation of a new currency, the Saorstát Pound, to be freely exchangeable at par with Sterling.
- The issue of Legal Tender Notes to be managed and controlled by a new Currency Commission.
- Existing commercial bank note issues (in the Irish Free State) to be replaced by 'Consolidated' banknotes issued by the Currency Commission and redeemable in Irish legal tender.

The Coinage Act of 1926 established the basis for the creation and issuance of Irish coins to replace the British ones in circulation. An advisory committee under the chairmanship of the famous poet and Senator William Butler Yeats was appointed to oversee the design process which ended with the English artist and sculptor Percy Metcalfe winning the competition.

In late 1927 Joseph Brennan, the Chairman of the Currency Commission, appointed another advisory committee to decide on designs for both the legal tender notes and the consolidated notes. Membership included Dermot O'Brien, President of the Royal Hibernian Academy and Thomas Bodkin and Lucius O'Callaghan, both Directors of the National Gallery, all of whom had served on the committee which chose the coinage designs.

Some sort of selection process must have been undertaken prior to the commissioning of Sir John Lavery to paint an ‘*emblematic female figure*’ to feature on the new legal tender notes. The decision to appoint Sir John was taken in December 1927 and confirmed in January 1928. Little however has been revealed about what other designs might have been considered and how and to what extent alternative proposals might have been submitted by other security printers.

The choice of printers is described as follows by Moynihan in his essential work *Currency and Central Banking in Ireland 1922-1960*: ‘*Having considered applications from a number of security printers in Britain and overseas, and after some hesitation and change of mind on their own part, the Commission selected Waterlow & Sons Ltd to print the legal tender notes and Thomas De La Rue & Co Ltd to print the consolidated bank notes*’.

It is clear from Moynihan that the Currency Commission (i.e. Joseph Brennan himself) essentially micro-managed the finalisation of the designs of both legal tender and consolidated notes, with much of the design detail, choice of watermarks and many other features receiving his close attention. A feature of the winning note design Brennan was very keen on was the inclusion of a portrait. He took the view that a well-engraved portrait was an important anti-forgery device and this might well have been a decisive factor in choosing the Lady Lavery design.

His micro-managing included the form of words to be used on the legal tender notes. Under the Currency Act the notes were to be payable by the Commission at the London Agency in British legal tender and it was proposed that wording to this effect should appear on each note in both Irish and English. The wording finally agreed was, typically ‘ONE POUND STERLING PAYABLE TO BEARER ON DEMAND IN LONDON’ (in Irish, ‘TÁ PUNT STERLING INÍOCTHA AS AN NÓTA SO LE N-A SHEALBHÓIR AR N-A ÉILEAMH SAN DO I LUNDAIN’). Joseph Brennan then suggested that besides a reference to the Currency Commission of the Irish Free State, the description ‘LEGAL TENDER NOTE’ and the value, in both Irish and English, should appear on each note. A further debate took place about whether the Irish text should be in Roman or Gaelic script with the Minister for Finance preferring Roman text. There was also considerable discussion about whose signatures should appear on the notes.

While we still do not know what sort of formal process, if any, was undertaken to solicit designs for the legal tender notes we can now, for the first time, see what the Commission must also have considered before choosing the Lavery classic. We can do this thanks to the recent emergence of archival photographs of two designs for the 10/- and £1 legal tender notes submitted by Bradbury Wilkinson & Co Ltd.

These came from one of a number of old ledgers containing Bradbury archival photographs recently found by De La Rue in their own archives. Many of the notes depicted were essays and other unadopted designs prepared between about 1900 and the 1960s for banks and governments all over the world. These have proved an absolute treasure trove for researchers and a lucky discovery in that the ledgers were about to be thrown out. From the many hundreds of photographs discovered only four were Irish and what a revelation they were!

The four images comprise essays of the front and back of legal tender 10/- and £1 notes. All four essays were finalised, according to a hand notation, on 24th November 1927. Sadly, the photographs are not in colour so we can only speculate what colours were used on the original essays – or indeed where they might now be found if they have survived. Perhaps they are in some forgotten corner of the old Currency Commission’s archives?

The notes themselves are unusual in a number of respects. The first unusual feature is that each side of the note could have acted as the obverse – both sides carry the same text, albeit one side is in English and the other in Irish and both sides carry the signature of Joseph Brennan, signing as Chairman of the Currency Commission (he signs as Seósam Ua Braonáin in the Irish version). The English and Irish wording appear to be exact translations of each other. Unlike on the issued Lady Lavery notes, the Irish wording uses a

traditional Gaelic script. Both essays are dated 1st January 1928. A second curiosity is that the place where the notes are to be redeemable has not been stated – presumably because this had not been agreed at the time the essays were prepared.

The essays must however have been prepared with guidance from the Commission (how else would Bradbury have got Joseph Brennan's signature in both English and Irish versions and who chose the design elements?). This guidance seems however to have come before the final decisions had been reached on key aspects such as the wording, signatures and the first date of issue, 10th September 1928.

Let us look first at the pair of 10/- essays. The two designs are quite different, perhaps in an effort by Bradbury to show off their artistic skills. Closer examination confirms the essays were probably executed entirely by hand with the intended watermark, probably an emblematic image of Erin, delicately sketched with one side mirroring the other as it would have appeared on the printed note (though none of these sketches uses the exact same image that appears in the watermark of the issued notes). The Irish version features the portrait of Thomas Moore whose caption is in English and in Roman capitals rather than the Gaelic script otherwise deployed. Moore was an Irish poet, singer and songwriter who lived from 1779 to 1852. He has never appeared on any issued Irish note. The central image is a Celtic cross with a depiction possibly of St Patrick at the centre. The borders and other design features draw heavily on Celtic decorative traditions. The English language side of the note, while also deploying Celtic decoration, is dominated by a view of a classic Irish scene of lakes and mountains. The scene has not been conclusively identified but a strong contender would be the view of Lough Leane from Killarney.

The £1 note designs are also different on both sides and carry the same English and Irish text as the 10/- designs. The Irish version has a portrait of Henry Grattan, the politician and member of the Irish parliament who opposed its dissolution in 1801. The centre of the note features beautiful representations of mythical birds, now identified as being based on folio 5r of the Book of Kells. The English language version of the £1 features a view of what is clearly Glendalough. To the right of this is a lovely depiction of the Great Seal of Ireland.

It is hoped that this brief article will stimulate further research into the origins of Irish legal tender notes. These intriguing essays hint that there is much more to discover.

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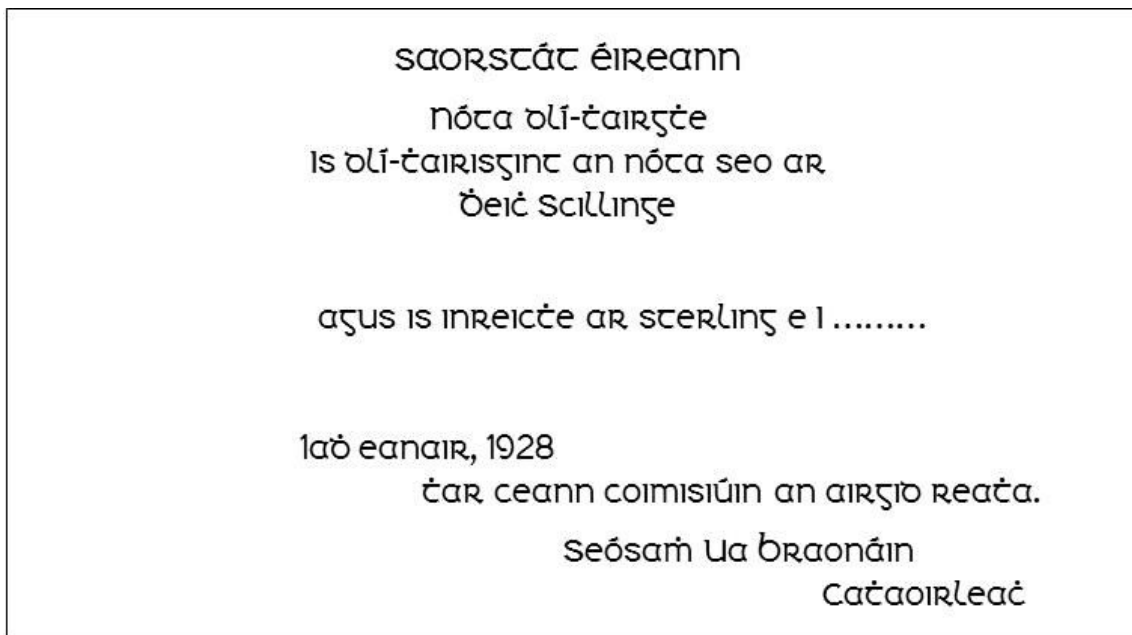
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Acknowledgements

Garry Byrne and Ronan Fitzpatrick from the Numismatic Society of Ireland have been invaluable in guiding me through the complexities of the Irish language and making sure the Irish text has been correctly transcribed.



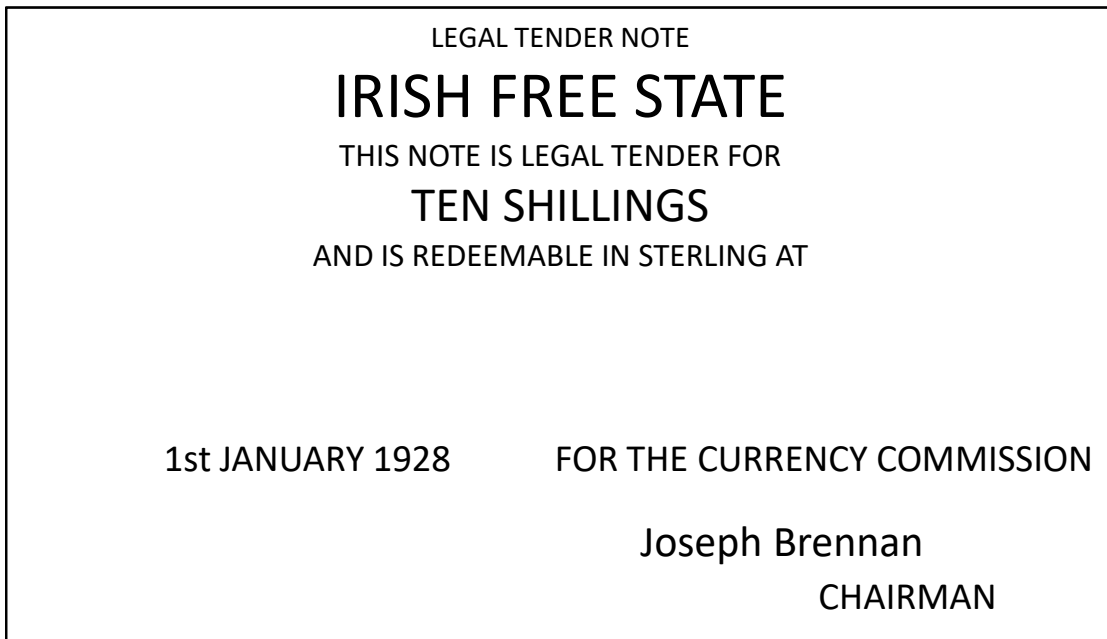
Irish face of Ten Shilling note



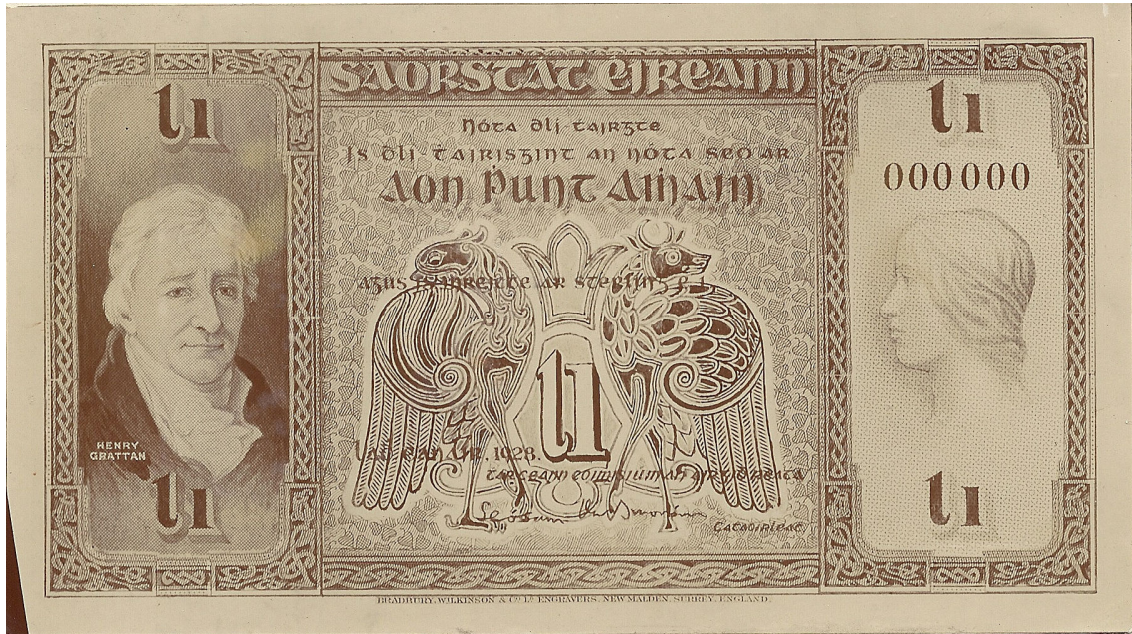
Irish text on Ten Shilling note



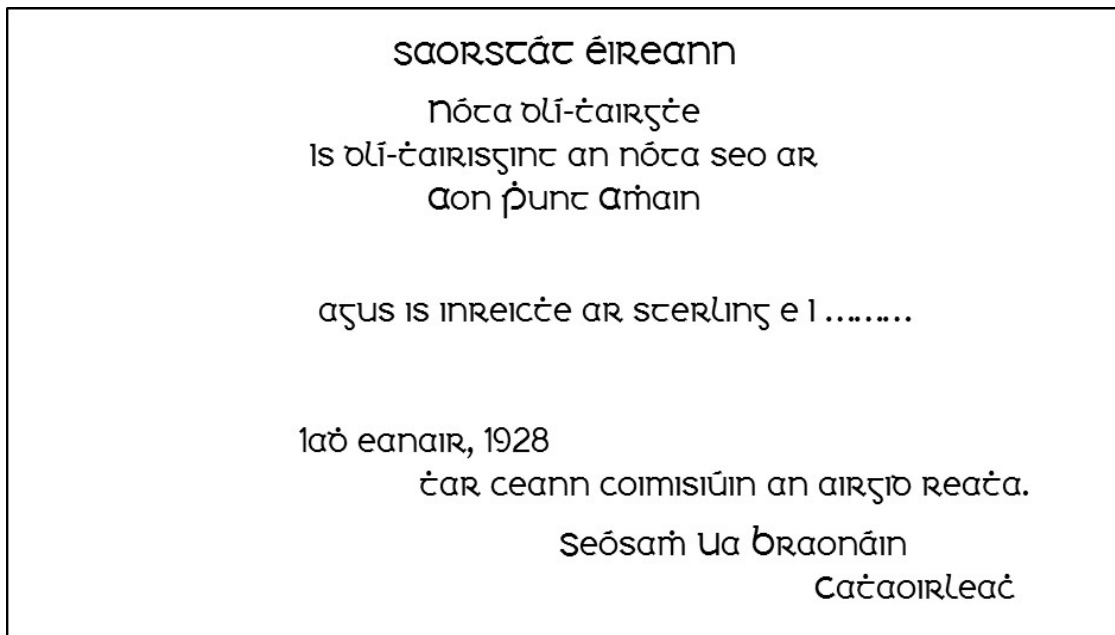
English face of Ten Shilling note



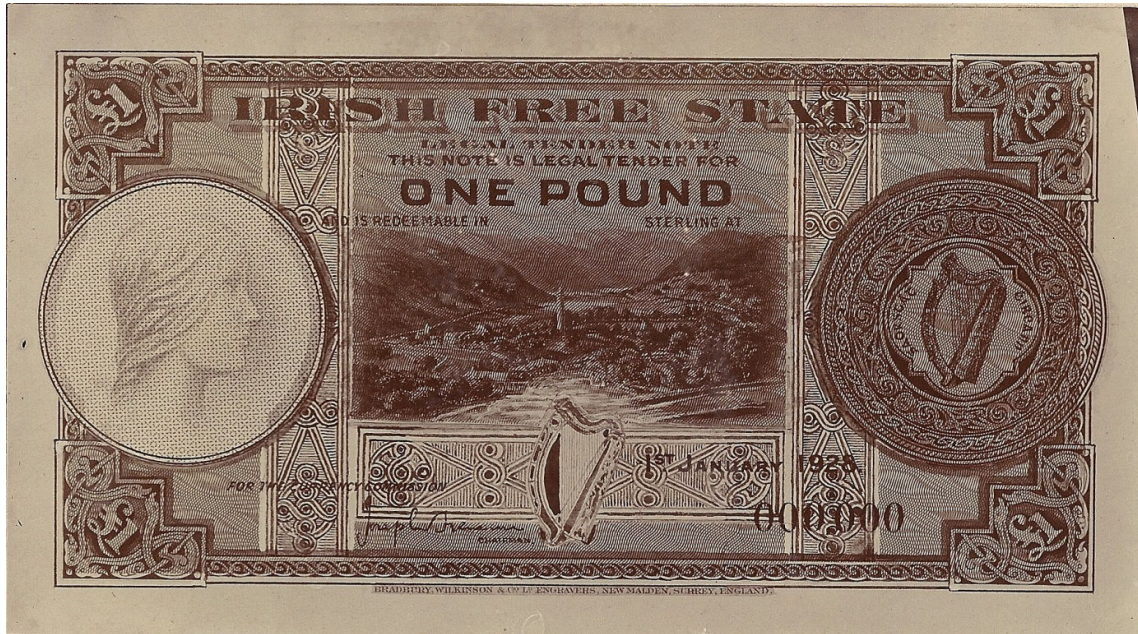
English text of Ten Shilling note



Irish face of One Pound note



Irish text of One Pound note



English face of One Pound note



English text of One Pound note

THE FIRST IRISH ('HENRICVS') COINAGE OF EDWARD I

Garry Byrne
Numismatic Society of Ireland

One of the great rarities of the early Anglo-Irish coinage is the issue of Edward I First Coinage pennies from 1276 – 79. The last issue of Dublin pennies by his predecessor, his father Henry III, was in 1254, all of moneyers Ricard (Richard Bonaventure) or Davi (David of Enfield). Henry III died in 1272 and just four years later, another Richard, Richard Olof was placed in charge of the Dublin mint and issued pennies with his own name RICARD as moneyer on the reverse. Richard Olof (or Olaf) was the 20th mayor of Dublin, from 1256–57, neatly coinciding with the first year of issue of the coins.

The obverse is in the name and with the bust of Henry III, but they are fairly readily distinguished from his issues in that there is a distinctive treatment of the king's hair and beard. These had previously been depicted by crescents and dots, but now were made to look more realistic. In addition, there is the use of a Lombardic U for Roman V in HENRICUS on the obverse and or DIUE on the reverse of some of the coins. These features are paralleled on the contemporary English coins and helped in dating the Dublin coins.

These coins were first written up on in "The Coinage of Richard Olof" by D W Dykes, in BNJ 33 of 1964. He pointed out that there were two such coins from the famous Raymond Carlyon-Britton collection, then recently acquired by the Ulster Museum, which Raymond himself had tentatively attributed to the First Coinage. Dykes listed a further three coins, one in the National Museum in Dublin and two in the collection of T S Agnew, which he also attributed to this coinage, making a total of five known coins. Unhappily, most of T S Agnew's collection was stolen in the early 1970s and the present whereabouts of his coins, including these two, cannot be ascertained.

All five coins are illustrated in the BNJ article and while the photographs are not of good quality, they are all fully described, making comparison with other specimens easier. They are marked (i) to (v) in the article. The two Ulster Museum coins are illustrated in The Guide Book to the Coinage of Ireland, Dowle and Finn and in the Sylloge of Coins in the Ulster Museum. One of them (ii) is also in Spink's Irish Coin Values and their Standard Catalogue and in Dolley's Anglo Irish Coins. Ironically, that coin was considered by Dykes in 1964 as being probably a contemporary forgery, an opinion which he reversed in a subsequent article, detailed below.

