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THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN ENGLAND

THE PILGRIMAGE OF 1926

THE HISTORY OF THE SEVENTH MIDDLESEX

THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS IN THE HOLY LAND

THE SEALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

THE RULE, STATUTES AND CUSTOMS OF THE HOSPITALLERS, 1099–1310

From a painting by E. Caruana Dingli

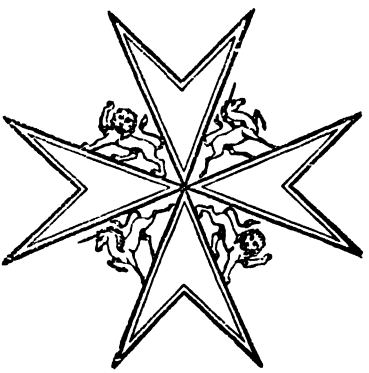
HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.
SOVEREIGN HEAD OF THE ORDER.
GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1901-1910.

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Being the Official History of the British Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem

BY

COLONEL E. J. KING, C.M.G., A.D.C.,
M.A. (OXON), F.S.A., F.R.HIST.S., F.R.NUM.S.
KNIGHT OF JUSTICE AND LIBRARIAN OF THE ORDER



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1934

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FOREWORD

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH, K.G.
SUB-PRIOR OF THE ORDER

THE Order and its many friends and supporters will be grateful to Colonel King for taking such excellent advantage of the need for a new edition of his work by amplifying the history of the Order in the Holy Land, and by bringing up to date the record of the progress made by our Grand Priory.

The original edition was written mainly for the purpose of describing the part played by our countrymen in this ancient Order of Chivalry and its revival in England. In the ten years that have passed since its publication, the development of the activities of the Grand Priory has afforded much fresh material which is recorded in a most attractive manner.

The outstanding features of these years have been the marked favour and encouragement bestowed on our work by His Majesty our Sovereign Head. The granting of our New Charter in 1926, whereby, among other important alterations, the ancient style and title of the Grand Priory of England was changed to that of the Grand Priory in the British Realm. And, thirdly, the remarkable development of he Order's work for humanity as exemplified

by the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade, both at Home and Overseas. These features have been fully described in this new edition; they are full of encouragement and hope for the future. The direct link now established with our Dominions and Colonies has been productive of immediate results which open up far-reaching opportunities for the development of our work within the Empire. The main feature of that work reproduces in a modern form the earliest ideal of the Ancient Hospitallers; it is taught and practised by many thousands of our voluntary workers throughout the Realm, and stands above all those activities which divide us in our ordinary life, serving all races and creeds for the good of humanity.

ST. JOHN'S GATE,
CLERKENWELL.
August, 1934.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

NOTHING can be more gratifying to an author than to find that a new edition of his work is required, and this opportunity has been used to the full to improve upon the original edition. The whole work has been re-written from beginning to end, two new chapters have been added, one dealing more thoroughly with the heroic period, the history of the Order in the Holy Land, and the second bringing its history down to the present year. The account of the foundations and work of the Order, forming Part II of this book, have been brought up to date, and a series of appendices have been added, which it is hoped will prove of value and interest to the reader. The number of illustrations has been doubled, for which the author must tender his warmest thanks to his friend, Mr. H. W. Fincham, who has so frequently assisted him in matters of this kind. Finally, the title of the book has been changed from *The Knights of St. John in England* to *The Knights of St. John in the British Empire*, to correspond with the changes in name and constitution introduced by the Royal Charter of 1926. It is the author's earnest hope that he has now succeeded in making this work so complete that when in due course a third edition is required, no changes may be found necessary other than those needed to bring it up to date.

May 28th, 1934. E. J. K.

PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION

THE Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem has had one great historian, the Abbé Vertot. In the opening phrases of his famous work, he gives the reasons why this venerable Order has always excited the admiration and interest of mankind. To repeat those phrases here needs no apology. 'The History I have taken upon me to write is that of a fraternity of Hospitallers, which afterwards became a military society, and at last a Sovereign Order; instituted upon the motives of charity, and prompted by a zeal for the defence of the Holy Land, to take up arms against the infidels: an Order which, amidst the noise and clashing of swords, and with a continual war upon their hands, was capable of joining the peaceable virtues of religion with the most distinguishing courage in the field. This union of two professions so remote and distant from each other, until then unknown to the world, the piety and bravery of these military Friars, their zeal for the defence of the Christians, the numerous fights and battles in which they have been engaged for near seven hundred years, and the various success of their arms; all these particulars seem to me an object worthy the regard and consideration of mankind; and possibly the public will not look upon the history of these soldiers of Jesus Christ without surprise and admiration who, like a second race of Maccabees, have constantly opposed the arms of the infidels with a faith as firm as their courage has been invincible.'