Writing nearly 50 years later Dykes, in an article entitled "Another Dublin Penny of Richard Olof", published in BNJ 83 of 2013, stated that by the year 2000 two more pennies of Richard Olof had appeared, both struck from unrecorded dies. Both were offered for sale by Spink in their Numismatic Circular, the first in September 1992 (No. 4935) and the other of February 1998 (No. 51). The former was subsequently sold in Whyte's Millennial Collection auction in April 2000 (Lot 62 illustrated) and the latter is illustrated by John Stafford Langan in his website on Irish coinage and in Colgan's For Want of Good Money.

The First Irish ('henricvs') Coinage of Edward I

Dykes then mentioned in the article another coin of Richard Olof, which David Guest of CNG had recently drawn to his attention. Dykes has therefore identified a total of eight coins of Richard Olof, but does mention in a footnote that there may have been a third coin known by 2000 but that the two described in the article were the only ones positively known to him. In fact, he is quite right to say that there were at least three known by 2000 and indeed, another one came to light in 2005, which he was not aware of, both of which are described below. Again all coins in the article are illustrated, [(a) to (c)], fully described and with photographs of better quality than the 1964 article.

The third 'unknown' coin above is most likely from the "Terenure" Collection of Irish Coins and Tokens, which was held by Whyte's of Dublin on 20 February 1998. Lot 49 was a penny of Richard Olof and described as the seventh recorded specimen, i.e., this one, the five described by Dykes in 1964 and the one in the 1992 Numismatic Circular. The authors of the auction catalogue would not have been aware of the one offered for sale, coincidentally, in the February 1998 Numismatic Circular – the same month as the Whyte's auction. The photograph in the catalogue is of reasonably good quality but it is not fully described.

In January 2005, Timelines Originals, based in Upminster in Essex, offered another for sale, which they say was found in 2004 in Suffolk. Timeline then as now, regularly include for sale Irish coins found in the UK, especially local finds and this was one of them. Unfortunately, there is no record of it on the website of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, though its provenance is reasonably secure. In fact, it is the only one of the ten recorded coins for which a provenance is reported and a UK find, while not altogether surprising, is an interesting dimension.



Provenance: Reported as found in Suffolk, England c.2004. From an Irish collection.

Obverse: HENRI/...../EX III. Bottom half not struck up, so uncertain letters, either /CUSR/ or /CVSR/ With the fairly clear double line for the beard and distinctly rounded face, this would seem to be an unrecorded die.

Reverse: RIC/(ARD/OND/IUE, with a clear Lombardic U and barred E in /IUE/. Wedge shaped R and rounded C in /RIC/. Closest to Dykes' (a), though that one would appear to have an unbarred E in /IUE/, with a barred E here and this obverse may therefore be unique.

Weight: 1.36g. Image reproduced by courtesy of Timeline Originals.

This makes a current total of 10 known specimens of the Edward I First Coinage.

As mentioned, the presence of a Lombardic U in the obverse /CUS/ and reverse /DIUE/ of some of the coins is one of the distinguishing features of the First Coinage issues. Coins also contain a Roman V as /CVS/ and /DIVE/. The following table sets out the actual position:

Table 1 – Use of Lombardic U or Roman V

No	Source	Obverse	Reverse	Comments
1	Dykes (i)	U	V	Mixed use
2	Dykes (ii)	V	V	V both sides
3	Dykes (iii)	V	V	V both sides
4	Dykes (iv)	U	V	Mixed use
5	Dykes (v)	V	U	Mixed use
6	Dykes (a)	V	U	Mixed use
7	Dykes (b)	U	U	U both sides
8	Dykes (c)	V	U	Mixed use
9	Whyte's '98	U	V	Mixed use
10	Timeline	Unclear	U	Uncertain

Thus, only two have a V on both sides, only one has a U on both sides, six have mixed usage and one is uncertain. It is hoped that Spinks will revise their listings accordingly. Spink's Standard Catalogue of Irish coins lists two varieties, S.6244, with Roman V and S.6245 with Lombardic U in both the obverses and reverses. This is also followed by Coincraft 2000. Dowle and Finn merely include coins with Roman V and Lombardic U under the same reference (No. 62) and illustrate them as different dies. However, an analysis of the ten coins reveals that Spink are wrong in saying that obverses and reverses have either a Roman V or a Lombardic U. It is hoped that Spink will revise their listing accordingly.

While there are only ten coins identified so far belonging to the First Coinage, it was obviously a large issue, as many of the dies used are unique. The following table sets out the position:

Table 2 – Obverse and Reverse Dies

No	Source	Obverse	Reverse
1	Dykes (i)	Different die from below	Different die from below
2	Dykes (ii)	Different die from 1	Different die from 1
3	Dykes (iii)	Different die from 1 and 2	Different die from 1 and 2
4	Dykes (iv)	Different die from 1 - 3	Different die from 1 - 3
5	Dykes (v)	Different die from 1 - 4	Different die from 1 - 4
6	Dykes (a)	Unrecorded die	Unrecorded die
7	Dykes (b)	Unrecorded die	Unrecorded die
8	Dykes (c)	Same die as Dykes (v)	Same die as Dykes (v)
9	Whyte's '98	Possible unique	Similar to 1, possibly unique
10	Timeline	Unrecorded die	Probably unrecorded die

The descriptions of the dies at numbers 1 to 8 are as by Dykes, having examined the photographs of the coins, I would agree with his conclusions. Number 9 is described in the auction catalogue as having a Lombardic U on the obverse and is stated to be the same as (ii) in Dykes 1964. This cannot be the case as that coin has a clear Roman V on the obverse, the busts are however very similar and the same punches may have been used on both coins for the bust.

There are some similarities with the reverse of both coins, both have a Roman V in /IVE/. The R of /RIC/ is very similar, but the C is straight backed in Dykes and rounded in

Whyte's. Dykes (ii) would appear to read /OII/ for /OND/, while Whyte's reads /OID/, so the dies are probably not the same. In fact, Whyte's seems closest to Dykes (i), which also has a Roman V in /IVE/. /RIC/ is very similar in both, with large round Rs and closed C. However, Dykes (i) has a clear annulet just below the central pellet in the cross, which seems to be absent from Whyte's, so perhaps again we have a unique die here.

The observations at 10 are based on viewing the coin and my description under the photograph of the coin. It has to be stressed that observations are largely based on the photographs, some of which are quite poor and the poor quality of the coins themselves does not lead to ready identification. In practice, the presence of a Lombardic U or Roman V helps to narrow down the search for die similarities.

It is clear that we have up to 9 different dies for both obverse and reverse and that only two of the coins so far would appear to be from the same dies, i.e., 5 and 8. The issue was clearly a large one, but most of the coins were probably melted down for the second issue of Edward I. The fact that so few new Richard Olof coins has come to light in the last 50 years is striking. There is the high probability of Henry III coins, especially work or cut halfpennies and farthings, being wrongly attributed.

Excavations and metal detecting, especially in the UK have thrown up a considerable number of Irish coins of Henry III and Edward I, yet only one Richard Olof coin would appear to have been found in the UK in recent decades. Thirty or so years ago, Irish farthings of Edward I were very rare, yet since then, the numbers detected have probably been in the dozens, to go by auctions and eBay sales. A similar situation attains with the John portrait farthings, which even ten years ago were very rare, but today over a dozen genuine and a dozen contemporary forgeries have come on the market. The same situation has not happened however with say the mascle farthings of John and it may well be that few if any further Richard Olof coins will come to light. Only time will tell.

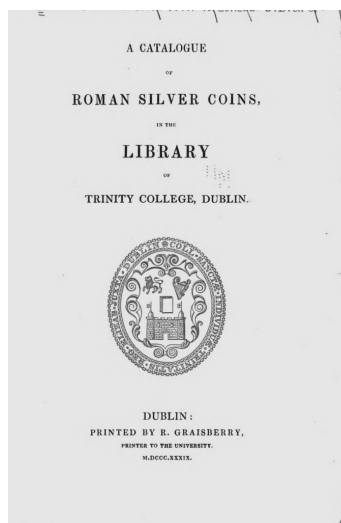
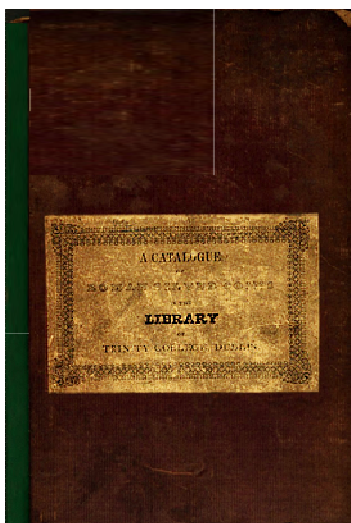
It is hoped that this article will stimulate further debate on this coinage and hopefully bring to light further examples.

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THE REV JOHN A. MALET FELLOW T.C.D. (MONEY FOR J.A.M. REVISITED)

Derek Kerins
Numismatic Society of Ireland



In the March–April issue No.92 of *IRISH NUMISMATICS*, Fred Dixon, a deceased member of our society, wrote ‘*Money for JAM*’ as the headline for a note he had submitted.

He wrote as follows,

“Such could have been the headlines in a Dublin newspaper or the Trinity College journal, one day in 1840 when Dublin University [TCD] appointed a Numismatist with the initials: J.A.M. His full name was John Adam Malet, born in Cork, entered Trinity College in 1824 when he was 14, and stayed there the rest of his life. [He was] Scholar 1827, B.A 1830, M.A., and Fellow 1838, B.D. and D.D 1856, Senior Fellow 1867”.

He was a Member of the Royal Historical Society.

The Rev. John A. Malet F.T.C.D. was a contemporary of John Lindsay who authored *A view of the Coinage of Ireland*, published in 1839. In his acknowledgements, Lindsay thanks a number of numismatists and antiquarians for their assistance and favours during the preparation of his work. To each of these he sent a personally dedicated copy of the book and Malet’s copy is still available in the Early Printed Books library at Trinity College.

My interest in John Malet began when I discovered the TCD Classical Coin collection which is listed in their library as *A Catalogue of Roman Silver Coins in the Library of Trinity College Dublin*, published in 1839.

The preface of the book explains that the compiler (JAM) undertook the task at the behest of the college and is careful to explain he is wholly inexperienced in such matters and at the end of the preface he requests help from any person with suitable knowledge to advise him of errors which may be present. He also made the point that there were some hundreds of Greek coins and more Roman brass coins still in a confused state in the College. Malet was also the Librarian and would be familiar with the contents of the Library. He very possibly used a book published in 1792-1828 by Josephus Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* for reference (still listed as in the College library catalogue) to assist him in the cataloguing. His book is in a similar format.

JAM has listed approximately 1281 Roman silver coins without illustrations and has listed them first by the coins of the Republic in alphabetical order by the families who issued them. The reason for not using a chronological system is to make it easy to locate a particular coin if you have the family name to search. He then continues to list the coins of the Empire. The coins of the Empire are in chronological order, i.e., by Emperor/Empress. However, he does not describe the reverse on the Imperial coins from Caligula onwards unless he thought it unusual.

His descriptions are simple in that he describes the obverse and reverse as seen and omits rarity or value as they were probably not of interest to him. Nor does he describe their condition and he makes no reference to any publication. What is not included in his description is the orientation of the representations on the coins, for example, ‘winged head’, left, on the obverse, or ‘biga’, right, on the reverse. In some cases this might be relevant and perhaps rare. It seems his main aim was to produce a list which could be used by tutors and students in the College who had easy access to any particular coin. The range of the coins is from 211 BC through 388AD. There are a number of rarities in the collection.

In 1885 Ernest Babelon published his ‘Description Historique et Chronologique des Monnaies Consulaires’ and he arranged the coins under the family names of those responsible for issuing them and numbered them under each family all similar to Malet. Over a century later the layout used in BA Seaby’s Roman Silver Coins by David R Sear & Robert Loosely first published in 1952-78 is also very similar to that used in 1839 by Malet. Commencing with the Abruria gens, Seaby’s modern listing compares very well with Malet’s and is very close to it. It is easy to leaf through the JAM catalogue and to locate the coins listed in the Seaby catalogue as the layout is so similar especially if you have some knowledge of the legends on the coins.

When Malet produced his catalogue he little realized that others such as Babelon and Seaby (and continuing to the present day) would be using almost the same format. For someone who claimed little knowledge of the subject he did an excellent job of cataloguing at a time when access to the relevant information was scarce. He would be amused to know that over 170 years later his work had stood the test of time and is being offered to collectors, by sellers using the latest ‘Print on Demand’ technology.

There is a bust of John Adam Malet, by John Edward Jones dated 1862 in the Long Room at Trinity College Dublin (Library Ref. Crookshank 1986, 25).

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THE GENESIS OF THE LIMERICK MINT IN 1689

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Figure 1 – Gunmoney coins of August 1689

The emergency base metal coinage issued by James II in his campaign in Ireland in 1689-1691^[OS] was made from scrap metal, typically old cannons and bells, and is known today as 'gunmoney'. The coins were issued with a 'promise to pay' in gold and silver after James II's expected victory. The base metal coins would display the date in months to allow a gradual repayment of the coins. However, once the war was lost, the redemption process never happened.

The base metal coins were first issued in June 1689^[OS] with the sixpence (VI). Then in July 1689^[OS] sixpences (VI), shillings (XII) and halfcrowns (XXX) were issued on an ongoing monthly basis. The August issue is shown in Figure 1. There are a number of differences seen on the coins as they were issued each month. These differences included intentional differences included in the design and die repairs if and when required. The most interesting intentional differences appertaining to this paper are the change of the portrait of James II

on the obverse, the ornamentation of the upper arch of the crown, and the style of the month date on the reverse. These differences will be considered in detail later.

The numismatic understanding of the base metal coinage of 1689-91^[OS] has been discussed and documented by a number of eminent numismatic scholars in the past. The earlier scholars such as Simon [1] in 1749, Ruding [2] in 1840, Lane [3] in 1965 and Stevenson [4] in 1967 all discussed the Dublin and Limerick mint but did not specify a Limerick mint start date.

It was Dolley and Rice [5] in 1988 and Rice again in 1991 [6] and 1994 [7] that first reviewed the prima facie data available on the subject. The consensus of these papers based on the information available at the time was that the Limerick mint started striking coinage sometime in March 1689-90^[OS]. Unfortunately, due to the lack of any definitive documentation assumptions had to be made which I believe leave unanswered questions on the start date. This paper seeks to address these unanswered questions through a study of base metal coinage struck from June 1689^[OS] to March 1689-90^[OS].

Background:

In June 1689^[OS] to facilitate the manufacture of the new coinage the patent that had been agreed in 1685 for making coinage in Ireland to Sir John Knox was set aside. An order was signed by Lord Melfort, the Secretary of State, authorising the seizure of Sir John Knox's minting equipment, tools and supplies of copper. Two mints were agreed, one at Capel Street in Dublin and the other at the Deanery in Limerick. The equipment seized contained two coin mills which had earlier produced the Regal Charles II and James II halfpennies. The larger coin mill was called the 'James' and the smaller was called the 'Duchess'. It is said that the 'James' coin mill was named after the King and the 'Duchess' after the Duchess of Tyrconnell. Staff were appointed to run the mints day and night with six commissioners to be in charge in Dublin and one in Limerick. The commissioners in Dublin were John Truder, Thomas Goddard, William Talbot, William Brumfield, Francis Rice and Edward Fox. The commissioner in Limerick was to be Walter Plunket ^[8]. It is interesting that only one commissioner was allocated to Limerick.

The key to the start date of the Limerick mint lies with the Duchess coin mill. We know from earlier documentation that there were no facilities in Limerick in June 1689^[OS] to strike coins. A coin mill would be essential as part of the required infrastructure to set up an operational mint. Since no further documentation has been revealed since the 1980-90's I believe the only way forward is by a detailed study of the sixpence and shilling base metal coins of that period and then relate them to either the 'James' or 'Duchess' coin mills.

This paper will review the piece punch and die associations of the appropriate coins associated with the two coin mills. The study will then establish if it is possible to identify the mint of the individual coins during the period June 1689^[OS] to March 1690^[OS]. These particular differences seen on the coins could change the current understanding that all coins during this period were struck at the Dublin mint. I believe this is now possible by using the corpus of data that is accessible using modern technology.

This in-depth study compiled over a number of years has been made possible by mining the available base data of gunmoney coin photographs from two research sites www.asearch.info and www.coinarchives.com plus a number of numismatic company auction archives and private databases and collections. Earlier authors would not have had access to such resources. The study first carried out a general review of the different varieties of gunmoney. Then it focused on the sixpences and large shillings in an attempt to define first the particular principal die types and then the die linkage into other sixpences and larger shilling varieties. These coins were chosen because of their noticeable differences particularly from September 1689^[OS] onwards. The sample chosen detailed in the die map (Table 3) consists of 733 coins. The die map comprises of 494 large shillings and 239 sixpences covering the period June 1689^[OS] to March 1690^[OS]. The total sample

includes 709 base metal and 24 off metal coins. The term off metal refers to coins struck in a metal other than base metal. In this case gold, silver or copper.

There was a great need by James II to pay the Jacobite army. The Dublin mint had an appropriate infrastructure with a workforce available with the required skills. Due to the urgency to pay the army it seems the manufacture of the new base metal coinage in the beginning was focused on the Dublin mint. After a slow start in June and July 1689^[OS] we know from the available mint records that the Dublin mint was producing base metal sixpence, shilling and halfcrown with an average value [9] of £18,300 per week by August 1689^[OS].

From the limited documentary evidence available we know that there was an urgent need to get the Limerick mint operational as soon as possible. The Williamite army by August and September 1689^[OS] had started moving southwards towards Dublin with little resistance and discussions were being held with James II about a possible move out of the city. We also know that as early as the 15th July 1689^[OS] that the supply of raw material for the mint in the Dublin area had started to run out. To meet demand material had to be transported from across Ireland and France. The site at Limerick would be well-suited for shipments from France and collections of scrap metal in the south.

Due to the lack of any documentary evidence the situation of the mint at Limerick in the early months of manufacture is unknown. From the little information we have we know that Walter Plunket, the Limerick mint commissioner, was on business in Limerick around December 1689^[OS]. There are two letters available in the records to prove this. The first letter from the Mint House in Dublin is requesting Walter Plunket on the 14th December 1689^[OS] to cut up a number of cannons that would be delivered to Limerick. The parts would then be shipped to Dublin on an urgent basis [10]. The second letter dated the 4th January 1689^[OS] is from Walter Plunket in Limerick to Dublin. It outlines the material he was shipping to Dublin. The letter [11] interestingly also stated he “*forgot to send you some of our coyne as you desired, by the next occasion I will not fail*”. Dolley and Rice in their 1988 paper [12] argue that the coins in question are from the Dublin mint. It could be suggested that the comments by Walter Plunket are referring to examples of the coinage struck at the Limerick mint.

Discussion:

I believe the key to determine when the Limerick mint started striking base metal coinage lies in the piece punch and die detail of the large shilling. As far as I am aware earlier researchers have not used this approach.

The making of dies by the engravers at this period was a highly skilled and time-consuming process particularly on the more complex designs of the coin. Prior to the use of piece punches each die was individually engraved and when the die wore out or was damaged another whole obverse or reverse die had to be engraved to replace it. The exact design of the worn die would then be lost. The piece punches would be used to make multiple dies efficiently eliminating the need to cut the whole reverse design each month. So, to help speed up the process and provide conformity a piece punch or iron was made for part of the obverse and reverse of the coin [13]. Each month a new die would be prepared using the same complex piece punches together with the appropriate lettering around the circumference and the required month date.

The piece punch was either made from steel or a combination of iron and steel. The piece punch would then be engraved with a positive image of part of the coin. Once engraved the piece punch would be tempered (heated) and cooled to harden the metal. The engraver would then use the appropriate piece punch to strike a negative of the required image into a future die. To transfer the image efficiently the die would be in a heated state to soften the metal when struck. The engraver would then use other piece punches for the legend, year, month and engraving around the more complex engraving. We know that piece punches were in use at the Dublin mint during this period from the rare inverted dated halfcrown of

August 1689^[OS] (S6579C). The crown and sceptre piece punch is shown to have been used upside down on this coin. In the beginning the complex piece punches were probably derived from a single source in Dublin. We know from a letter and a reply dated July 1689^[OS] that there were not enough qualified engravers and smiths to manage the workload. Requests to recruit more had been approved [14].