To attempt to emphasize or add to the words of the eloquent Abbé would be presumption, and the reasons which excited the admiration and interest of mankind two centuries ago are no less existent at the present day. But I have attempted in this little work not to write the history of the Order as a whole, but rather to depict the part that Englishmen have played in it throughout the ages, and its history in our own land. To deal with such a subject adequately would require the pen of a Gibbon or a Macaulay, and my only claim to do so is the deep affection in which I hold that venerable Order of chivalry to which I am so proud to belong. But if I have succeeded in giving pleasure to my brethren of the Order of St. John in England, and to those modern soldiers of the Order, the members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, then I can feel that I have not been entirely unworthy of the honour which the Executive Officers of the Order conferred upon me in inviting me to write this history.

In conclusion, I should like to express my gratitude to Mr. H. W. Fincham, F.S.A., a Knight of Grace of the Order and its Assistant Librarian, for the constant encouragement he has given to me, and for many valuable suggestions. He was also kind enough to read through the whole of my manuscript for me and to arrange the whole of the illustrations, for which I tender him my warmest thanks.

1924. E. J. K.

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THE GRAND PRIORS OF ENGLAND

Fr. Walter	1144.1162
Fr. Richard de Turk	1165.1170
Fr. Ralph de Dynham	1178.1181
Fr. Garnier de Nablus	1185–1190
Fr. Alan	1190–1195
Fr. Gilbert de Vere	1195
Fr. Robert Fitz Richard	1197
Fr. William de Villiers	1199–1202
Fr. Robert the Treasurer	1204–1214
Fr. Henry of Arundel	1215–1216
Fr. Hugh Dawnay	1216–1221
Fr. Robert de Dynham	1223–1234
Fr. Theodoric de Nussa	1235–1247
Fr. Robert de Mauneby	1247–1250
Fr. Elias de Smetheton	1253–1256
Fr. Robert de Mauneby (again)	1257–1262
Fr. Roger de Vere	1265–1272
Fr. Joseph de Chauncey	1273–1280
Fr. William de Henley	1281–1290
Fr. Peter de Hakeham	1290–1297
Fr. William de Tothale	1297–1315
Fr. Richard Paveley	1315–1321
Fr. Thomas Archer	1321–1329
Fr. Leonard de Tybertis	1329–1330
Fr. Philip Thame	1330–1358
Fr. John Paveley	1358–1371
Fr. Robert Hales	1371–1381
Fr. John Redington	1381–1399
Fr. Walter Grendon	1400–1416
Fr. William Hulles	1417–1433
Fr. Robert Mallory	1433–1440
Fr. Robert Botyll	1440–1467
Fr. John Langstrother	1469–1471
Fr. William Tornay	1471–1475
Fr. John Weston	1476–1489
Fr. John Kendal	1489–1501
Fr. Thomas Docwra	1501–1527
Fr. William Weston	1527–1540

THE DISSOLUTION

Fr. Thomas Tresham	1557–1559

THE CONFISCATION

TITULAR GRAND PRIORS

Fr. Richard Shelley	1561–1590
Fr. Frances Astorg de Segreville	1591–1593
Fr. Andrew Wise	1593–1631
Fr. Giovanni Battista Nari	1631–1639
Fr. Alessandro Zambeccari	1639–1648
Fr. Geronimo Alliata	1648–1654
Fr. Stefano Maria Lomellino	1654–1685
Fr. Henry Fitz James	1689–1701
Fr. Giulio Bovio	1701–1706
Fr. Francasco Maria Ferretti	1706–1726
Fr. Nicholas Gerardin	1726–1733
Fr. Peter Emmanuel Fitz James	1733–1734
Fr. Anthony Bonaventure Fitz James	1734–1755
Fr. Giovanni Battista Altieri	1755–1782
Fr. Girolamo Laparelli	1806–1815

NOT RECOGNIZED BY THE GRAND MASTER

Rev. Sir Robert Peat, Bart.	1831–1837
The Hon. Sir Henry Dymoke, Bart.	1838–1847
Lieut.-Colonel Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, Bart.	1847–1860
Rear-Admiral Sir Alexander Arbuthnot.	1860–1861
William, Duke of Manchester, K.P.	1861–1888