Coin mill traceability:

With the availability of the two coin mills to strike the coins it would have been common sense for the mint commissioners to have wanted to see some form of intentional differentiators engraved into the coinage for traceability. This would allow the source of the coins to be monitored for security and quality reasons. The paper of Dolley and Rice in 1988 on the subject proposed that one of the differentiators chosen was the top arch of the crown on the reverse of the sixpences and large shillings. The differentiators on the larger ‘James’ coin mill was a foliated top arch for the large shilling and a pearled top arch for the sixpence. The smaller ‘Duchess’ coin mill used a pearled top arch for the large shillings and a foliated top arch for the sixpence. The analysis of the monthly die linkages in the attached die map (Table 3) would also support this theory.



Figure 2 - *Foliated top arch crown*
James large shilling
Duchess sixpence



Figure 3 - *Pearled top arch crown*
James sixpence
Duchess large shilling

Complex piece punches:

The piece punches chosen would have been the more complex images on the coins. I believe the piece punches chosen in this case would have been the crown design on the reverse (Figure 2 and 3) and the laureate bust of James II (Figure 4 and 5).



Figure 4 - *Shilling laureate bust 1*



Figure 5 - *Shilling laureate bust 2*

On review of the die map data (Table 3) there are two distinct die paths for the shilling seen. The first one has the laureate bust of James II (Figure 4) that die links from July 1689^[OS] to April 1690^[OS]. This laureate bust is normally seen paired with the reverse with a foliated top arch crown (Figure 2) and a cursive month date. This combination is consistently seen in volume over a long period of time. It would suggest they originated out of an established mint such as Dublin and were struck on the James coin mill. The Dublin mint records [15] only record output on the James coin mill from the 3rd August 1689^[OS] to the 17th of May 1690^[OS].

The second uses the shilling laureate bust of James II seen in Figure 5 and is seen only paired with the reverse with a pearled top arch crown (Figure 3). This combination is first seen in December 1689^[OS] with a month date of **10r**, then with an italic **Jan** and **Feb** followed by a Roman **MAR** in 1689-90^[OS]. There is a noticeable difference from the almost classical portraiture of James II (Figure 4) to a less artistic perception of the king (Figure 5). The laureate busts of James II (Figure 4 and 5) are clearly the work of two different engravers.

The use of two different shilling laureate busts of James II (Figure 4 and 5) could suggest different locations. If the laureate bust of James II and the reverse crown design piece punches could be used multiple times to produce dies why would they use different laureate bust piece punches at the same time in the same mint? It therefore appears highly probable that coins with the less artistic laureate bust of James II paired with the pearled top arch crown were struck on the Duchess coin mill in Limerick.

One important observation seen in the die map data (Table 3) that earlier researchers offer little comment on is the sudden introduction of the numbered month dated coins **7 ber**, **8BER**, **9r** and **10r** for a four month period only (Table 1). It seems illogical that the Dublin mint started using numbered month dates running alongside the lettered month dates of **Sept**, **Oct**, **Nov** and **Dec** as there was already a system in place to differentiate the coin mills.

It is also very important to note that the earlier numbered month dated coins **7 ber**, **8BER** and **9r** seem to have blank manufacturing quality issues that are not seen on the lettered month dated coins of the same month. The quality issues seen range from indents, tooling marks and annealing issues. As the manufacturing process for the blanks is independent of the coin mills it would be logical if both coin mills were in the same location that the quality of blanks for the numbered and lettered month dated coins would be the same each month.

Table 1 – *Styles of number month dates on Gunmoney coins*

Month	VI	XII	XXX
September	7 ber		
October		8BER	8BER
November		9r	
December		10r	10r

Note: The study does not include a specimen of the 10r half-crown.

A plausible reason for these anomalies could be that the numbered month dated coins were not struck in Dublin and that they were from a different location. The numbered month date system could have been used by the mint commissioners as a new intentional differentiator on the coins to identify their source and monitor production. This hypothesis is further reinforced by the use of two different laureate busts of James II (Figure 4 and 5) running in

parallel used on the shillings starting from December 1689^[OS] and continuing to March 1690^[OS].

The die detail of the sixpence and shilling numbered month date coins are as follows:

Sixpence 7 ber:



Figure 6 – Gunmoney sixpence, 7 ber 1689

Obverse: The obverse of this coin uses a standard sixpence laureate and draped bust of James II and circumference legend seen on all sixpences from June 1689^[OS] to May 1690^[OS]. The study shows no variation in the laureate and draped bust on the sixpence throughout the whole series.

Reverse: The reverse of this coin is only seen with a foliated top arch crown (Figure 2). This would suggest that this coin was struck from reverse dies normally allocated to the smaller ‘Duchess’ coin mill.

We know from the die map (Table 3) that sixpence production from June to August 1689^[OS] focused on the Duchess coin mill with only a few sixpences struck on the James coin mill. According to the Dublin mint records the production of sixpences dropped considerably from 54,830 per week in August 1689^[OS] to 8,931 in the whole of September 1689^[OS]. All of the sixpences produced in September were struck on the ‘James’ coin mill in the first week. There were no further sixpences struck at the Dublin mint until late November 1689^[OS]. Production at the Dublin mint [16] then focused on shillings and halfcrowns until December 1689^[OS].

Observations appertaining to this study are the sudden stop in sixpence production after the first week of September 1689^[OS] in Dublin and the introduction of a new low volume numbered month dated sixpence **7ber** struck on the Duchess coin mill. This suggests that the Duchess coin mill was moved sometime in September to Limerick and that the mint commissioners introduced the numbered month date system to differentiate the two mints.

Shilling 8BER or 8B'E:



Figure 7 - Gunmoney shilling, 8BER 1689

Obverse: The obverse uses the shilling laureate bust of James II (Figure 4) and the standard circumference legend.

Reverse: The reverse die of this coin is only seen with a foliated top arch crown (Figure 2). This suggests that this die was constructed using a piece punch normally allocated to the 'James' coin mill. I am only aware of two reverse die variants which are month dated **8BER** and **8BrE**. Again, only a small number of these coins are found on the market today suggesting only a small number were struck.

Shilling 9r or 9:



Figure 8 - *Gunmoney shilling, 9r 1689*



Figure 9 - *Gunmoney shilling, 9 1689*

Obverse: The obverse of the **9** or **9r** uses the piece punch laureate bust of James II (Figure 4). On a small number of these obverses a small castle is seen below the bust. This is the first and last time a castle is seen on the base metal coins.

Reverse: The reverse is seen with both a foliated (Figure 2) and the pearled top arch crown (Figure 3). Prima facie distinctions of the **9r** large shillings would appear to indicate that in the beginning the die for these coins used a foliated top arch crown piece punch used on the **8BER** shilling. This was then replaced by a pearled top arch crown piece punch for later **9r** coins. This foliated top arch version is only seen paired with the obverse with the castle below the laureate bust. The coin should be considered rare (Figure 8). The majority of the **9r** and **9** coins in the study use the pearled top arch crown on the reverse. This would suggest that this new reverse die was produced for coins to be struck on the smaller 'Duchess' coin mill.

Again, the **9r** coins are only found on the market today in limited numbers, but are in greater numbers than the **7ber** and **8BER** coins. One fact that may or may not also be pertinent to these discussions is the use of the castle below the laureate bust. A similar castle is seen on the tokens of Limerick in the 1650-60's. However, this could be said of a number of other towns in Ireland who also have castles in their coat of arms and on their tokens.

Shilling 10r:



Figure 10 - *Gunmoney shilling, 10r 1689*

Obverse: The obverse of the numbered **10r** shilling is now only seen with the new less artistic laureate bust of James II (Figure 5) while the lettered month dated coin Dec continues with the old laureate bust (Figure 4).

Reverse: The reverse using the numbered month date **10r** is only seen using the pearled top arch crown.

There is clearly piece punch and die continuity seen in the die map (Table 3) from the later **9r** and **10r** shillings into the italic month dated *Jan* and *Feb* and then onto the Roman month dated **MAR** 89-90 shillings.

There are also two distinct die paths seen running in parallel. The first one runs from August 1689^[OS] to April 1690^[OS] with the Dublin laureate bust (Figure 4) and the foliated top arch crown (Figure 2). The second which starts in December 1689^[OS] and runs to March 1689-90^[OS] with the new laureate bust (Figure 5) and the pearled top arch crown (Figure 3).

Table 2 shows the chronological pairing of the pearled top arch reverse (Figure 3) and the new laureate bust of James II (Figure 5) that starts in November 1689^[OS] and die links all the way to March 1690^[OS]. The paper by Rice in 1994 attributes the pearled top arch shilling (Figure 3) of March 1690^[OS] with the new laureate bust (Figure 5) to a Limerick mint struck coin on the ‘Duchess’ coin mill. By die linking backwards we can logically conclude that all the numbered month dated coins were struck on the ‘Duchess’ coin mill in Limerick.

Table 2 - *Large shilling piece punch continuity*

Punch	Month date	8 BER	9r	10r	Jan	Feb	Mar-89	Mar-90
Crown	Pearled top arch (Figure 3)		X	X	X	X	X	X
Portrait	James II (Figure 5)			X	X	X	X	X

Conclusion:

The in-depth study of 733 gunmoney coins from the period June 1689^[OS] to June 1690^[OS] has shown there is very strong evidence to determine when the first coins were struck in Limerick by intentional differentiators engraved into the coins.

Initially only the sixpence in the period June 1689^[OS] to August 1689^[OS] was struck on both coin mills in Dublin and exhibited intentional differentiators to provide traceability. The larger James coin mill carried out the majority of the Dublin mint’s work during this period and struck all three coins.

According to the available documentation it was always the intention of the authorities to move the Duchess coin mill from Dublin to Limerick. It can be seen from the Dublin mint records that by the 3rd August 1689^[OS] only the James coin mill was in use producing all three coins. Documentation also confirms that the James coin mill running a two-shift system was capable of meeting all the needs of the Dublin mint [17]. This meant that the Duchess coin mill was surplus to requirements. The supply of raw material was the only limiting factor to increasing production.

What can be seen from the data sample is the sudden introduction of a new low volume numbered month dated set of coins that start with a **7 ber** sixpence in September 1689^[OS]. The numbered month dated coins then continue with shillings in October (**8BER**), November (**9** and **9r**), December (**10r**) and then with an italic *Jan* and *Feb* followed by a Roman **MAR** in 1689-90^[OS]. There were no further month dated sixpences produced during this period and no halfcrowns available for the study.

The sample clearly shows the shillings with two different die sets running in parallel:

- (a) The first series with the portrait of James II (Figure 4) with a foliated top arch (Figure 2) and lettered month date that runs from August 1689^[OS] to March 1690^[OS]. Based on the data collected these coins were struck on the James coin mill in Dublin.
- (b) The second series was struck on the Duchess coin mill in Limerick starting around September 1689^[OS]. It starts with the portrait (Figure 4) and the foliated top arch (Figure 2) on the **8BER** and some **9r** shillings. Changes are then made part way through November (**9r**) to a pearled top arch (Figure 3) and then in December 1689^[OS] (**10r**) to a new portrait of James II (Figure 5). This series then continues until March 1690^[OS]. By die linking backwards from the Limerick March 1690^[OS] shilling as reported by Rice in his 1994 paper, a direct die path can now be seen from this shilling to the earlier numbered month dated shillings.

The use of shilling piece punches (Figure 4 and 2) on the second series which are normally allocated to the James coin mill on the **8BER** and **9r** shillings would suggest from the sample that these piece punches were used on the Duchess coin mill until new piece punches were available in mid- November and December. The mint commissioners would have still wanted some form of coin press differentiator. This need would explain the sudden introduction of the numbered month dated coins and the termination of the numbered month dated system when the new piece punches were available.

There is also circumstantial evidence to support a September 1689^[OS] start date at the Limerick mint:

- (a) There is a clear difference seen in the quality of the blanks used to strike the numbered and lettered month dated coins seen in the sample. The blanks used on the earlier **7 ber**, **8BER**, **9r** coins seen in the sample are clearly of lower quality than the lettered month dated coin blanks of the same month. The production of blanks is an off-line process so it could be assumed that if both coin mills were in the same location the blank quality should be the same each month.
- (b) The volumes of the lettered month date coins **Sep**, **Oct**, **Nov** and **Dec** remain constant. However, the numbered month dated coins start with very low volumes in September (**7 ber**) and gradually increase month by month to a level in December (**10r**) consistent to the level of a lettered month dated December (**Dec**) coin. A new mint setup would be expected to exhibit a slow start in its earlier months of production.
- (c) There is also the letter on the 4th January 1689^[OS] from Walter Plunket in Limerick to Dublin interestingly saying he '*forgot to send you some of our coyne as you desired, by the next occasion I will not fail*' which I believe implied coins were

The Genesis of the Limerick Mint in 1689

being produced in Limerick. This comment by Walter Plunket fits very well with the new numbered month dated coins being introduced in Limerick.

To conclude, based on the available evidence I believe it is highly probable that the Limerick mint first struck the base metal coinage for James II around September 1689^[OS] using the numbered month date system as an intentional differentiator for the Limerick mint.

References

- [OS] To understand the chronological order of this paper and associated reference documentation it is necessary to be aware of the old dating structure. Until 1752 Britain and Ireland followed the Julian calendar which had the year change on Lady Day the 25th March. This meant the year did not start on the 1st January but on the 25th March. The dates of 24th March 1689 and 25th March 1690 are within the same month. To avoid confusion all old style dates used in this paper will be denoted by 1689^[OS].
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Note: *NC- Numismatic Chronicle*

SCMB-Seaby's Coin & Medal Bulletin

BNJ-British Numismatic Journal.

THE VICTORIA CROSS AN IRISH PERSPECTIVE

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Introduction:

Since its founding in 1856, the Victoria Cross has become the most famous gallantry award in the world, with a lustre shared by its three recently established daughter Crosses, for three main reasons. First, the nature of the decoration, in that it was awarded for individual gallantry by a member of the UK, Commonwealth, and Imperial armed forces, without regard for rank or social background. In the words of one author, 'It was not supposed to be one of those precious bejewelled baubles conferred by one aristocrat on another'.¹

This emphasis on individual merit fitted in well with the democratisation of the United Kingdom's society, which has led to the cross and those on whom it has been conferred being well regarded, even among those who have mixed if not hostile views on war and honours.

Second, as shown by the above quotation, the Cross is unprepossessing in appearance, being a small bronze cross pattée with a crimson ribbon or riband. Amusingly, the original warrant that established it calls it a *Maltese* cross, and calls the ribbon a *red* one.

Third, the United Kingdom was then the world's superpower, with an empire that soon spanned the globe, and a cultural influence to match, an influence which has persisted after that empire's end.

Any attempt to explore this topic is a daunting one, there being so much information; so, I have confined it to six areas. First, an honour that was a precursor to the Victoria Cross, and which deserves to be far better known. Second, the founding of the Cross. Third, some aspects of the Cross, such as the issue of presentation by the Sovereign or his or her personal representative; the fact that civilians were once conferred with it; and a look at the criteria used when conferring it, in terms of war winning and humanitarian acts.

Fourth, a look at the related George Cross and George Medal. Fifth, some Irishmen who received the Victoria Cross. Sixth, a look at more recent recipients of the Victoria Cross, and the recently established daughter Crosses of three Commonwealth countries.

¹ Nigel Cawthorne, *VC Heroes: The True Stories behind every VC winner since World War Two*, (London: John Blake Publishing Ltd., 2012), p. xi.

1. Indian Order of Merit:

While the Victoria Cross is far better known, there was an earlier egalitarian award for gallantry, under the auspices of a company in the United Kingdom, which deserves more attention. The Indian Order of Merit (originally ‘Order of Merit’ until 1902) was established by the Honourable East India Company, the London based trading company that, by the early nineteenth century, ruled over most of the Indian subcontinent.

On 17th April 1837, resolutions passed by the Company’s Court of Directors were published, and on 1st May the rules and regulations for this Order, intended for the Indian troops in its service.² It was ‘to afford personal award for personal bravery, without reference to any claims founded on mere length of service and general good conduct’. The order was to be in three classes, ‘the two junior to be distinguished by a badge of silver, and the senior by a badge of gold, in the shape of a military laurelled [eight pointed] star, bearing in its centre, the inscription “the reward of valour”’. It was to be worn from a dark blue ribbon with a red edge.³

This decoration, called ‘the star’ was, for the Third Class, ‘to be obtained by any conspicuous act of individual gallantry, on the part of any native officer or soldier in the field or in the attack, or defence of fortified places, *without distinction of rank or grade*’ (my italics). To obtain the Second Class, a recipient had to already possess the third, and perform a similar service. Similarly, to obtain the First Class, the recipient had to already possess the third and second class, and perform a service.



*Indian Order of Merit, 1st Class
(@ Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)*

Those admitted to the Order of Merit obtained financial rewards. The Third Class recipient received an additional third of the ‘ordinary pay of his rank’; the Second Class an

² *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia*, Volume 24, New Series, Part II (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1837), pp. 94-6.

³ *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia*, Volume 24, New Series, Part II, p. 95.

additional two-thirds; and the First Class double his pay, or the pension he was entitled to on retirement. The widow of a member was entitled to receive the pension conferred by the order on her husband, for three years after his death.⁴

This Order was very highly regarded, taken over by the Crown in 1858, and continued to be awarded until India's independence in 1947.⁵ A Civil Division was established in 1902, also in three classes, for Indians who performed acts of bravery in support of the civil authorities and public safety.⁶

Because of the Order's prior existence, Indian troops were not eligible for the Victoria Cross until 21st October 1911.⁷ As a result, in 1912 the Military First Class was abolished, after only 42 had been awarded. In 1939, the Civil Division was reduced to one class only, the same happening to the Military Division in 1945.⁸

2. Founding of the Victoria Cross:

The Victoria Cross was established by a royal warrant signed by Queen Victoria on 29th January 1856. It was to be awarded, said Clause 5, only to officers and men 'who have served Us in the presence of the enemy, and shall have then performed some signal act of valour, or devotion to their country'. Clause 6 made clear the egalitarian nature of the award, that 'neither rank, nor long service, nor wounds, nor any other circumstance or condition whatsoever, save the merit of conspicuous bravery shall be held to establish a sufficient claim to the honour'. Clauses 1 and 2 said it was to consist of 'a Maltese Cross of Bronze with Our Royal Crest in the centre', underneath being an escroll bearing the inscription 'For Valour', when worn suspended by a red riband for the Army, a blue one for the Navy.⁹



*Naval Victoria Cross
(National Maritime Museum, Greenwich)*

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-6.

⁵ Peter Duckers, *British Gallantry Awards 1855-2000*, (Oxford: Shire Publications Ltd, 2010), p. 8.

⁶ John D. Clarke, *Gallantry Medals & Decorations of the World*, (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Books Ltd., 2001), p. 121.

⁷ Peter Duckers, *The Victoria Cross*, (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications Ltd., 2006), p. 8; Melvin Charles Smith, *Awarded for Valour: A History of the Victoria Cross and the Evolution of British Heroism*, (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 214-5.

⁸ Clarke, *Gallantry Medals & Decorations*, p. 121.

⁹ *The London Gazette*, 5th February 1856, No. 21846, pp. 410-1. After WWI, the riband was changed to be red (or crimson) for *all* services in the military.

The immediate reason for its establishment was to honour the bravery of the United Kingdom's armed forces, particularly soldiers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) in the Army, who were fighting the Russian Empire in the Crimean War (1854-6). Their bravery was despite the appalling conditions in which they lived, a consequence of serious deficiencies in the Army's administration, their conditions publicised by the first war correspondents, particularly Dublin-born William Howard Russell.¹⁰

All the island of Ireland was then part of the United Kingdom; and it was shown in a book first published in 2002 that Ireland had a very significant involvement in the Crimean War, constituting a large part of the United Kingdom's armed forces.

The author, David Murphy, concluded that, in 1854, 33% of the British Army was Irish, meaning over 37,000 Irishmen served in the Crimea, some regiments being 40-45% Irish. The Royal Navy and Royal Marines he suggested were around 15% Irish. Murphy pointed out that 28 Irishmen were awarded the new Victoria Cross in the war. Even more interesting were the Irish civilians who were involved in the war, including doctors, Catholic priests, Sisters of Mercy, engineers, navvies, and some of the war correspondents already mentioned. Due to the fact that so many Irish families had people serving in the war, there was a significant interest in and enthusiasm for it in Ireland, shown in the newspapers and surviving ballads.¹¹

The UK was in this war allied with France, under Emperor Napoleon III. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815) and the emergence of the citizen soldier who served out of patriotism, led almost all European nations to establish some form of recognition of military bravery. France had been in the lead, founding the Legion of Honour in 1802, open to all citizens on merit, regardless of background, which by 1814 had become extremely popular in France and in other countries. The trend continued during the century, and some awards became egalitarian. Napoleon III established the *Medaille Militaire* in 1852, to be awarded to soldiers and NCOs. It and junior grades of the Legion of Honour, which was open to all ranks, were also distributed to UK military personnel, something favourably commented on by the press in that country.¹² Queen Victoria gave permission to named individuals on 2nd August 1856¹³ and 30th April 1857, to wear the insignia of the Legion of Honour;¹⁴ and on 2nd March 1858, blanket royal permission was granted to wear 'Medals conferred by His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Sardinia, and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, for services during the late War'.¹⁵

There were at the time, no national awards available for those not officers. What was available, mention in dispatches and promotion, were not seen as suitable.¹⁶ The preamble of the warrant establishing the Cross admitted that the

Third Class of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath is limited, except in very rare cases, to the higher ranks of both Services, and the granting of medals, both in Our Navy and Army, is only awarded for long service or meritorious conduct.

Also, in the cases where a general medal was granted for 'a particular action or campaign, or a clasp added to the medal for some special engagement', in both cases 'all

¹⁰ Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 29-34.

¹¹ David Murphy, *Ireland and the Crimean War*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014), passim, in particular Chapters 2-3. A list of the Irish recipients of the Victoria Cross in the Crimean War is in Appendix A, pp. 233-6.

¹² M. J. Crook, *The Evolution of the Victoria Cross*, (Turnbridge Wells: Midas Books, 1975), pp. 45-7; *Burke's World Orders of Knighthood & Merit*, I, (Wilmington, Delaware: Burke's Peerage & Gentry LLC, 2006), pp. 415-20; Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 26-7.

¹³ *London Gazette*, Supplement, 4th August 1856, No. 2109, pp. 2699-2705.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Supplement, 1st May 1857, No. 21996, pp. 1573-5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Supplement, 2nd March 1858, No. 22107, p. 1272.

¹⁶ Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 27-8.

shared equally’ in this; and ‘those who by their valour have particularly signalled themselves remain undistinguished from their comrades’.¹⁷

Awards created to fill this gap included the Distinguished Conduct Medal (1854), open to ‘other ranks’ for gallantry, and the Conspicuous Gallantry Medal (1855) for the same ranks in the Royal Navy and Royal Marines.¹⁸ But they were not seen as sufficient. Demands were made, including in Parliament, for an award that would be open to all ranks, comparisons being made with the French system.¹⁹

The social climate of the United Kingdom was favourable to this, with the idea that the individual was responsible for his or her actions and that good conduct should be rewarded. Also, the political circumstances were favourable. The reported soldiers’ conditions, the reports then unencumbered by censorship, caused a political scandal that led to the fall of the Aberdeen administration in January 1855.

Questions were asked about the structure of the Army, in particular that the Commander-in-Chief reported directly to the Monarch, not the Secretary for War. Under the new Palmerston administration, the Secretary, Lord Panmure, was clear that the Commander-in-Chief was subordinate to his control, any royal writs and warrants needing to be countersigned by a principal secretary of state to be implemented.²⁰

The Cross was agreed by Panmure, as per the wishes of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, as a purely royal award, set up by warrant while Parliament was not sitting. It was intended to be a symbolic link between the Queen and her troops, to whom she had a romantic view, and a means of recapturing some lost influence, a concession made to soothe her wounded pride. That said, the award had already been agreed by the Queen on the day the Aberdeen administration fell; and there had been previously been detailed discussions between Albert and Panmure’s predecessor, in which the former had been supportive of the principle, making specific suggestions.²¹

Later, dress regulations of 1904 said that the VC should be worn *first* of all awards. In 1912, it was stated that when initials were used after recipients’ names, the initials ‘VC’ should come *first*, before those of any Orders of Chivalry.²²

¹⁷ *London Gazette*, 5th February 1856, No. 21846, p. 410.

¹⁸ Crook, pp. 5-7; Duckers, *The Victoria Cross*, (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications Ltd., 2006), pp. 9-10; Duckers, *British Gallantry Awards 1855-2000*, pp. 9-10, 33-6, 37.

¹⁹ Crook, p. 9.

²⁰ Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 29-34. For the influence of war correspondents, three of the most significant being Irish, in stirring up public indignation, see Murphy, *Ireland and the Crimean War*, pp. 172-83.

²¹ Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 34-8.

²² Crook, pp. 267-8

3. Some aspects of the Victoria Cross:



*Queen Victoria presenting the Victoria Cross
(Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2017)*

1. Presentation by the Sovereign:

The original warrant made no specific provision for this; but Queen Victoria made it clear that she wanted to confer the decoration in person. This she did in a review in Hyde Park on 26th June 1857, conferring the first 62 Crosses. The responsibility for the form of the ceremony and the venue appear to have been almost entirely hers.²³ Other large-scale presentations were made by that monarch in 1858-60, although they would not happen again until the First World War; and a large number of Crosses were presented by her in individual ceremonies. A pattern was set that the Cross be presented by the Monarch or the General Officer Commanding, rare exceptions being to meet the wish of the recipient.²⁴

Presentations by the Sovereign were frequent and popular; and due to the keen interest taken by King George V, added to the geographical circumstances of the First World War, the role of GOCs as presenters of VCs were almost eliminated. With the increasing rapidity of communications, it was easy for the King to decorate his soldiers in the field or in London. It led to the expectation that a VC is presented by the Sovereign or his or her personal representative.²⁵ In terms of the Dominions, who had emerged as independent states, and used the Imperial honours system, including the three who later established their own Victoria Crosses, the personal representative was the Governor-General.

²³ *The Times*, 27th June 1857; Crook, pp. 49-52.

²⁴ Crook, pp. 53-5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.

2. Civilians:

While the Cross was intended to be awarded only to military personnel, four or five civilians have received the award. During the Indian Mutiny (1857-8), due to many European civilians caught up in it fighting those opposed to British rule, an amending warrant was signed on 13th December 1858, to extend the provisions of the Victoria Cross to ‘Non-Military Persons, have borne arms against the Mutineers’, as long as they were serving under the orders of a General ‘or other Officer in Command of Troops in the Field’.

The first civilian to be so honoured was Thomas Henry Kavanagh, Assistant Commissioner in Oude, a civil servant, born in Mullingar, Co. Westmeath. On 9th November 1858, he volunteered to go through enemy lines in Lucknow, disguised as an Indian, despite having red hair and being over six feet tall, with an Indian guide. His mission was to show the relieving force the best way to the besieged garrison; and he was successful.²⁶

Kavanagh was prone to boasting about his achievement, being nicknamed ‘Lucknow Kavanagh’ as a result, writing a book about his exploits, a thing considered crass by many contemporaries.²⁷ He was one of four civilians to be so honoured for their gallantry during the Mutiny.²⁸ A possible fifth civilian to be awarded the Cross was the Cork-born Rev. James W. Adams, during the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80), when on 11th December 1879, he gave assistance to fallen cavalymen when under fire. Some count him as a fifth civilian, depending on whether they count the Amending Warrant of 1881 extending the VC to priests of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment as applying, before his award was gazetted.²⁹

3. War winning and Humanitarian acts:

Melvin Charles Smith, a historian of the Victoria Cross, has divided those awarded into four categories, the first and second having gained the majority of awards. They are, first, aggressive ‘war-winning’ acts, which can be divided into four sub-categories: a.) Offensive: Acts designed to gain ground, capture a strongpoint, or break an enemy formation; b.) Defensive: Defending territory, holding a fortification or generally resisting an enemy attack; c.) Symbolic: Acts that contributed to victory, such as rallying troops under fire; and d.) Acts that paved the way to victory, such as reconnaissance or resupply.

The second category was ‘humanitarian’ valour. It is the saving of comrades’ lives, broken down into acts saving the lives of enlisted personnel and those saving officers’ lives. This includes tending the wounded, carrying off the wounded, or both, as well as disposing of live ordnance.³⁰

Such humanitarian acts have existed from the time the Cross was established to the present, such as that performed by Johnson Beharry in 2004. An early award was to Private Joseph Prossler, 1st Regiment, for two acts. The second was on 11th August 1855, before Sebastopol, ‘for leaving the most advanced trench, and assisting to carry in a soldier of the 5th Regiment, who lay severely wounded, and unable to move. This gallant and humane act was performed under a very heavy fire from the enemy’.³¹

²⁶ *London Gazette*, 8th July 1859, No. 22283, p. 2629. The original said ‘8th November 1858’, which was corrected by an entry in the *Gazette* for 4th May 1860 (No. 22382, p. 1705).

²⁷ T. Henry Kavanagh, *How I Won the Victoria Cross*, (London: Ward and Lock, 1860), pp. 77-93, passim; Richard Doherty & David Truesdale, *Irish Winners of the Victoria Cross*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 54-5.

²⁸ Duckers, *The Victoria Cross*, pp. 58-9.

²⁹ *London Gazette*, 26th August 1881, No. 25008, p. 4393; Duckers, *The Victoria Cross*, pp. 58-9.

³⁰ Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 94-5.

³¹ *London Gazette*, Supplement, 4th February 1857, No. 21971, p. 657.

During the Indian Mutiny, on 30th July 1857, one of the four civilian volunteers already mentioned who received the Cross, Ross Lewis Mangles of the Bengal Civil Service, did so because he, when the force he was serving with was ambushed, ‘carried for several miles, out of action, a wounded soldier of Her Majesty’s 37th Regiment, after binding up his wounds under a murderous fire’.³²

On 29th April 1864, during the Maori Wars (1845-72), Captain of the Foretop Samuel Mitchell, in an attack at Te Papa, Tauranga, entered the enemy position with Commander Hay, and when he was mortally wounded, brought him out ‘although ordered by Commander Hay to leave him, and seek his own safety’. His commander ‘brings his name to special notice for this act of gallantry’.³³

On 18th March 1892, during an attack on Toniataba, Gambia River, Lance-Corporal William James Gordon, West India Regiment, threw himself between Major G. C. Madden, and a number of muskets projected through a gate, pushed that officer out of the way with a “Look out, Sir!” and was shot through the lungs; his ‘bravery and devotion’ ‘probably’ saved his commanding officer’s life.³⁴

Such awards were made in the First World War. On 3rd March 1916, George V awarded the VC to a Private Harry Christian, King’s Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster), who found and dug out three comrades who had been buried by a very heavy German mortar bombardment, and carried them one by one to safety, while under fire, ‘thereby undoubtedly saving their lives’.³⁵

As we can see from these examples, such humanitarian Victoria Crosses were awarded from the start to the present; but they are misleading; because from the First World War, the number of Crosses so awarded began to be severely reduced, Beharry’s becoming the exception.

Smith’s book on the Victoria Cross explained that, looking at the period of 1854-1904, while war winning Crosses were in the majority, sometimes they were surpassed by the humanitarian ones. Giving a breakdown of awards, those humanitarian ones awarded in the 1850s were 35% of the total awarded, those in the 1860s 38%; in the 1870s 33%; in the 1890s 86%; and in 1890-1904 54%. Also, the ratio of those for saving officers as distinct from enlisted men showed that saving the former would be more likely to lead to an award. ‘Clearly, saving the life of an officer got one noticed’.³⁶

This changed in the First World War, on the Western Front. The Victorian army and its heroic ideals died there. While in the Boer War, 53% of Crosses were awarded for life-saving, in 1914 it was 30%. The emergence of industrial scale warfare, with machine guns, barbed wire, and massive troop formations, led to a new concept of heroism. The older ideal persisted in the air, at sea, and in colonial campaigns. In 1916, in the campaign in Mesopotamia, 75% of Crosses earned were for lifesaving. However, in 1917, due to a change in command in favour of aggressive prosecution of the war, 75% of Crosses awarded were for war winning acts.³⁷

On the Western Front, there was also a trend towards more war winning Crosses: In 1916, the year of the Battle of the Somme in which Tolkien served, 64% were war winning, compared to 19% for humanitarian acts. This is attributed to the influence to Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, who took command of the British Expeditionary Force in December 1915. By 1917, his position was secure, he having the confidence of the King George V and

³² Ibid., 8th July 1859, No. 22283, p. 2629.

³³ Ibid., 26th July 1864, No. 22879, p. 3711.

³⁴ Ibid., 3rd December 1892, No. 26352, p. 7217.

³⁵ Ibid., 3rd March 1916, No. 29496, p. 2349.

³⁶ Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 96-7, 100. The 38% in the 1860s is when discounting the Andaman Island rescue.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 121-31.

Conservative ministers in the new coalition government. He was recorded as hostile to giving Crosses to those who tended the wounded.

Under him, there was a move towards waging offensive warfare, and the emergence of a new definition of what heroism was: a soldier who killed Germans. In 1917, of the Crosses won, 84% were for war winning acts, 13% for humanitarian ones. In 1918, the final year of the war, 90% of VCs won were war winning ones; only 6% were humanitarian.³⁸

In autumn 1918, a panel set up to examine the existing Victoria Cross warrants tightened up the requirements to ensure that the Cross was exclusively a combat award, with an obvious bias towards aggressive combat actions. Haig's ideal, that a hero did not save the wounded but killed the enemy, triumphed. There was also a worry that women might be eligible.³⁹

The revised warrant, of 22nd May 1920, clearly stated in Clause 3 that the Cross shall only be awarded 'for most conspicuous bravery or some daring or pre-eminent act of valour or self-sacrifice or extreme devotion to duty in the presence of the enemy'. Clause 5 allowed women to be eligible, at least in theory, saying the Cross could be conferred on staff of the nursing services 'and other services pertaining to Hospitals and Nursing, and Civilians of either sex' serving regularly or temporarily under 'the Orders, direction or supervision' of the military forces.⁴⁰ By linking it to aggressive combat actions, the panel ensured, in their view, that while women were eligible in theory, they would not be awarded it in practice. This also excluded many men.⁴¹

Their task may have been helped by the emergence of system of official gallantry awards, under the Victoria Cross, graded depending on the level of gallantry, from the late nineteenth century, but particularly during the First World War.⁴²

This rewriting and tightening up of the warrant meant that fewer Crosses were awarded, only 196 between 1940-2006, 182 of those in the Second World War, compared to 634 in the First World War and its aftermath. The standard of aggressive heroism established went on to the Second World War and to the Falklands, a tiny minority of Crosses being granted for humanitarian reasons. Johnson Beharry's and Joshua Leakey's Crosses of 2004 and 2013, which will be looked at later, were two small exceptions.⁴³

As Smith points out, the VC encapsulated in Victorian times 'a romantic military ideal with a strong humanitarian component'. The military establishment was 'willing to recognise the gallantry in retrieving a wounded man. Paternalistic, romantic class relationships were further sanctified in the award given to loyal soldiers who rescued a living officer or risked their lives to retrieve the body of a dead one'. This changed on the Western Front, where showing good form or compassion was changed to 'a homicidal maniac, eager to kill until killed himself'.⁴⁴

If one looks at the Victoria Crosses conferred since 2006, the end of the period covered by Smith's book, the two original United Kingdom ones conferred on James Ashworth and Joshua Leakey for services in Afghanistan appear to be, in the first case, for war winning reasons, and in the second case, for humanitarian ones. However, the sole (so far) Victoria Cross for New Zealand, conferred on Willie Apatika, again in Afghanistan appears to be for humanitarian reasons, while the four Victoria Crosses for Australia appear to be evenly split between those conferred for humanitarian (Mark Donaldson and Daniel Keighran) and war winning (Ben Roberts-Smith and Cameron Baird) reasons. It appears that the new Crosses conferred so far show a greater desire to reward humanitarian

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 148-9, 152-9.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 165-183.

⁴⁰ *London Gazette*, 18th June 1920, No. 31946, p. 6702.

⁴¹ Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 182-3.

⁴² Duckers, *British Gallantry Awards 1855-2000*, pp. 26-49.

⁴³ Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 186-202.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 203-5.

behaviour than those of the original United Kingdom ones recently conferred, Beharry's and Leakey's being exceptions to the rule so far.

4. George Cross and George Medal:

For a period, the Victoria Cross was awarded for non-combatant gallantry. An amending warrant of 10th August 1858 awarded it to military personnel who 'may perform acts of conspicuous courage and bravery under circumstances of extreme danger' such as 'the occurrence of a fire on board ship, or the foundering of a vessel at sea, or under any other circumstance in which through the courage and devotion displayed, life or public property may be saved'. Seven such Crosses were awarded, six in 1867, when the latter rescued 17 comrades on the island of Little Andaman in the Indian Ocean.⁴⁵ This was changed, when another amending warrant of 23rd April 1881 eliminated this non-combat proviso, the qualification being 'conspicuous bravery or devotion to the country in the presence of the enemy'.⁴⁶

There had been a gallantry award created for saving life by Queen Victoria, open to all her subjects. It was the Albert Medal, created in memory of her late husband, in a warrant of 7th March 1866, for saving life at sea. This was extended in a warrant of 30th April 1877 to include saving life on land.⁴⁷

This Medal did not, however, have the same prestige as the Victoria Cross; and the many acts of bravery by civilians in the UK during the Blitz (1940-1) led to a 24th September 1940 royal warrant signed by King George VI, establishing the George Cross, a decoration 'intended primarily for civilians' and awards to the military for 'actions for which purely military honours are not normally granted'. It was to be awarded 'only for acts of the greatest heroism or of the most conspicuous courage in circumstances of extreme danger'. It was to be in silver, a plain cross of four equal limbs, with a design of St. George and the Dragon in the centre, surrounded with the inscription 'FOR GALLANTRY', the angle of each limb bearing the royal cipher 'G. VI', the name of recipient and date of the award being in reverse, suspended from a dark blue ribbon, and to be worn immediately after the Victoria Cross. Recipients were entitled to use the letters 'G.C.' after their names.⁴⁸

On the same date, that monarch also signed a royal warrant establishing the George Medal, again 'intended primarily' for civilians, and awards to military personnel for 'actions for which purely military Honours are not normally granted'. It was to be awarded 'only for acts of great bravery', be circular and in silver, bearing the crowned effigy of the monarch, on the reverse St. George Slaying the Dragon on the coast of England, the latter surmounted by the words 'The George Medal'. Recipients were to wear it suspended from a ribbon of red, with five equidistant narrow vertical stripes of blue, and were entitled to use the letters 'G.M.' after their names.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *London Gazette*, 17th September 1867, No. 23333, p. 6878.

⁴⁶ Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, p. 213.

⁴⁷ *London Gazette*, Supplement, 20th September 1881, Issue No. 2016, p. 4758.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 31st January 1941, Issue No. 35060, pp. 622-3; Alex A. Purves, *The Medals Decorations & Orders of the Second World War 1939-1945*, (London: Savannah, 2004), pp. 55-6; Duckers, *British Gallantry Awards 1855-2000*, p. 19

⁴⁹ *London Gazette*, Issue No. 35060, 31st January 1941, pp. 623-4; Purves, *Medals Decorations & Orders of the Second World War*, p. 56; Duckers, *British Gallantry Awards 1855-2000*, p. 39.

5. Some Irish VC winners:

1. Who was ‘Irish’?

In their 2000 book on Irish winners of the Victoria Cross,⁵⁰ Richard Doherty and David Truesdale first dealt with the issue of who was ‘Irish’. At the time the Cross was instituted, the British Empire was at its zenith, many Irishmen living throughout it. While their sons born there might be defined as any one of many nationalities, the authors considered them as Irish.

Of those born in Ireland before 1922, some would be the sons of people from Great Britain, but like Irishmen born elsewhere, would have considered themselves the same nationality as their parents. The authors used the ‘Jack Charlton rule’, that if one of the VC winner’s parents was Irish, ‘he is regarded as Irish’. Those born in Ireland of non-Irish parents were ‘not excluded’; but the authors made it clear that they were ‘not as Irish as some of those born outside the island’.

The authors then concluded that the figure previously given of 166 Irish VC winners up to 2000, 12% of the total then awarded, could be increased to 206, perhaps more.⁵¹

2. Some Irish VC winners in brief:

I will look in detail at four Irish Victoria Cross winners, the first being the very first winner and the first Royal Navy one, the second being the first British army winner, and the other two being one of three father and son pairs to win that decoration. But before that, I will look at some more VC winners in brief.