SINCE THE CHARTER OF QUEEN VICTORIA

H.R.H. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, K.G.	1888-1901
H.R.H. George, Prince of Wales, K.G.	1901–1910
Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, K.G.	1910-

PART I

THE HISTORY OF THE ORDER

EXTRACT FROM THE ABBÉ VERTOT'S ESSAY ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN

THE Church has in its bosom various Orders of Religious, who, without exercising the same functions, have all of them their particular merit in the sight of God, and who by their variety contribute each in his respective way to the ornament and beauty of the Church. Some sequestering themselves voluntarily from the conversation of mankind, buried as it were in solitude and wrapped up in their own virtue, spend their days in the contemplation of eternal truths. Others more conversant in the world, apply themselves chiefly to the instruction of their neighbours, and contribute to the easing and care of Pastors, when called in to their assistance in the ecclesiastical ministry. There are some so inflamed with zeal for the conversion of infidels that they go to the furthest parts of the earth to preach the Gospel. The same zeal, but actuated by a charity of another kind, made a body of gentlemen some ages ago take up arms to preserve the Christians from being made slaves by the Mahomedans and Infidels.

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER

IN the summer of 1099, the army of the first Crusade lay camped around the walls of the Holy City of Jerusalem. Three years had now elapsed since the pilgrims had abandoned all that men hold dear for the sake of a great ideal. They had marched across Europe to the rendezvous at Constantinople, they had traversed the sun-scorched, waterless plateau of Asia Minor, to see their comrades perish by hundreds and thousands from the hardships of the journey or the pitiless arrows of the Turkish light horse. For seven weary months they had lain before the walls of Antioch, until the weaker spirits in despair had abandoned the pilgrim host. They had seen the whole object of their long journey jeopardized by the ambition and jealousy of princes. But never despairing, keeping always before them the glorious dream that had brought them from their distant homes, they had ever pressed steadily onwards. They were content to die, if they could but help to rescue from the profanation of the infidel those sacred places where their Saviour had lived and suffered. And we are told that as they first caught sight of the Holy City, that army of Christian soldiers flung themselves in the dust, and lifted up their voices and wept. At last the end of their long pilgrimage was in view, for which they had sacrificed everything, and suffered all that

it is possible for men to suffer and still live. Of all that mighty host that had started on the great Crusade, there can scarcely have been more than 20,000 fighting men left when the siege of Jerusalem began. For forty days the siege lasted, and then on Friday, July 15th, at three in the afternoon, the pilgrims stormed the Holy City, on the very day of the week and hour that their Saviour had died.

The first to enter was that gallant Knight and noble Christian hero, Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine. And as he saw that victory was assured, he passed with but three attendants to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to humble himself in prayer at the tomb of the Saviour he adored. Duke Godfrey was the very personification of that spirit which had produced the Crusade. A tall, red-bearded man, he was one of the hardest fighting Knights in the host. But, unlike the other princes, he was devoid of earthly ambition, and fought only for the love of Christ. Gentle and kindly to the very humblest of the pilgrims, he was a man of pure life, when few were pure. Of him alone amongst the princes no scandalous stories were whispered in the camp. A devout man of deep religious feeling, his followers told how in churches he became so wrapt in prayer as to forget the very hours for meals. Such was Duke Godfrey who, eight days after the capture of the city, was elected the first Christian King of Jerusalem. But he would take no kingly title in the city where his Lord had suffered, nor wear a crown of gold where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns. Content with the humble title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre, he devoted the few months of life left to him to consolidating the new Christian kingdom, and three days after the first anniversary of the capture of Jerusalem, he died of a fever, and was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[1] The Order of the Hospital of St. John of

[1] The sword, spurs, and cross of Godfrey de Bouillon are preserved in the Latin sacristy to the north of the north aisle of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. A replica of his tomb can be seen in the Cathedral of Boulogne.

Jerusalem might well be called the firstborn child of the great Crusade, and if one day more than another may be regarded as the birthday of the Order, it is surely July 15th, 1099, when the end of the great pilgrimage was accomplished and the Holy City was once more in Christian hands. The spirit that inspired the Order in the past was the spirit of the Crusades, and the best of its Knights throughout its history have been cast in the same mould as Godfrey of Bouillon.