The first Irish VC winner in the First World War was Lieutenant Maurice James Dease, of the Royal Fusiliers, born in Gaulstown, Coole, Co. Westmeath. He commanded a machine gun section outside Mons on 22nd August 1914, part of a company of the Royal Fusiliers defending a bridge over a canal. The Fusiliers took very heavy casualties, Dease being wounded five times; but he refused to leave his guns, ensuring they stayed in action to fire on the Germans. His VC was posthumous.⁵²

The first Irish VC and the first Royal Air Force one of the Second World War was one of two posthumous ones won by two of the three man crew of a Fairey Battle aircraft. Donald Edward Garland, born in Ballinor, Co. Wicklow, was the pilot. He and his crew died on 12th May 1940, when their Battle was shot down while leading the section of aircraft attacking a bridge over the Albert Canal in Belgium. Garland and Thomas Grey, the navigator, received posthumous VCs.⁵³ Garland’s Cross would be the first of eight awarded to Irishmen in the Second World War

Another such Cross of that war, again a posthumous one, was won by one born in England of Irish parents: Captain Edward Stephen Fogarty Fegen, of the armed merchant cruiser *Jervis Bay*. Born in Southsea, Hampshire, son of a vice-admiral, he joined the Royal Navy, and served in the First World War.

The *Jervis Bay* was the sole escort of convoy HX34, from Halifax to Britain, comprised of 38 merchant ships. When on 5th November 1940 there was an attack by German pocket battleship *Admiral Sheer*, Fegen did not hesitate to order his ship to engage the latter, despite it being a one-sided contest. The *Jervis Bay* sank in under an hour, with

⁵⁰ A full list can be found in Appendix One of Doherty & Truesdale, pp. 189-234.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-2.

⁵² *London Gazette*, Third Supplement, 12th November 1914, No. 28976, p. 9374; Doherty & Truesdale, pp. 101-2

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 11th June 1940, No. 34870, p. 3516; Doherty & Truesdale, pp. 143-6.

only 65 survivors, not including its captain; but it ensured that the Sheer was able to only sink five merchantmen, they having had the opportunity to scatter.⁵⁴

The last Victoria Cross of the Second World War was won on 31st July 1945, by Belfast-born Leading Seaman James Joseph Magennis. Trained as a diver, he was one of the crew of an XE-Craft, a midget submarine, attacking one of two Japanese cruisers anchored in the Johore Strait. He was able, after leaving the submarine, to place six limpet mines on the cruiser's hull, an exhausting task. Later, though exhausted, he volunteered to go out again to remove the port-side mine carrier, which had not released from the submarine.⁵⁵

3. Four Irish VC winners in particular:

a. Charles Davis Lucas (1834-1914):

Born on 19th February 1834 in Druminargle House, Poyntzpass, Co. Armagh, to a landowning family, Lucas joined the Royal Navy when thirteen, and served in the Burma War of 1852-3. In 1854, he was mate of the *HMS Hecla*, part of a fleet sent to the Baltic to blockade the Russian Baltic Fleet and damage the defences, and divert some of the Russian Army away from the Crimea. On 21st June, the *Hecla*, with two other warships, attacked the fortress on the Island of Bomarsund in Aland, on the Gulf of Bothnia. Under fire from the fortress guns, one shell landed on the ship's deck, its fuse spluttering. While everyone else ran or threw themselves flat, Lucas took up the shell, carried it to the side of the ship, and threw it into the sea, saving many lives. He was immediately promoted by his captain to Acting Lieutenant, *The London Gazette* of 24th February 1857 noting the 'Act of Bravery for which recommended':⁵⁶

654 SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE, FEBRUARY 24, 1857.	
Name and Rank.	Act of Bravery for which recommended.
William Johnstone, Stoker.....	The despatches were carried to General Baraguay d'Hilliers, who expressed himself in the highest terms of approval. (Despatch from Captain Yelverton, inclosed in a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir C. Napier, of 31st January, 1856.) This person was the companion of Commander Bythesea in the above-mentioned enterprize. (Despatch from Captain Yelverton, inclosed in a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir C. Napier, of 13th January, 1856.)
Charles D. Lucas, Lieutenant.	This Officer was promoted to his present rank on the 21st of June 1854, for his gallantry in throwing overboard a live shell, at the first attack on the batteries of Bomarsund. Captain Hall writes to Sir C. Napier:—"With regard to Mr. Lucas, I have the pleasure to report a remarkable instance of coolness and presence of mind in action, he having taken up, and thrown overboard, a live shell thrown on board the 'Hecla' by the enemy, while the fuze was burning." (Letter of Captain Hall to Sir C. Napier, 22nd June, 1854.) Sir Charles Napier, in forwarding Captain Hall's letter, remarks:—"Their Lordships will observe, in Captain Hall's letter, the great courage of Mr. C. D. Lucas, in taking up a live shell and throwing it overboard; and I trust their Lordships will mark their sense of it by promoting him." (Sir C. Napier to Secretary of Admiralty, 28th June, 1854.)

Charles Lucas VC - Act of Bravery citation

⁵⁴ Ibid., Supplement, 22nd November, No. 34999, p. 6743; Doherty & Truesdale, pp. 149-54.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Supplement, 13th November 1945, No. 37346, pp. 5529-30; Doherty & Truesdale, pp. 170-3

⁵⁶ *London Gazette*, Supplement, 24th February 1857, No. 21971, p. 654.



*Lucas throwing the shell off the deck of the Hecla
(National Maritime Museum, Greenwich)*

Lucas was among those who was presented his Victoria Cross by Queen Victoria in Hyde Park in June 1857. He rose steadily through the ranks, being made Commander in 1862, and Captain in 1867, at the age of thirty-three. He retired in 1873, though he was promoted to Rear Admiral on the retired list in 1885. He had moved with his wife to Great Culverton, Kent, and was a justice of the peace for that country for many years, dying on 7th August 1914.⁵⁷

b. Luke O'Connor (1831-1915):

Of the 28 Irish winners of the Victoria Cross in the Crimean War, not only was the first winner and first Royal Navy winner an Irishman, the first British Army winner was also an Irishman: Luke O'Connor. Born at Elphin, Co. Roscommon, on 21st January 1831, he was a Sergeant in the 23rd Regiment (Royal Welch Fusiliers) - in which he had enlisted when seventeen - when in the Battle of the Alma of 20th September 1854, he took up the Queen's Colour when the lieutenant carrying it was killed. Despite later being wounded, he refused to relinquish that colour to anyone of inferior rank.

He was rewarded with a commission as Lieutenant and the VC, one of those conferred by Queen Victoria in Hyde Park in June 1857. He was also cited for his 'great

⁵⁷ Doherty & Truesdale, pp. 24-5; Griffith Wylie, 'Charles Lucas VC', *"Before I forget...": The Magazine of the Poyntzpass and District Local History Society*, Issue 9 (2003), pp. 24-30; Murphy, *Ireland and the Crimean War*, pp. 24-5.

gallantry’ at the assault on the Redan of Sevastapol on 8th September 1855, where he was ‘shot through both thighs’.



Sergeant Luke O'Connor, 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers, although shot in the breast, bravely carries forward one of the Colours at the Alma, 20 September 1854. (@ The Royal Welch Fusiliers Regimental Museum, Caernarfon Castle)

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE, FEBRUARY 24, 1857. 659		
Regiment.	Rank and Name.	Act of Bravery for which recommended.
23rd Regiment	Lieutenant Luke O'Connor..	Was one of the centre Serjeants at the Battle of the Alma, and advanced between the Officers, carrying the colours. When near the redoubt, Lieutenant Anstruther, who was carrying a colour, was mortally wounded, and he was shot in the breast at the same time, and fell ; but, recovering himself, snatched up the colour from the ground, and continued to carry it till the end of the action, although urged by Captain Granville to relinquish it, and go to the rear, on account of his wound ; was recommended for, and received his commission for his services at the Alma. Also behaved with great gallantry at the assault on the Redan, 8th September, 1855, where he was shot through both thighs.

Luke O'Connor VC - Act of Bravery citation

Luke O'Connor rose to the highest ranks of the British Army, a parallel to the career of Charles Lucas. He became a major-general and was knighted, as well as being appointed honorary Colonel of the Royal Welch Fusiliers; but he did not forget his humble background. After his death on 1st February 1915, it was found that he left £10,528 to charities, the residue of his estate to be distributed to 'such deserving charities' as his executors saw fit.⁵⁸

c. Frederick Sleigh Roberts (1832-1914) and Frederick Hugh Sherston Roberts (1872-99):

Frederick Sleigh Roberts was born in Cawnpore, India, on 30th September 1832.⁵⁹ He was the youngest son of General Sir Abraham Roberts (1784-1873), of the Honourable East India Company's army, and his second wife, Isabella, who although born in Edinburgh was the daughter of Captain Abraham Bunbury of Kilfeacle, Co. Tipperary.

His father's family was Irish, a distinguished Waterford one of Welsh origin,⁶⁰ his great-grandfather, John Roberts (1712-96) being a celebrated architect, responsible for much of the Georgian part of that city. Well regarded for his skill, integrity and concern for his employees, a 'John Roberts Square' was named in his memory in the city in 2000.⁶¹

Frederick Roberts was proud of his Waterford connections, and made this clear on 1st September 1893, when given the freedom of that city. He called this honour in his speech of thanks 'a recognition of the esteem and respect with which my family have been held for many generations in Waterford, and of the affection which they themselves had for the place of their birth. (Loud applause.)'. He also mentioned that he had incorporated the city's name into his peerage title, and said at the speech's end that he was 'proud of being an Irishman'.⁶²

On his mother's side, his family was a mixture of Irish and Scottish, mostly the latter. His maternal grandfather served in the 62nd Regiment in the US War of Independence, and surrendered with Burgoyne's defeated army at the Battle of Saratoga. He later married a 'Miss Christy Innes, daughter of Mr. Innes, of Cathlaw',⁶³ in Aberdeen, on 21st June 1784. Their daughter Isabella, Frederick's mother, was born in Edinburgh on 23rd January 1799.⁶⁴

He, his other siblings and their mother returned to the UK in 1834, and settled at Clifton in Bristol. Frederick was small, and had an attack of 'brain fever' (perhaps meningitis) and though he survived, lost the sight in his right eye. This fact was not generally known during his lifetime. He never grew more than 5'4" (1.65 metres) in height and would have failed a physical examination. He was sent to school at Hampton, then to Eton when he was thirteen.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ *London Gazette*, Supplement, 24th February 1857, No. 21971, p. 659; Doherty & Truesdale, pp. 25-7, 225; Murphy, *Ireland and the Crimean War*, pp. 51, 235.

⁵⁹ David James, *Lord Roberts*, (London: Hollis & Carter, 1954), p. 3; Brian Robson, 'Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, first Earl Roberts (1832-1914)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (henceforth *ODNB*), (Oxford: OUP, 2004), p. 156; David Murphy, 'ROBERTS, Frederick Sleigh (1832-1914)', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (henceforth *DIB*), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 8, p. 513.

⁶⁰ For an overview of the Roberts family, see William J. Bayly, 'The Roberts Family of Waterford', *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, II (1896), pp. 98-103.

⁶¹ *DIB*, 8, pp. 516-7.

⁶² *The Irish Times*, 2nd September 1893.

⁶³ *The London Magazine, Enlarged and Improved*, 3 (July – December 1784), (London: R. Baldwin, 1784), p. 86.

⁶⁴ http://www.turtlebunbury.com/family/bunburyfamily_bunburys/bunbury_family_bunburys_kilfeacle.html. (Accessed 4th November 2016); http://www.62ndregiment.org/Abraham_Bunbury.htm. (Accessed ditto.).

⁶⁵ *ODNB*, 47, p. 156; Rodney Atwood, *The March to Kandahar: Roberts in Afghanistan*, (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2008), p. 14; André Wessels, 'Frederick Roberts', *Victoria's Generals*, (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2009), p. 171.

Both his parents hoped that he would not be a soldier; but he had made up his mind to be one from an early age. Roberts was sent to Sandhurst when fourteen. Two years later, he went to Addiscombe, at the decision of his father, on the grounds that he would be able to support himself on his pay in the East India Company's army. He was commissioned into the Bengal Artillery on 12th December 1851 as a second lieutenant.⁶⁶

Roberts served with great distinction in the 1857-9 Rebellion.⁶⁷ He campaigned with the Delhi Field Force, and was present at the capture of Delhi and in other battles, including the Relief of Lucknow and the Battle of Cawnpore. He was awarded the Victoria Cross for having saved the life of a sowar (cavalry trooper) and having captured one of the rebel standards.⁶⁸ According to a detailed account of what he had done,

Lieutenant Roberts' gallantry has on every occasion been most marked. On following up the retreating enemy on the 2nd January, 1858, at Khodagunge, he saw in the distance two Sepoys [soldiers] going away with a standard. Lieutenant Roberts put spurs to his horse, and overtook them just as they were about to enter a village. They immediately turned round, and presented their muskets at him, and one of the men pulled the trigger, but fortunately the caps snapped, and the standard-bearer was cut down by this gallant young officer, and the standard taken possession of by him. He also, on the same day, cut down another Sepoy who was standing at bay, with musket and bayonet, keeping off a Sowar. Lieutenant Roberts rode to the assistance of the horseman, and, rushing at the Sepoy, with one blow of his sword cut him across the face, killing him on the spot.⁶⁹



*Frederick Sleight Roberts (1832-1914) and Frederick Hugh Sherston Roberts (1872-99)
(National Portrait Gallery, London and National Army Museum Chelsea)*

Roberts went on convalescent leave to Ireland, where he married in 1859, then returned to India, and was promoted to captain and brevet (temporary) major in November 1860. In 1863, he was assistant quartermaster-general for Bengal; and in 1867, he joined Sir Robert (later Lord) Napier's punitive expedition to Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Napier was so

⁶⁶ ODNB, 47, p. 156; Atwood, *The March to Kandahar*, pp. 14-5.

⁶⁷ Also called the Indian Mutiny or the First War of Indian Independence.

⁶⁸ ODNB, 47, p. 156; *DIB*, 8, p. 513.

⁶⁹ *London Gazette*, 24th December 1858, No. 2212, p. 5516.

impressed by him that Roberts was ordered to carry his dispatches to the UK, and he was promoted in August 1868 to brevet lieutenant-colonel.

He was appointed first assistant quartermaster-general for India and took part in the Lushai expedition in Assam in 1871-2. In January 1875, he was promoted to colonel and acting major-general, and appointed as Indian quartermaster-general, having established a reputation as an expert in logistical planning.⁷⁰

His rise to fame came during the Second Anglo-Afghan War, from which he emerged as a celebrity. Early in the war, promoted major general, he was one of three invading columns against the Afghans. While successful, with a peace treaty signed in 26th May 1879, the military mission left in Kabul was massacred on 3rd September; and Roberts's column was the only one available to attack Kabul and avenge the deaths. In little over a month, he had occupied the city. The war was unpopular, not only among Afghans but also in the UK. The Liberal Party under William Gladstone won the April 1880 general election, opposition to the war being a major factor in the victory.⁷¹ Roberts's career looked as if it would end in ignominy.

However, the defeat of a UK-Indian force, sent out of Kandahar, at the Battle of Maiwand on 27th July, by an Afghan force under Ayub Khan, uncle to Abdur Rhaman, a member of the royal family whom the UK had proclaimed Emir on 22nd July, and who himself claimed the throne, resulted in Roberts leading a force to Kandahar of 10,000 men and three-quarters that number of camp followers, a column of seven miles long, over 313 miles from 8th August to 31st August. The next day, the Battle of Kandahar took place, Ayub's force being decisively defeated.⁷²

A comparison was made at the time between Roberts' force and that of 10,000 under the command of an Athenian, Xenophon.⁷³ These men were Greek mercenaries hired by a prince who rebelled against his brother, the Persian king. They were defeated near Babylon in 401 B.C., and chose Xenophon as one of their new leaders. He played a major role in leading them back to the Mediterranean, through hostile territory and food shortages, and wrote an account of this, the *Anabasis*.

By the end of this unpopular war, Roberts had become an imperial hero, his deeds and nickname of 'Bobs' being generally known, a rival in the popular press to fellow Irishman Sir Garnet (later Viscount) Wolseley. In 1881, he was appointed to command the Madras army. In June of the same year, he was created a baronet.⁷⁴ Roberts's celebrity status due to the Second Anglo-Afghan War brought him not just fame; it opened doors, including to 'the networks of the Victorian media'.

In November 1885, Roberts was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India. He became very popular with his men, despite being a 'temperance officer', discouraging drinking and prostitution. In his summer residence at Simla, Roberts was famous for his hospitality. He cultivated close relations with politicians, as well as with editors and journalists, including Rudyard Kipling. Promoted full general in 1890, he was in 1892 raised to the peerage as 'Baron Roberts of Kandahar, in Afghanistan, and of the City of Waterford'. He was later promoted field-marshal in May 1895.⁷⁵

Roberts left India in 1893, and was promoted to Commander-in-Chief, Ireland in 1895, seen as a backwater posting. He spent his time writing, including his memoirs. In 1897, Queen Victoria celebrated her Diamond Jubilee; and Roberts played a prominent part

⁷⁰ *ODNB*, 47, p. 157; *DIB*, 8, 513.

⁷¹ Karl Meyer & Shareen Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows: The Great Game and the Race for Empire in Asia*, (London: Abacus, 2001), pp. 195-7; Brian Robson, *The Road to Kabul: The Second Afghan War 1878-1881*, (Staplehurst: Spellmount Ltd., 2003), p. 177; Atwood, *The March to Kandahar*, p. 121.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 151-6; Robson, *The Road to Kabul*, pp. 248-50.

⁷³ For example, at a reception when Roberts was given the freedom of the City of London. (*The Times*, 15th February 1881.)

⁷⁴ *DIB*, 8, p. 513.

⁷⁵ *London Gazette*, 23rd February 1892, No. 26260, p. 990; *ODNB*, 47, pp. 158-9; *DIB*, 8, p. 513.

in a great procession to St. Paul's Cathedral in London for a service of thanksgiving on 22nd June. An American journalist, Richard Harding Davis, said that there were four persons for whom the cheering 'was so much more enthusiastic than for any of the others'. The Queen was first, Roberts second.

Robert's military career looked as if it was coming to an uncontroversial end, when the Second Anglo-Boer War broke out in 1899, and Roberts offered his services as Commander-in-Chief in South Africa after a number of Boer victories, his only son dying in one.⁷⁶ He went to South Africa with as chief-of-staff General Lord Kitchener. The army was reorganised, made into an effective fighting force and won a number of victories against the Boers, capturing the capitals of the two Boer republics. He was replaced by Kitchener as Commander-in-Chief on 29th November 1900, and left South Africa saying that the war was 'practically over'. He had given orders to burn farms to deny food to the guerrillas and punish their supporters;⁷⁷ but the odium for such tactics and other measures, including the use of concentration camps, would later fall on Kitchener, not on him. The war would last until 1902.

Returning home to a hero's welcome, as well as receiving other awards, Roberts was created 'Viscount St. Pierre' and 'Earl Roberts of Kandahar in Afghanistan, and Pretoria in the Transvaal Colony, and of the City of Waterford'.

Roberts had left South Africa to become Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, the last to hold that office before it was abolished in 1904. While he had become a national institution, respected by military and political leaders, his opinions were rarely listened to. While he remained as a member of the Committee of Imperial Defence, he later resigned from it in 1905, and became president of the National Service League, a lobby group that urged the introduction of peacetime conscription.⁷⁸

When the First World War broke out, Roberts was appointed to the war council and sailed for France to inspect the newly arrived Indian Army divisions. He caught a chill, which turned into pneumonia, died in St. Omer on 14th November 1914, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on 19th November.⁷⁹

The Times described his funeral, attended by, among others, King George V, with headlines such as 'SILENT TRIBUTE OF THE PEOPLE', 'THE KHAKI PROCESSION', and 'LYING-IN-STATE AT ST. PAUL'S', saying that he 'died, as he wished to die, on the field of war, giving encouragement and cheer to old friends and new'. Roberts's coffin then lay in state, to which the public was then admitted, a long queue having awaited, despite the bitter weather.⁸⁰

The Honourable Frederick Hugh Sherston Roberts, son of the proceeding, nicknamed 'Freddy', was born on 8th January 1872 in Umballa, Punjab, India, where his father was then serving.⁸¹ He attended Eton, and joined the Army afterwards. He was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the King's Royal Rifle Corps in 10th June 1891.⁸² He served in the Waziristan expedition of 1894-5, where he was Mentioned in Despatches. In 1898, he was in the Nile expedition under General Kitchener, for which he was promoted Lieutenant and awarded the Order of the Mejjidieh, Fourth Class.⁸³ He was killed on 15th December 1899, in the Battle of Colenso in the Second Boer War, while trying to save some abandoned field guns.

⁷⁶ Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), pp. 242-6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

⁷⁸ *ODNB*, 47, pp. 159-160; *DIB*, 8, p. 514.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *The Times*, 20th November 1914.

⁸¹ Doherty & Truesdale, p. 229.

⁸² *London Gazette*, 9th June 1891, No. 26170, p. 3052.

⁸³ *London Gazette*, 12th May 1899, No. 27079, p. 3031.

In that battle, volunteers were sought to bring back the 12 abandoned 15-pounder guns. Those prepared to do so were joined by three officers from the staff of the commander, General Sir Revers Buller, Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, and who included Lieutenant Roberts. While the two teams assembled managed to hook up a gun and make it to shelter, Roberts was mortally wounded.

According to a dispatch by General Buller, dated 16th December, the crews of ‘the guns of the 14th and 66th Batteries, Royal Field Artillery, had all been either killed, wounded, or driven from their guns by Infantry fire at close range, and the guns were deserted’. Then it said that ‘Captain Congreve, Rifle Brigade, who was in the donga, assisted to hook a team into a limber, went out and assisted to limber up a gun; being wounded he took shelter, but seeing Lieutenant Roberts fall badly wounded he went out again and brought him in’. Of interest is that the dispatch said ‘He [Roberts] was wounded in three places’. No mention was made that his wounds were mortal. Buller then said he recommended three people, including Roberts, for the Victoria Cross.⁸⁴ Lord Roberts, was only told of his son’s death when receiving confirmation of his appointment as Buller’s replacement.

This father and son were one of three father-son pairs to win the Victoria Cross. The award to the son, which created the official precedent of posthumous Victoria Crosses, happened in controversial circumstances, questions being asked whether General Buller recommended the award as a gesture to the deceased’s father out of guilt, having believed that Colenso was only lightly defended, and having sent him on a pointless mission. The citation in *The London Gazette* of the award called Lieutenant Roberts ‘since deceased’.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Ibid., 26th January 1900, No. 27157, p. 506.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 2nd February 1900, No. 27160, p. 689; Doherty & Truesdale, pp. 93-4. For an overview of the controversy surrounding the award and its implications, see Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, pp. 85-93; Gary Mead, *Victoria’s Cross: The Untold Story of Britain’s Highest Award for Bravery*, (London: Atlantic Books, 2015), pp. 107-10.

6. More recent awards and three new Crosses:

1. Four awards of the original Victoria Cross:

a. Johnson Gideon Beharry:

Private Beharry, of the Princess of Wales's Royal Regiment, was honoured for carrying out, on 1st May and 11th June 2004, two acts of great heroism in Iraq by which he saved the lives of his comrades. On the first day, he was the driver of a Warrior Armoured Fighting Vehicle. Attacked, his crewmen and some soldiers in the AFV were wounded and the radio systems damaged. Beharry, on his own initiative, closed the hatch and drove forward. The Warrior was again attacked and damaged. Beharry opened his hatch to clear his view and orientate himself. With still no radio, acting on his own initiative, and leading a six Warrior convoy, he decided the best course of action was to push through the ambush; and he was able to lead the other five Warriors to safety.

Damage to the armoured periscope meant he had to drive the vehicle for 1,500 metres with the hatch open and his head exposed, he being hit by a bullet. He continued to lead his platoon through the ambush. Then, after reaching outside of the outpost, he climbed into the turret of the Warrior, under small arms fire, lifted the platoon commander out, went back to lift out the gunner, then led the others to safety. Remounting the vehicle, he drove it to the security of the defended perimeter of the outpost.

On the second day, Beharry's Warrior was ambushed, and a rocket-propelled grenade caused him a serious head injury; his commander was incapacitated and several crew injured. Wounded, he reversed the Warrior out of the ambush area, till he lost consciousness, and was in a coma for some time. This allowed other Warrior crews to rescue his own crew and himself.⁸⁶

In an account of recent VC winners first published in 2007, Beharry said that on 27th April 2005, after receiving his VC from Queen Elizabeth II, the pain in his shoulder and back was 'so bad' he 'couldn't wait' to get out of his uniform. While still in the army, he was not fit enough to go back to the front line. He spoke about having a lot of pain in his shoulder, back and head and suffering flashbacks.⁸⁷

When asked about his VC, he said he was 'proud' of it, saying he did what he did because 'those soldiers were in danger and I could help them. I feel good knowing that they are all alive and without injury and knowing that it's me that saved them...To me the medal represents all those guys who have a life. But you don't get something like that for free. You get it and survive with the pain – or you get it and die'.⁸⁸

b. Bryan James Budd:

Corporal Budd was awarded the Cross posthumously on 15th December 2006. Serving in the Parachute Regiment in Afghanistan, on 27th July, his section, on patrol, was attacked. According to the citation, 'One was seriously injured and collapsed in the open ground, where he remained exposed to enemy fire, with rounds striking the ground around him'.

Budd led his section forward and assaulted the building where the enemy fire was heaviest. He led this attack under fire and 'personally killed two of the enemy inside the building with grenade and rifle fire, forcing the remaining fighters to flee across an open field where they were successfully engaged by the rest of his section. This courageous and

⁸⁶ *London Gazette*, Supplement No. 1, 17th March 2005, No. 5757, pp. 3369-70.

⁸⁷ Cawthorne, *VC Heroes*, pp. 248, 250.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-1.

prompt action proved decisive in breaking the enemy and was undertaken at great personal risk'. The wounded soldier was safely evacuated.

On 20th August, Budd, leading his section, identified a number of enemy fighters 30 metres in front. He ordered an attack; but he ended up on his own, continuing to assault forward, 'knowing full well the likely consequences of doing so without the close support of his remaining men. He was wounded but he continued to move forward, firing at the enemy and accounting for a number of them as he rushed their position'.

Inspired by his example, the rest of his platoon reorganised and pushed forward their attack, killing more of the enemy and forcing their withdrawal. Budd 'subsequently died of his wounds and when his body was later recovered it was found surrounded by three dead Taliban'.⁸⁹ It later emerged that he was probably shot by his own side, an examination of his body showing ammunition used by British forces.⁹⁰

c. James Thomas Duane Ashworth:

Lance Corporal Ashworth was also awarded the Cross posthumously, on 22nd March 2013, in an operation to neutralise 'a dangerous insurgent sniper team', he being second in command of the 1st Battalion Grenadier Guards Reconnaissance Platoon.

According to the citation, Ashworth, 'a young and inexperienced non-commissioned officer' raced 300 metres with his fire-team 'into the heart of the insurgent dominated village'. He 'insisted on moving to the front of his fire team to lead the pursuit'. Approaching the entrance to a compound from which enemy machine gun fire raged, he 'threw a grenade and surged forward'. Breaking into the compound, he quickly 'drove the insurgent back and into an out-building from where he now launched his last stand'.

The village was now being pressed on a number of fronts by insurgents desperate to relieve their prized sniper team. The platoon 'needed to detain or kill the final sniper, who had been pinned down by the lead fire team', and leave as quickly as possible. Ashworth 'realised that the stalemate needed to be broken' quickly'. He therefore crawled slowly for three minutes under 'exceptionally fierce automatic fire' to within five metres of the insurgent's position. Desperate to ensure that he succeeded in accurately throwing his grenade, he deliberately crawled out from cover into the full view of the enemy to get a better angle for the throw. By now 'enemy rounds were tearing up the ground mere centimetres from his body, and yet he did not shrink back'. Then, as he was about to throw the grenade he was hit by enemy fire and died. Ashworth's 'conspicuous gallantry galvanised his platoon to complete the clearance of the compound'.

The citation concluded that

Despite the ferocity of the insurgent's resistance, Ashworth refused to be beaten. His total disregard for his own safety in ensuring that the last grenade was posted accurately was the gallant last action of a soldier who had willingly placed himself in the line of fire on numerous occasions earlier in the attack. This supremely courageous and inspiring action deserves the highest recognition.⁹¹

⁸⁹ *London Gazette*, Supplement, 15th December 2006, No. 58182, pp. 17351-2.

⁹⁰ Cawthorne, *VC Heroes*, pp. 257-8, 266-7.

⁹¹ *London Gazette*, Supplement No. 1, 22nd March 2013, No. 60455, pp. 5735-6.

d. Joshua Mark Leakey:

On 26th February 2015, Lance Corporal Leakey's VC was approved. Between May and December 2013, he was deployed in Afghanistan as a member of a Task Force 'conducting operations to disrupt insurgent safe-havens and protect the main operating base in Helmand province'.

On 22nd August, he deployed on a combined UK/US assault led by the United States Marine Corps into a Taliban stronghold to disrupt a key insurgent group.

After leaving their helicopters, the force came under accurate machine gun and rocket propelled grenade fire, they being pinned down on the exposed forward slope of a hill. They attempted to leave for an hour, their efforts resulting in a Marine Corps Captain being shot and wounded and their communications being put out of action.

Leakey, on the lee of the hill, realising the seriousness of the situation 'and with complete disregard for his own safety', dashed across a large area of barren hillside raked with machine gun fire. As he crested the hill, he saw that approximately twenty enemy had surrounded two friendly machine gun teams and a mortar section, rendering their critical fire support ineffective.

Undeterred by this, Leakey moved down the forward slope of the hill, and gave first aid to the wounded officer. Despite being the most junior commander in the area, he 'took control of the situation and initiated the casualty evacuation'. Realising that the initiative was still in the hands of the enemy, he set off back up the hill, still under enemy fire, to get one of the suppressed machine guns into action, reached it and moved it to another position and began firing on the enemy.

This courageous action spurred those around him back into the fight; nonetheless, the weight of enemy fire continued. For the third time, with 'full knowledge of the extant dangers', Leakey exposed himself to enemy fire once more. Weighed down by over 60 lbs of equipment, he ran to the bottom of the hill, picked up the second machine gun and climbed back up the hill again: a round trip of more than 200 metres on steep terrain.

Drawing the majority of enemy fire, Leakey overcame his fatigue to re-site the gun and return fire. This proved to be the turning point. Inspired by Leakey's actions, and with a heavy weight of fire now at their disposal, the force began to fight back with renewed ferocity. Having regained the initiative, Leakey handed over the machine gun and led the extraction of the wounded officer to a point from which he could be safely evacuated.

The citation concluded that

Displaying gritty leadership well above that expected of his rank, Lance Corporal Leakey's actions singlehandedly regained the initiative and prevented considerable loss of life, allowing a wounded US Marine officer to be evacuated. For this act of valour, Lance Corporal Leakey is highly deserving of significant national recognition.⁹²

2. Three new Victoria Crosses:

While this essay is entitled 'The Victoria Cross', it should be more properly entitled 'The Victoria Crosses'. In addition to the existing VC, three new ones have been created since the 1990s by, in chronological order, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The self-governing Dominions had become recognised as independent states by 1926, this given

⁹² *London Gazette*, Supplement No. 1, 26th February 2015, No. 61154, pp. 3466.

legal effect in 1931, and had the option of using the existing Imperial honours system, including making awards of the Victoria Cross. For example, in 1965-9, four VCs were awarded to those serving in the Australian military in the Vietnam War.

a. Victoria Cross for Australia:

The Victoria Cross for Australia was created by letters patent on 15th January 1991, which say it is ‘the highest decoration for according recognition to persons who, in the presence of the enemy, perform acts of the most conspicuous gallantry, or daring or pre-eminent acts of valour or self-sacrifice or display extreme devotion to duty’. Regulations regarding the Cross were set out in a schedule.⁹³

Regulation 3 said that ‘The decoration shall only be awarded for the most conspicuous gallantry, or a daring or pre-eminent act of valour or self-sacrifice or extreme devotion to duty in the presence of the enemy’. As well as members of the Defence Forces, it can also be awarded to ‘any other persons determined by the Minister [for Defence] for the purposes of this regulation’. Governor-General William Hayden later signed a determination on 11th November 1991, on foot of Regulations 9 and 10, in terms of the design and wearing of the Cross.⁹⁴

This cross has been awarded four times so far, the most recent one being to Corporal Cameron Baird, 4th Battalion (Commando), Royal Australian Regiment, on 18th February 2014, it being announced by Prime Minister Tony Abbott to Parliament on 13th February. As it was posthumous, it was given by Governor-General Quentin Bryce to his parents. According to the citation, it was for ‘the most conspicuous acts of valour, extreme devotion to duty and ultimate self-sacrifice at Ghawchak village, Uruzgan province, Afghanistan, as a Commando Team Commander in Special Operations Task Group on Operation-SLIPPER’.

On 22nd June 2013, a commando platoon of this Group, with the Afghan National Security Forces, attacked the village, to, according to the citation, ‘attack an insurgent network deep within enemy-held territory’. An adjacent Special Operations Task Group team came under heavy fire, with its commander being seriously wounded. The citation said that

‘Without hesitation’ Baird led his team to provide support. With ‘complete disregard for his own safety’, he ‘charged towards the enemy positions, supported by his team’. On nearing the positions, he and his team were engaged by additional enemy on their flank. ‘Instinctively’, Baird ‘neutralised the new threat with grenades and rifle fire, enabling his team to close with the prepared position’. With the prepared position now isolated, Corporal Baird ‘manoeuvred and was engaged by enemy machine-gun fire, the bullets striking the ground around him. Displaying great valour, he drew the fire, moved to cover, and suppressed the enemy machine gun position. This action enabled his team to close on the entrance to the prepared position, thus regaining the initiative’. On ‘three separate occasions’, he ‘charged an enemy-held building within the prepared compound’.

For a third time, Baird ‘selflessly drew enemy fire away from his team and assaulted the doorway’. Enemy fire was seen to strike the ground and compound walls around him

⁹³ *Commonwealth Gazette*, No. S25, 4th February 1991; <http://www.dpvc.gov.au/government/its-honour/victoria-cross>. (Accessed 4th November 2016)

⁹⁴ *Commonwealth Gazette*, No. S315, Monday, 18th October 1991, pp. 1-2.

before visibility was obscured. In this attempt, ‘the enemy was neutralised and the advantage was regained, but Corporal Baird was killed in the effort’. The citation concluded that ‘Corporal Baird’s acts of valour and self-sacrifice regained the initiative and preserved the lives of his team members. His actions were of the highest order and in keeping with the finest traditions of the Australian Army and the Australian Defence Force’.⁹⁵

b. Canadian Victoria Cross:

The Canadian Victoria Cross was created in 1993, to be awarded to members of the Canadian Forces on or from 1st January. Regulations say it is to be ‘awarded for the most conspicuous bravery, a daring or pre-eminent act of valour or self-sacrifice or extreme devotion to duty, in the presence of the enemy’. The Department of National Defence defined this as ‘a hostile armed force, including armed mutineers, armed rebels, armed rioters and armed pirates. Canada does not have to be at war to acknowledge the existence of an enemy which fits this description. It is broad enough to encompass Canadian involvement in UN peacekeeping operations’.

Unlike the Australian and New Zealand ones, which are of the same design as the original United Kingdom one, also manufactured by the jewellers Hancocks of London, the Canadian design had the motto in Latin as PRO VALORE; the scroll of the insignia had the fleur-de-lys added with the rose, thistle and shamrock; and the Crosses were cast in Canada, with metal from three different sources: some of the gunmetal used to cast the original Crosses; an 1867 Confederation Medal; and metals from all regions of Canada. At least 22 have been cast, according to a 2008 account.⁹⁶ So far, none have been awarded, despite Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan, which ended in 2012.

c. Victoria Cross of New Zealand:

The Victoria Cross of New Zealand was established by a Royal Warrant of 20th September 1999. In the warrant, the new VC was established as the highest in rank of four New Zealand awards for gallantry, in order to, in the document’s language ‘New Zealand Defence Force personnel and certain other persons who perform acts of gallantry while on operational service’. It was to be awarded ‘for most conspicuous gallantry, or some daring or pre-eminent act of valour or self-sacrifice or extreme devotion to duty in the presence of the enemy or of belligerents’.

There has, so far, been one award of this VC, to Lance Corporal William Henry (Willie) Apiata, of the New Zealand Special Air Service, announced on 2nd July 2007, in the Special Honours List. It was for an act of gallantry in Afghanistan in 2004.

According to the citation, his troop of the NZSAS, in a defensive position for the night, was attacked by 20 enemy fighters. One member of the troop, Corporal D, was severely wounded, and would die if he did not receive medical attention. Apiata decided to carry him ‘singlehandedly to the relative safety of the main Troop position’. The citation then said:

In total disregard of his own safety, Lance Corporal Apiata stood up and lifted his comrade bodily. He then carried him across the seventy metres of broken, rocky and fire swept ground, fully exposed in the glare of battle

⁹⁵ *Army: The Soldiers’ Newspaper*, Edition 1322, 27th February 2014, pp. 2-4. The text of the citation, with abbreviations, can be found on p. 2.

⁹⁶ Ken Reynolds, *Pro Valore: Canada’s Victoria Cross*, Second edition, (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer for Canada, 2008), pp. 37-43.

to heavy enemy fire and into the face of returning fire from the main Troop position.

Having done this, Apiata ‘re-armed himself and rejoined the fight’ in a counter-attack. By his actions, ‘he removed the tactical complications of Corporal D’s predicament from considerations of rescue’. After an engagement lasting approximately 20 minutes, the assault was broken up and the attackers were routed with significant casualties. The citation concluded by saying that

A subsequent medical assessment confirmed that Corporal D would probably have died of blood loss and shock, had it not been for Lance Corporal Apiata’s selflessly courageous act in carrying him back to the main Troop lines, to receive the immediate treatment that he needed.⁹⁷

Conclusion:

I was impressed by the many stories I read of how so many - including so many Irish - Victoria Cross winners won that cross of bronze. I was also impressed by the quite different backgrounds of the winners, including that Johnson Beharry was the fourth black one, the others being William Hall in 1857,⁹⁸ Samuel Hodge in 1866,⁹⁹ and the already mentioned William James Gordon in 1892. It showed an interesting lack of obvious racial discrimination in making VC awards, even in those earlier times. An illustrated book of 1895 on Victoria Cross winners, when looking at their different backgrounds, proudly singled out as an example of this these last three ‘men of “colour” of the Royal Navy and West India regiments’.¹⁰⁰

I also agree with Gary Mead’s view, in his 2015 book on the Victoria Cross, that it is ‘one of the [United Kingdom’s] few nationally esteemed honours that has not been debauched (such as the Order of the British Empire) or tainted by scandal – such as the Peerage’.¹⁰¹

There is, however, the issue that awards of the Cross became ever scarcer in the twentieth century, particularly since 1939, then in the nineteenth. The chance of getting a VC in the Second World War was already ‘nearly as twice as remote’ as in the First.¹⁰² Two explanations have been given. First, the increased number of lesser gallantry awards giving military superiors more options; and second, warfare changing such that fighting takes place over longer and longer distances, the Crosses recently awarded overwhelmingly being to those in tougher military units, where the kind of close quarter fighting that won the Cross in earlier days is still expected.

This does not, says Mead, fully explain the reduction in the number of Crosses awarded, such that the VC is at risk of ‘decline through ossification’.¹⁰³ His explanation is that there has been, since the Second World War, an unacknowledged quota system by the UK military of rationing gallantry decorations, in particular the VC, with an emphasis on demonstratively aggressive actions for the latter, as shown in Melvin Smith’s book.

Also, since the 1970s, the standard for winning the VC was raised to an informal standard of ‘a 90 per cent possibility of being killed in performing the deed’, and the need

⁹⁷ <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/node/370>. (Accessed 4th November 2016)

⁹⁸ *London Gazette*, 1st February 1859, No. 22225, p. 414.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4th January 1867, No. 23205, p. 84.

¹⁰⁰ T. E. Toomey, *Heroes of the Victoria Cross*, (London: George Newnes Ltd., 1895), p. x.

¹⁰¹ Mead, *Victoria’s Cross*, pp. 14-5.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

for ‘signed statements of three independent witnesses’. While this was done to stop the Cross being cheapened, like the awards of other countries, it has resulted, Mead says, in awards of the former being as rare as ‘rain in the Sahara’.¹⁰⁴

He suggested solution to this is to revise the warrant, drop the informal 90% risk of death requirement, and slim down the number of other gallantry decorations, which he feels place impossible demands on those who have to decide between grades of courage. There should, he says, be more VCs awarded and the quota system dropped. This was not, he said, part of Queen Victoria’s original intention for the Cross, or in keeping with the warrant.

He suggested the use of awarding Crosses by ballot, a provision still in the warrant but not used since 1918. While mistakes will be made in the use of this, they are ones which ‘the troops actually in combat...will be responsible’.¹⁰⁵

Even if the above argument is not accepted, it has been clear, most obviously to those in the relevant armed forces, that to win the Victoria Cross a person not only had to be brave. There had to be witnesses to the deed or deeds of bravery in question; and the relevant commanding officer had to be motivated enough to forward a recommendation on. Having influential friends obviously helped. Accepting all this does not, however, mean any disparagement of the bravery shown by those awarded the Cross.

I finish by saying that no military award, including one as famous as the Victoria Cross, can compensate for the death of a loved one; and those left behind would, in most cases, give up such awards to have that person returned to them.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. xvi-xvii, 4-5, 15-6, 21-3, 191-4.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. xvii, 244-8.

**JAMES EARLE FRASER, SPECIAL MEDAL OF HONOR FOR
AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS,
PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION, BUFFALO, NEW YORK: A YOUNG
MAN'S GRATITUDE**

Henry J Duffy

Museum Curator, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish New Hampshire, USA



Obverse: Augustus Saint-Gaudens, profile bust, left, SPECIAL MEDAL OF HONOR CREATED FOR AVGVSTVS SAINTE GAUDENS, Legend PAN AMERICAN EXPOSITION above, BVFFALO NEW YORK MCMI, below. JAMES EARLE FRASER FECIT in small letters below bust.

Reverse: Allegorical male standing on rocks holding hammer and chisel, three-quarters, right, winged Pegasus behind, left.

Design: James Earle Fraser
Date of issue: 1901
Denomination: Medal
Fineness: Gold (24 K)

Diameter: 3 5/8 inches (102mm).
Weight: N/A.
Mintage: 1.
Quality: Cast.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907) is known to numismatists for his remarkable designs in American coinage and as a medalist.¹ In a career that included major monuments to important figures in the American Civil War – people like Abraham Lincoln, Admiral David Farragut and General William T. Sherman, the smaller work still stands out for its breadth of design and innovative technical achievements.

Special medal of honor for Augustus Saint-Gaudens

Saint-Gaudens began his life in Dublin, Ireland, born according to tradition in a Georgian house on Charlemont Street that was a kind of health centre. His published biography describes the house as where the family lived, but this is perhaps a later invention.ⁱⁱ Although the family left Ireland in 1848 soon after the birth of their son Augustus, he did not forget his roots. The family settled in New York City where his father, Bernard Saint-Gaudens was a designer and creator of fine lady's shoes. His mother, Mary McGuinness, is very little known. She did not play much of a role publicly in the family life, preferring to remain at home, keeping her family of husband and three boys (Andrew born in 1851 and Louis in 1854) focused on their work. Eventually Augustus and then his brothers Louis and Andrew were all sent to Europe for training. Augustus and Louis stayed committed to studies in art, eventually being admitted to the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. Both left France during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 to study in Rome.

Returning to America, Saint-Gaudens began a career that would bring him fame and influence as a teacher, organizer of exhibits, and confidant of prominent clients including President Theodore Roosevelt. Late in his life he was commissioned by John Redmond to complete the monument to Charles Stewart Parnell on O'Connell Street in Dublin.ⁱⁱⁱ Saint-Gaudens hoped to be able to place the bronze Roman lamp of Inspired Wisdom on the top of the obelisk himself, as a symbolic gesture of gratitude to his native city, but disease caught up with him. Although he was still alive when the monument shipped in 1907, he died soon after, never seeing the dedication about a decade later.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens received various marks of honor for his lifetime of work. Colleges such as Yale and Princeton gave him honorary degrees, France presented him with the Officer of the Legion of Honor, and he was named a member of the Royal Academy, the Institut de France, and as a charter member of the American Academy.^{iv}

But there is one mark of honor that remains a sought after, but infrequently seen prize of numismatists. At the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo New York, in 1901, a special gold medal was commissioned for presentation to the artist for the body of his work in bringing America forward in the culture of world art. The medal was made by his student and protégé James Earle Fraser, but not completed until just near Saint-Gaudens's death.

The Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site encompasses the home and studio of Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Set in an area of great natural beauty in the northeast of the United States, the collection contains the contents of the artist's studio at his death in 1907, as well as additions made thereafter. Monuments are set out in the landscape and galleries display reliefs, busts, coins and medals. The largest collection of Saint-Gaudens's work in the world, new acquisitions are still made from time to time. Recently a selection of objects has entered the collection whose origin is the studio of James and Laura Fraser. Plaster studies for the Special Medal of Honor fit well with other works already in the collection to give a good look at how a medalist works. The collection now includes plaster preparatory studies, galvanos, bronze medals and the final gold medal itself.

The Special Medal of Honor was commissioned by the Board of the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York in 1901.^v Minutes show that there was discussion in the Board about the propriety of issuing a medal to an artist whose work was displayed in the exposition, but without entering any competition. But the argument was made that this medal was given for the body of Saint-Gaudens's work and not for specific pieces. When the vote came, those in attendance voted unanimously for the commission.

The choice of James Earle Fraser is interesting, as he was a very young artist at the time, only 25. Such an important medal could well have been given to a more senior artist, but Fraser was also an enthusiastic and talented young man who saw this as a chance to immortalize the mentor who had in many ways forged his career. That may be the inspiration for the composition of the medal, which shows a bust of Saint-Gaudens on the obverse and an allegorical figure on the reverse. The bust, or herm, is interesting because it has the superficial appearance of a classicizing formal image, but in the face there is seen detail and expression. In other words, it seems to present the living man and not the legend

of him. The format follows ancient models to an extent, but is given in Fraser's own interpretation. The reverse includes an allegorical male nude with hammer and chisel, emblematic of the strength of sculpture, while a gracious winged Pegasus behind beautifully represents the flight of creative inspiration. The combination of Classical and Modern neatly embodies the essence of Saint-Gaudens as an artist.

This was not the only portrait of Saint-Gaudens made by Fraser. Like other members of Saint-Gaudens's studio Henry Hering and John Flanagan, Fraser was working on a bust of his master as well. Slated for inclusion in the Hall of Fame for Great Americans in Bronx, New York (just at the northern end of New York City), this powerful representation aptly described as a "weary lion" further expresses the bond of friendship and loyalty the young Fraser felt for the older sculptor.^{vi} There are three plaster studies in the SAGA collection. A small and a medium sized bust are clearly meant for the bust portrait of Saint-Gaudens. Each one has the grid line of dots on the surface used to point or enlarge the piece to the full finished size. There is a third bust portrait which may have been made for both the medal and portrait bust. This one is stained a dark colour to give the sense of bronze, and seems to be a quicker, livelier sketch. It is not inconceivable that Fraser would prepare studies in the round even in preparation for the gold medal. It would give him more understanding of the anatomy of the bust presented in profile on the medal.

By examining the collection at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site one can see the process of working from clay to plaster to bronze. Fraser followed a traditional method in creating his work. Working first in large scale in clay allowed him to map out the composition and get the details accurate. After that a plaster mould would be made from the clay by pouring the liquid plaster on the clay and when dry scraping out the clay. From this a plaster positive is cast which allows the artist to still make further changes to the composition. When it is satisfactory to the artist, another mould is made – in Fraser's time in plaster, now it would be done in rubber or silicon. This is taken to the foundry to begin the process of casting.

The malleable nature of clay makes it ideal for sculpture. The invention of oil clay in the 19th century made the process even easier, as water-based clay eventually dries out and cracks. Fraser would have worked in a large scale, treating obverse and reverse as separate sculptures. In this case it must have been an unusual sitting for the portrait, as the subject was himself a sculptor. Fraser and Saint-Gaudens must have had some discussion about how the composition would be presented, although it is likely that Saint-Gaudens largely demurred to Fraser on the concept. The herm or bust idea looks back to Classical origins, as understood through Renaissance medals and Greek and Roman coins. It was the discovery of such medals and coins by Saint-Gaudens when he was a young student in Europe in the 1860s that set the course of his career. So, it is appropriate that his own medal of honor would use that format. Saint-Gaudens was proud of his profile, and Fraser would have known that presenting it would please his master. The detail clearly expresses the sharp line of the nose and the beard, and the curling hair and beetling brow that were the hallmarks of Saint-Gaudens. The reverse shows the influence of Saint-Gaudens's teaching. The allegorical figure is relaxed and life-like. It looks as if one might recognize that model on the street as a living individual. To us this is second nature, but in the early Twentieth century, as in the Nineteenth before it, this would have marked Saint-Gaudens and Fraser as belonging to a specific school of art. Saint-Gaudens learned from Francois Jouffroy (1806-1882), a member of the Neo-Florentines. They were a group of artists who took inspiration from the Renaissance rather than the Ancients. Their style was looser and more "human". The style attracted many artists from Southern France, which may well be why Saint-Gaudens gravitated to it. He spoke a dialect of French from the Pyrenees, learned from his father Bernard. Here the story is interesting because we see the next generation learning from Saint-Gaudens. The relaxed style also appealed to Americans, with their more direct approach. An interesting side-light is that Fraser met the same squeamishness with nudity that Saint-Gaudens had in 1893 with the reverse design of his Worlds Columbian Medal. Fraser initially showed the figure completely nude, but one of the plaster sketches at Saint-

Special medal of honor for Augustus Saint-Gaudens

Gaudens National Historic Site shows Fraser drawing the drapery onto the figure after being admonished for the breach in modesty.

The first piece in the series is a large plaster study of about 18 inches in diameter. Fraser would have begun his design in this format, working out the details of design and lettering in a size that is easy to see. From this, the bronze Galvano would have been cast. A Galvano is a uniface metal object made to show the artist what the smaller medal might look like. The Galvano in the SAGA collection is gilded and framed, indicating that it was intended not just as a studio model but as a work that could be exhibited.

Next in the progression we have smaller plaster casts. The reduced size begins to show how the design will look in the finished form. There are also smaller plaster studies of about 9.5 inches in diameter, still larger than the finished medal, but smaller in size to begin to give Fraser a better sense of the scale and how the composition will work in that size. Here the artist could still make corrections, as we see in the model for the reverse in which the allegorical figure that was originally intended to be nude has drapery added for modesty.

When it came time to cast the medal, uniface bronze studies cast in actual size served as proofs to be sure the design holds up in the finished size. Bronze versions of the medal were cast as well to be given out and as a test before the gold medal was created.

The gold medal itself was presented to Saint-Gaudens at the very end of his life. He may not have even enjoyed it much as his time was short. But Fraser would have known that he served his master well, and created a memorial that is dignified, flattering, and timeless in its refreshed Classical style.

In all, the collection at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site gives a look into the working method of James Earle Fraser, and a sense of how medals were traditionally made. Although a small object in the scale of other works by Fraser and his mentor Saint-Gaudens, the Special Medal of Honor has a large message of gratitude and admiration from a young man to his mentor.

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1. *Full size clay model in Saint-Gaudens studio of the statue, for the Parnell Monument, O'Connell Street, Dublin, Ireland.*
 2. *Aspet, Saint-Gaudens home and studio, National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire, USA.*
 3. *SAGA 9923 Plaster Bust sketch of Hall of Fame Portrait 9 1/2 x 8 1/2 inches. (24.1 x 21.6 cm).*
 4. *SAGA 9194 Plaster Profile Bust, could be preparation for the medal or the bust. This one has pointing dots on the surface for reduction. 7 1/4 x 8 x 5 inches (18.4 x 23 x 12.7 cm)*
 5. *SAGA 7463 Bronze Bust for the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, 1926 (this cast 1979 by Syracuse University) Gift of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial through Richard Wunder and Maurice Kawashima. 32 inches H (81.2 cm H)*
 6. *SAGA 9919 Plaster Study for the Large Galvano 21 inches D (53.3 cm D)*
 7. *SAGA 9924 Plaster Study for Obverse of Medal 9 1/2 inches D (24.1 cm D)*
 8. *SAGA 9925 Plaster Study for Reverse of Medal 9 1/2 inches D (24.1 cm D)*
 9. *SAGA 9195 Bronze Medal 3 5/8 inches D (9.2 cm D).*

Special medal of honor for Augustus Saint-Gaudens



1



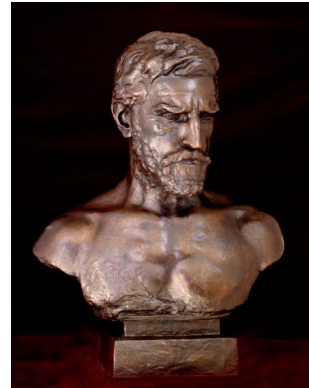
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8



9

Special medal of honor for Augustus Saint-Gaudens

- i. The main sources for Augustus Saint-Gaudens include his own memoirs published after his death by his son Homer. Saint-Gaudens, H (ed). [1913], The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, The Century Company, New York, USA, two volumes; Dryfhout, John H. [1982], The Work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, University Press of New England, Hanover, USA; Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, [1999], Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907), A Master of American Sculpture, Somogy Éditions d'Art, Paris, France; and Duffy, Henry J. and John H. Dryfhout. [2003], Augustus Saint-Gaudens, American Sculptor of the Gilded Age, Trust for Museum Exhibitions/ Archetype Press, Washington, DC, USA.
- ii. The Reminiscences (volume 1, page 9, ill. Page 37) states that he was born “in a house near 35 Charlemont Street.” Biographers and authors since then have missed that word “near”. It is likely that Augustus Saint-Gaudens’s son Homer, wanting to set the tone for his father’s legend, decided to illustrate this fine Georgian house as the actual family home. But the house was used as a health clinic, a service it continued to provide until modern times.
- iii. The story is given by my colleague Paula Murphy in: Murphy, Paula [2010], Nineteenth-Century Irish Sculpture, Native Genius Reaffirmed, Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven, USA. Chapter Nine, pages 205-212. It has been something of a mystery why Augustus never went back to Ireland during his lifetime. He passed it on the ship going through the Channel, paying attention to the coastline he could see, and he was a financial contributor to John Redmond’s efforts for Ireland.
- iv. Nineteenth Century artist’s careers were largely shaped by such honors. Saint-Gaudens cherished all of these, and especially the election to the American Academy. As a student in France in the 1860s it irked him that he could not compete for the Prix de Rome, since he was not a French citizen. His inclusion in the French Institut and the British Royal Academy shows his place in the hierarchy. These were infrequent honors for Americans, and it indicates that he was known as much in Europe as he was in America.
- v. I am indebted to Abby Houston, Reference Assistant at the Special Collections Research Center Syracuse University Libraries, and to Cynthia M. Van Ness, Director of Library and Archives at the Research Library, The Buffalo History Museum, for information about this vote. At the Buffalo History Museum information was found in Volume 29, Box 3, and in MSS C 65-67, Box 1, folder 1. The specific reason for choosing James Earle Fraser is still not understood. There is a possibility that Saint-Gaudens himself might have been asked for a recommendation, or perhaps another person involved at the Pan-American Exposition knew the young Fraser.
Gilder, Richard Watson [1908] "The Special Medal of Honor for Augustus Saint-Gaudens Designed and Modeled by James Earle Fraser" Century Magazine, The Century Company, New York USA, March 1908, volume 75, pages 713-714.
Reed, Fred [2000] "Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Fraser Medallion Fetes Genius, Pays Tribute to His Master" Online Article, PCGS Library, February 22, 2000.
- vi. The Hall of Fame for Great Americans is a hemicycle built on the end of the library of what was then New York University, and is now Bronx Community College. The initial library and hemicycle were presented by Helen Gould Shepard, daughter of the railroad magnate Jay Gould. The Hall of Fame contains busts of American notables in science, literature, politics and the arts. Saint-Gaudens contributed portraits of Abraham Lincoln (unveiled in 1900) and General William Tecumseh Sherman (1905). Fraser’s bust of Saint-Gaudens was dedicated in 1926 by Saint-Gaudens’s daughter in law Carlota Saint-Gaudens and her son Augustus II.

THE MAX RAINEY MEMORIAL MEDAL

John Rainey
Numismatic Society of Ireland (Northern Branch)

Francis Maxwell Rainey was born in Belfast in 1921 at a time when the city was one of the most important industrial centres in the world. Max saw his future in engineering and, following in his father's footsteps, joined James Mackie and Sons Ltd., the Belfast textile machinery manufacturers, as an apprentice toolmaker. He progressed through the drawing office and war work on munitions brought him into contact with plastics for the first time. After the war, he became manager of the rapidly growing Mackie's Plastics Department. He lectured in the evenings on Industrial Administration at the Ashby Institute and cofounded the Plastics and Rubber Institute in Ireland, insisting from the outset that it would be an all island body. In the late 1960s he started a new Plastics company with Billy Martin of Martin Plastics Ltd and in 1972 rescued Ulster Plastics Ltd from Receivership, along with son John and Billy Martin, forming Denroy Plastics Ltd. The Denroy Group Ltd now employs 250 people in Denroy Plastics Ltd, Denman International Ltd and Denman Inc in the USA and has offices in London, Boston, Amsterdam and Johannesburg. Max Rainey was awarded an OBE in 1981 for his contributions to economic development in Northern Ireland. He sadly passed away in 2010. His passion for plastics, best business practice and principles and commitment to education in industry live on in the Denroy Group.

The family wished to establish a fitting memorial and agreement was reached with the Queen's University of Belfast to award the Max Rainey Prize annually to the student who achieves the highest mark in their individual research project on a topic related to the design and manufacture of polymer products or the development of polymer materials. The family also felt that there should be a more tangible and enduring legacy in the form of a memorial medal. The company had gained valuable experience creating medals to commemorate the 75th Anniversary of the Denman patent and the 25th Anniversary of the opening of the office in the USA. Frances Simmons of Simmons Gallery had used her expertise to manage these projects and was again engaged for this commission.



Max Rainey Memorial Medal

For the hairdressing industry, the “Art Medal” was considered appropriate allowing greater freedom of expression without the constraints of a circular shape or other conventions. With a view to help sponsor and encourage the arts it was decided to conduct a design competition and three international medallists were invited to submit their ideas. All produced work of a very high standard. The three Denman judges unanimously choose Natasha Ratcliffe who had previous experience on commemorative coinage design for the Royal Mint. The following year Natasha was asked to adapt the design to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of Denman Inc.

Neither the concept of the Art Medal nor a competition was considered appropriate for the Max Rainey Memorial Medal. A more conventional treatment and life like representation would be required to reflect his personality. The medallist would have to be chosen on merit, reputation and past work. The right image needed to be identified and some video footage traced to help the artist bring the character to life. One photograph stood out as representing the man in his prime of life.



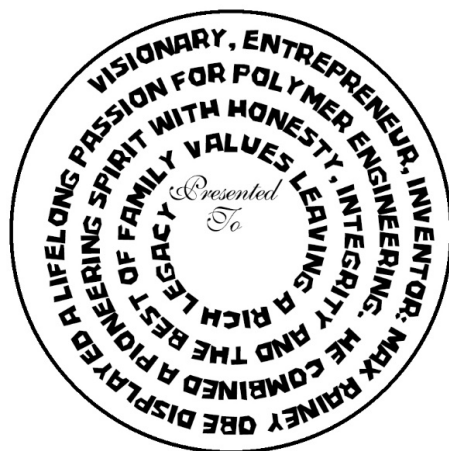
Max Rainey OBE

Choosing the right medallist to execute the likeness was to prove a long and difficult process. Initially, Ian Rank-Broadley, was interested in the challenge but had to withdraw because of existing commitments. The search began again for someone to entrust the task. On the advice of Frances Simmons, Danuta Solowiej was approached. Much discussion and further research was required to establish the brief. It was clear from the outset that Danuta understood exactly what was required. She was a pleasure to work with and several enjoyable meetings in London were scheduled around other Denman business to get to know each other better and progress the design. The result was superb, capturing the likeness and the character and the plaster model was duly approved.

The choice of the medal maker to interpret and execute the design was also an easy one. Fattorini had impressed by coming to the rescue for the Numismatics Society of Ireland (Northern Branch) 50th Anniversary commemorative medal and were an obvious choice.

With portraiture and legend for the obverse design agreed thoughts then turned, belatedly, to the reverse. Various imagery was considered. In the end Jonathan King and Karen Batley from the Denman marketing department came up with a form of words, layout and typeface.

Max Rainey Memorial Medal



Advice from medallist, Danuta Solowiej, and Fattorini was to use a typeface more in keeping with that on the portrait side of the medal and the final design was approved. A fitting tribute to a man who had devoted his working life to the plastics industry in which he had been richly rewarded.



Obverse: Three quarter portrait of Max Rainey, left, Legend: MAX RAINEY OBE 1921-2010 FOUNDER DENROY GROUP.

Reverse: In a spiral of text, VISIONARY, ENTREPRENEUR; INVENTOR: MAX RAINEY OBE DISPLAYED A LIFELONG PASSION FOR POLYMER ENGINEERING. HE COMBINED A PIONEERING SPIRIT WITH HONESTY, INTEGRITY AND THE BEST OF FAMILY VALUES, LEAVING A RICH LEGACY.

Design: *Obverse-* Danuta Solowiej.
Reverse - Jonathan King and Karen Batley.

Date: 2017.

Diameter: 63mm.

Weight: Silver - 120.16g.
Bronze- 100.26g.

Mintage: Silver (10) - Sterling silver 0.925 fine, plain edge, oxidised antique-style finish.

Bronze (50) - Plain edge, oxidised antique-style finish.

Steel dies: Thomas Fattorini Ltd.

Font: OPTIMA.

Max Rainey Memorial Medal

Finally, this year, we were in a position to present the Silver Max Rainey OBE Memorial Medal together with the Cash Bursary to Ryan Hunter at the Ashby Building, Queens University Belfast on 4th July 2017.

Medals have now been presented retrospectively to:

Mark Wright	2016
Christopher O'Hara	2015
Ambrose Lau Tiong Hong	2014

These medals will be treasured, no doubt, long after the money has been spent.

While we celebrated the successful completion, others were taking an interest in Danuta's work. We were delighted when she was honoured in the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council Awards 2017 with the Gold Award, and the overall Special Award in the Modellers' Section.



MODELLERS

Special Award sponsored by Hean Studio Ltd.

The aim of this award is to identify high quality modelling and artistic sculpturing skills. The winning entrant of this special award receives a cash prize. Any sculptural subject, including medals, can be submitted in the modelled condition (e.g. wax, wood, hand-worked plaster prepared for medallion work etc.) and can include finished pieces.

Gold Awards

Hean Studio Ltd Award

Danuta Solowiej

Portrait of Max Rainey (Image 4)

The Denroy Group have announced that we have commissioned a Denman 80th Anniversary medal for 2018 with Frances Simmons and Natasha Ratcliffe on the theme 'Around the world in 80 years'.

BANKNOTES ON JEWELLERY IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

Mártan Mac Devitt
Numismatic Society of Ireland

Originally speculated to have been of British manufacture, it appears that these enamel brooches may in fact have been made in France. First manufactured around the 1870s, there are brooches featuring banknotes of countries other than the United Kingdom, as well as of postage stamps, post cards and other documents.

Brooches, pendants, charms

Miniature trinkets were very popular in the later half of the nineteenth century. These included small items of jewellery, amongst them enamelled pendants, charms, brooches, and the like. The enamelled jewellery objects also extended into stamps, and other documents and items. Those featuring banknotes seem to have first appeared around 1870. The quality of execution is very high on many of them, reflecting the development of die stamping techniques, making the mass manufacture of finely detailed metal jewellery inexpensive by the middle of the Victorian era. The quality of the design does vary, with several distinct versions of the British and Irish banknote brooches. Pendants of stamps are also quite common, especially of Francophone countries, and dating up to the 1930s—the most recent dated vintage pendant seen is that of a Finnish postage stamp, postmarked 1938, though when it was actually manufactured is unclear. Also common are pendants of Germanic items, post cards particularly. Once they became popular, there were likely many manufacturers of these items. The metal of the brooches and pendants varies. Some have been reported as being of silver or part silver, others as being brass or other metals.

Miniature enamel banknotes

Some twenty years ago an elegant good quality enamel brooch of a Bank of Ireland £1 note dated 11 Feb 1878 was proudly produced at one of the Dublin Fairs by an eminent collector of Irish coins and ephemera. Measuring approximately 28 x 18 mm with a pin clasp on the reverse, it was an accurate miniature reproduction of a Bank of Ireland One Pound note of the time, even down to the listing of the branches of the bank on the note. In those days Irish banknotes were required to state the branch of payment on each note, and to save costs the banks printed all their branches on every note, their General Issue. In 1878 the Bank of Ireland had 58 branches, of which the brooch makers managed to legibly squeeze in 33. Table 1 lists the branches as they appear on the brooch.

The brooch was somewhat of a minor mystery, and of interest to collectors of Irish banknotes given its subject matter. Initial speculation was that it had been produced by the Bank of Ireland on the occasion of some commemorative event. Did banks produce souvenirs back then? There was no literature available on the subject and the brooch remained a mysterious and desirable collectible to a banknote collector. One keeps an eye out for such things.

Sometime later another one of these brooches turned up, this time it was in EF condition, with the enamel undamaged and just a bit of wear on the reverse, which served to underline the age of the object. I had the opportunity to buy this second brooch, after waiting over a decade for one to turn up. The brooch was thus available for detailed examination and prompted the commencement of some research into its nature. I like a good mystery. As it turned out, the brooch was even more of a mystery than I had considered it might be.

The Bank of Ireland brooch

An exploration of the initial theory began to look promising. 1878 was the fortieth anniversary of the introduction of the iconic large sized twin Hibernia statues and Mercury heads design of banknotes of the Bank of Ireland. The original design was introduced in 1838. The earliest known actual banknotes for this year are a 30 Shilling note, 3 May 1838 (Prefix A/F) and a £1 note 7 May 1838 (Prefix A/G). Assuming that the prefixes of both started at A/A, this would indicate that these denominations could well have been introduced with a date in February 1838. This would mesh in nicely with the notion that there had been some kind of function in the Bank of Ireland in 1878 to mark the fortieth anniversary of the new issue with the production of the brooches as a souvenir.

A nice idea. However, initially there emerged two issues with this theory. Firstly, there was no record of any kind in the Bank of Ireland of the brooches, or of there being any event pertaining to the banknote issue's anniversary. Next, a close-up examination of the newly acquired brooch revealed a curious error in its manufacture. There was a serious mistake in the listing of the branches on the brooch. Londonderry is a major city in Ireland, and was listed as such in the branch list on the banknotes. However, on the brooch, in place of this city is listed 'London'. The Bank of Ireland did not ever list a branch in London! Such an error would be highly unlikely to have been overlooked were the brooch to have been manufactured for the bank. This deepened the mystery of the origin of the One Pound note brooch. More expansive research would have to be carried out.

Table 1 - *Bank branches listed on the Bank of Ireland brooch exactly in the order that they appear on it, including 'London', instead of 'Londonderry'.*

Arklow, Banagher, Ballina, Belfast, Boyle, Callan, Carlow, Cavan Castlebar,
Clones, Clonmel, Cork, Drogheda, Dundalk, Ennis, Gorey, London, Longford
Middleton, Mallow, Mount Bellew, Mullingar, Navan, New Ross, Omagh,
Queenstown, Roscrea, Sligo, Thurles, Tralee, Westport, Wexford, Youghal

Several varieties of early brooches

As research progressed, other brooches were quickly discovered of Bank of England notes: £5; and £10, both dated 15 Nov 1876. Other Bank of Ireland brooches had been seen previously, as had brooches of Postage stamps and other similar items of the era. Two more varieties of the Bank of Ireland brooch, were also recorded. The picture began to fill in rapidly. Linking the Bank of England banknote brooches to the Bank of Ireland note brooches became a logical step, especially in view of the error on the Bank of Ireland brooch, indicating its likely unofficial nature. The Bank of England brooches matched the Bank of Ireland brooches in design, in the lack of any maker's mark, and in the type of fastening pin, type 1, on the reverse. However, one of the Bank of Ireland brooches had a different type of fastener, type 2, designed to fit into a button hole, a fastener also seen on some of the English banknote brooches. Also, there are two versions of the Bank of Ireland brooches, and it appears two versions of the Bank of England brooches, one being of arguably better quality than the other in both cases.

All the evidence was pointing towards the notion that someone was making these brooches for general public use, probably in England, given the subject matter of the brooches, and not in Ireland (hence the understandable error in the name of the Londonderry branch appearing as London on the brooch) in the late 1870s.

A brief note about the Bank of England banknote brooches is on page p191 of the book *Jewellery in the Age of Victoria* (Gere and Rudoie, 2010). The book illustrates some Victoriana, enamelled jewellery including brooches of a postage stamp and a £10 note dated 10 Nov 1877. It states that ‘The design for the £10 banknote brooch was registered in 1877.’ The book also points out that inexpensive enamelled novelties were quite the rage amongst the educated middle classes of the age. So, mystery solved then—it would seem so.

Other banknote brooches

Collectors are always looking for something new, and to expand their collections and knowledge. I speculated that it was reasonable to assume the existence of a brooch featuring a Bank of Scotland note, given that Scotland was at least as important a part of the United Kingdom as Ireland. After a few months a very nice rendition of a National Bank of Scotland £1, dated 11 Nov 1879 turned up (SCWPM: P232—a rare note). Incidentally, the badge extends the later date bracket listed in the catalogue from 1864 to 1879, assuming the date on the brooch is accurate. The design of the pin on the reverse of the Scottish banknote brooch is similar to the Bank of England and Bank of Ireland Type 1 brooches, indicating similar manufacture characteristics. The dimensions of the brooch itself are different, at approximately 25 x 25 mm, reflecting the square format of the 1879 National Bank of Scotland £1 note.

However, I then discovered two more quite interesting brooches, both Bank of England notes, a £10 dated 11 Apr 1879, and a £20 dated 12 April 1877. These are interesting, as they are smaller sized (22mm x 13mm) than the other Bank of England brooches, have a vertical pin attachment at rear, and unlike the earlier finds, have a stamp on the reverse: ‘DÉPOSÉ’ in uppercase French characters, meaning ‘registered’.

France, a game changer!

I then came across another, entirely different banknote brooch, that of a French 100 Francs note, dated 15 Jan 1871. This was an unexpected addition to the inventory of brooches. It is exactly the same size as the Type 1 Bank of England brooches, 28 x 20mm, suggesting the same manufacturer as of the brooches depicting the English, Irish and Scottish notes. The fastener on the reverse is similar to the type 2 fastener on the reverse of the Bank of Ireland brooch, for attachment to the wearer’s button hole—perhaps the button hole brooches were for gentlemen to wear and those with pin fasteners were for the ladies. The other noteworthy thing about the French banknote brooch is that the banknote it depicts is dated several years earlier than the brooches depicting banknotes of the British Isles. Would this be evidence of earlier manufacture? The 100 Franc note on the French brooch is of the ‘Blue’ series, in use from 1863 to 1882 (SCWPM: P52b), and there were many dates of issue. The prefix on the note reproduced on the brooch is consistent with the date given in 1871.

The existence of the French banknote brooch points towards a broader story for the brooches in general. Also, similar enamel brooches of postage stamps and other non-British items are extant. The French banknote brooch and the Type 2 brooches with ‘Déposé’ mark on their reverse points towards items of French manufacture. Further research suggested that the brooches were indeed manufactured in France or Bohemia, and that they were part of a wider range of brooches of everyday items such as newspapers and posters. The Harrogate Museum has several of these in its collection. I believe that Type 2 brooches are probably of later manufacture than those of Type 1.

Types and varieties of banknote brooches

Collectors like to classify things into Types and varieties, and I have attempted to do this based on the brooches I have thus far seen. They fall into two general Types: large brooches with various mounting devices; and smaller brooches which are mounted on a long pin. These are set out in Table 2. Were we to consider the other brooches seen, those of publications ('The Times', 'Punch'), they would fit in as Type 1, being of the same dimensions as the Bank of England banknote brooches of Type 1. The Victorian Postage Stamp would also fit into Type 1 because of its fastener.

Table 2 - General Types of Banknote brooches seen.

There are two general Types. Type 1, large sized brooches are presumed to be of earlier manufacture. Type 2 brooches are smaller sized and have only been seen mounted on a long pin. There are at least two engravings of the larger type 1 brooches. Engraving A brooches are sharper and better quality impressions than engraving B. There are also other differences between the engravings.

The designs of fasteners on the reverse varies, and they are grouped into general categories. Some fasteners may be later repairs of damaged originals. Serial numbers of banknotes reproduced on brooches are listed in brackets.

General Type 1. Large sized

- A. Hinged Stud for buttonhole or similar, with 'Déposé' mark on reverse.
Bank of Ireland. £1 note 1878 engraving A (I/M 28498)
- B. Fixed Stud for buttonhole or similar.
Banque de France. 100 Francs, 1871 (C828)
Bank of England. £5, 15 Nov 1876 engraving A (25777); £5, engraving B (20512)
Bank of England. £10, 15 Nov 1876 engraving A (25777)
- C. Hinged pin fastener.
Bank of Ireland. £1, 11 Feb 1878 engraving A; engraving B.
Bank of England. £5, 15 Nov 1876 engraving B (25777), engraving A (26512).
Bank of England. £10, 10 Nov 1877 engraving A (03672); £10, 15 Nov 1876 engraving B (25777)
Bank of England. £20, 12 April 1877 engraving A (14471)
National Bank of Scotland. £1, 11 Nov 1879 (A/M 87/003)

General Type 2. Small sized

- A. Mounted on long 70mm pin, with 'Déposé' mark on reverse
Bank of England. £5, 15 Nov 1876, engraving A (25777);
Bank of England. £10, 11 April 1879, engraving A (14727)
Bank of England. £20, 12 April 1877, engraving A (14471)

On some brooches of Bank of England notes different denominations appear with the same serial numbers.

Some brooches of different denominations bear the same date. Thus, the dates given on the brooches cannot be relied upon as an accurate indication of the actual date on the original banknote, especially in the light of known errors on some brooches.

Brooches depicting other denominations of Bank of England notes have been reported.

Bank of England enamelled banknotes have also been reported with a suspension loop on one corner instead of pin attachments rendering them pendants. Miniatures of postage stamps with such attachments are relatively common.

Type 1 brooches, engravings A and B

Engraving A tends to be of better overall quality than engraving B, though this does not necessarily imply that engraving A is the earlier of the two. There are other differences as noted.

The main difference between the two engravings on the Bank of Ireland £1 brooches is the shade of the red branches. On engraving A the branches are a sharp red, on engraving B they are paler, almost orange in appearance. Also, the position of the block of branches is slightly different on the two engravings. Several brooches of each engraving have been seen. The designation of the order of engravings here is arbitrary, as it is not known which of the two came first.

On the brooches of Bank of England banknotes, the main difference is the strength of the wavy lines, representing the watermark, throughout the note. On engraving A, the lines are less pronounced, and on engraving B they are very heavy. Dates on the notes also vary between the two engravings as noted in Table 2. Visually, engraving A brooches are clearer in terms of their design.

Other contemporary brooches

An image of some of these brooches which are part of the Harrogate Museum collection have been uploaded to wikimedia.org on behalf of Harrogate Museum and Arts Service. It displays some brooches of Bank of England notes and other publications of the late 1870s. Richie (2014) states that the brooches of publications were made in England, and that those of banknotes were probably made in France or Bohemia between 1878 and 1887. This possible French connection correlates well with the Type 2 brooches bearing a mark, DÉPOSÉ, also on Type 1A; and the Type 1B brooch of a French banknote, dated 1871 (illustrated). Richie points out an error in the brooch of Punch's Almanack, as it is dated 1879, but features a cover design used in 1878.

Richie also stated that the Bank of England seized the brooches on import to the UK, regarding them as a threat to British currency under the Forgeries Act, though it is not specified in the book when exactly this occurred. Yet Rudoe and Gere (2010) state that the design of the £10 banknote brooch was registered in 1877, from the context presumably in the UK. Possibly then, after some initial issues around the notion of forgery, the French-manufactured brooches were allowed to be imported to the UK by 1877. Could later versions have then been made locally? Note that the dates on the brooches featuring Irish and Scottish banknotes are 1878 and 1879 respectively, suggesting that they were produced after the registration of the design of the Bank of England £10 note brooch.

Some of the Postage Stamp brooches are obviously contemporaneous with the banknote brooches. The penny red brooch illustrated has a fastener which is very similar to that on the Type 1A Bank of Ireland £1 note brooch. Other penny red brooches have been seen with Type 1C pin fasteners. The brooch of the Russian postage stamp depicts a 7 Kopek stamp from the 1880s, it has quite an elaborate attachment pin not seen on any of the banknote brooches. Pendants of this stamp have also been seen. The German 20 Pfennig postage stamp pendant depicts a stamp from the series starting in 1902. The postage stamp brooches and pendants are all of similar size, at approximately 20mm x 16mm. All of these point towards a widespread availability of these brooches and pendants in many countries, commencing around 1870. The French banknote remains the earliest object depicted on any of the brooches.

A trend in the quality of the objects is apparent. Earlier versions are better representations of the original subject, and are made of better materials with more elaborate fasteners. Later, the trend seems to have been to create pendants rather than brooches. Possibly brooches fell out of favour with buyers towards the end of the Victorian Age.

Further research

The story of these brooches is far from complete, and a lot of research remains to be done. There are likely other brooches, featuring different denominations of Bank of England banknotes, waiting to be catalogued, as well as brooches featuring other notes. Hopefully this article will serve as an inspiration for those with new information on the brooches, and for anyone in possession of brooches not mentioned here to send a picture of any new discoveries to the author. www.irishpapermoney.com has a forum page where updates and information on the banknote brooches is posted.

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Times and Punch brooches are from Harrogate Museums and Arts: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:19th_Century_Novelty_jewellery_in_the_form_of_real_documents_and_publications.JPG posted by Jonathan Fenny of Harrogate Museums and Arts service (Last accessed: Feb 18, 2016).

Banknotes on Jewellery in the Victorian Age



Figure 1 - A Brooch of a Bank of Ireland £1 note, 11 Feb 1878 (actual size, and 250% of actual size), and an actual note of the same era. The banknotes are far rarer than the Brooches. Below, the branch name error: below, Londonderry on the banknote is listed as London on the Brooch.



Figure 2 - Type 1 National Bank of Scotland Brooch 200% of actual size, illustrated with an example of the banknote depicted.



Figure 3 - Type 1 Brooches at 250% of actual size.



Figure 4 - *Type 2 Brooch, with enlargement of reverse, showing 'DÉPOSÉ' mark.*

Banknotes on Jewellery in the Victorian Age



Figure 5 - Enamel brooches and pendants of other items from the same era. (Not to Scale). Times and Punch are from the Harrogate Museum, and are the same size as the Type 1 Bank of Ireland and Bank of England banknote brooches.

Occasional Papers Guidance for Submissions

The Society actively engages in the publication of scholarly papers and reports which are published as Occasional Papers and welcomes submissions for publication. Simple guidelines apply:

1. Papers may address coins, tokens, medals, banknotes or currency.
2. Submissions should be original and should not have been published previously.
3. Papers should be approximately 20 A4 single-spaced typed pages (including illustrations and references).
4. Referencing style should be: Author surname, Initial(s). (Year of publication in brackets), Article or paper title if appropriate, Publication (Journal title, Conference title, book), Publisher, City, Country, Volume, Issue and, Page numbers if appropriate. We can assist with that if necessary.
5. Authors are responsible for copyright permissions where these are necessary.
6. Submissions are welcome from all members including branch members. Authors who are not members of the Society but whose bone fides and expertise are known to the committee are also welcome to submit papers.
7. The committee will retain discretion to determine if the standard of a submission is acceptable and suitable for publication.
8. Submission deadline is **31 July**.

While the guidelines suggest a limit on the maximum number of pages in a paper, there is no limit on how short a submission may be. In previous editions, short reports on medal topics have been combined and a substantial 'paper' on these has been included as a 'Miscellanea'. So, no matter what your interest – coins, tokens, medals, banknotes or currency, all members are encouraged to make submissions.

Papers may be emailed to: rfitzp@gmail.com

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THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF IRELAND

Occasional Papers 2017

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