Now there was in existence in Jerusalem when the Crusaders took the city an ancient hospice for Christian pilgrims, dedicated to St. John the Almoner, and under the control of the Benedictine Abbot of St. Maria Latina. At that time the warden of the hospice was a certain Gerard from Martigues in Provence, better known to history as the Blessed Gerard, who had devoted his life to this work after himself making the pilgrimage to the Holy City. The hospice had been founded about the year 600 by the Abbot Probus, acting under the instructions of Pope Gregory the Great. It was restored and enlarged by the Emperor Charlemagne, only to be destroyed in 1010 by the mad Caliph El-Hakim, and was restored yet again by the citizens of the wealthy maritime republic of Amalfi in the year 1023. Into this hospice the Blessed Gerard took many of the wounded Christian soldiers, who received there such devoted care and attention that their praises resounded throughout the army. Duke Godfrey himself visited the establishment, and was so impressed by the good work that was being done that he endowed it with the casale of Hessilia (Es-Silsileh) and other property in Jerusalem—an example that was followed by many other Christian leaders, who conferred rich gifts upon it. When the Crusaders began to return to their homes the following year they were loud in their praises of the Hospital, of which the fame speedily became celebrated throughout Christendom. What had been until then a somewhat obscure charitable institution had suddenly become celebrated in all countries, and a favourite object for the donations of pious benefactors in every Christian land.

The Blessed Gerard's popularity with the Crusaders enabled him to free his hospice from the control of the Benedictines, and to found a new Order of Hospitallers, who adopted the Augustinian Rule as a further sign of their complete separation from their former patrons. Their habit was the black cappa clausa—that is, the long monastic bell-like cloak having a slit on each side for the arms—with a white cross on the breast that ultimately took the form of the eight-pointed cross included in the arms of the Republic of Amalfi.[1] By the annexation of the ancient Greek monastery of St. John Baptist, they secured for their Convent the whole of that square enclosure which Saladin in derision afterwards called the 'Muristan', or mad-house, the name that it has borne ever since. In consequence of this addition St. John Baptist naturally became the patron saint of the new Order, taking the place of the original patron of the old hospice, St. John the Almoner. The Hospitallers took the three solemn vows—of chastity, obedience and poverty—in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre before the Patriarch Dagobert, by whom the foundation of their Order was duly confirmed.

In the year 1113, Pope Paschal II took the Hospital under his protection, exempted it from the payment of tithes, confirmed its endowments, and granted it the privilege of electing its own superior. Such were the beginnings of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The work of the founder was now finished, and seven years later, to use the words[2] of the French historian of the Order, 'the Hospitallers lost the Blessed Gerard, the father of the poor and the pilgrims; that virtuous man having arrived at an exceeding old age, expired in the arms of his brethren almost without any sickness, and fell, as we may say, like a fruit ripe for eternity.'

The Hospitallers elected as the successor of Gerard the famous Raymond du Puy, the second founder of the Order,

[1] See Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, p. 37.

[2] Vertot, Book I, p. 22.

whose destinies he guided for no fewer than forty years. He was the first to take the title of Master, and was perhaps the greatest of all those who have ruled over the Hospital. By the introduction of a new class of military brethren, he laid the foundations of the greatest order of chivalry the world has ever known, and he gave to his monks their first definite rule, the Rule of Raymond du Puy, which in spirit has remained unchanged to the present day. When he died in 1160 he left his Order one of the firmest bulwarks of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was frequently in past ages a matter of heated controversy whether the Knights of the Hospital or the Knights of the Temple were the oldest military order, but there was little room for doubt on the subject, and the transformation of the Hospital was one of the results of the formation of that exclusively military fraternity, the Knights of the Order of the Temple of Solomon. In the year 1119 two knights, Hugh de Payns and Godfrey de St. Omer, had taken upon themselves the pious task of protecting the pilgrims on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem from the attacks of the Moslem brigands who infested the route. They were joined by six other knights, and formed themselves into a religious community, forsaking worldly chivalry, 'of which human favour and not Jesus Christ was the cause,' in order to devote their lives to their new duties. They took the regular vows before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and lived according to the rule of St. Benedict, in order 'to fight with a pure mind for the supreme and true King.' To this community of fighting monks, who now called themselves the Poor Fellow Soldiers of Jesus Christ, King Baldwin II handed over a part of the royal palace lying next to the Temple of Solomon, from which they took their name. The new order grew and prospered. In 1127 Hugh de Payns made a journey to Europe to secure the powerful support of St. Bernard, the Abbot of Clairvaux; in the following year the rule of the Order was discussed and sanctioned by the Council of Troyes, and the Knights of the Temple of Solomon rapidly developed into a great

international order, rivalling in wealth and power their comrades the Knights of the Hospital.

Now Raymond du Puy was a pious monk and devoted to the service of the Hospital, but he could not forget the soldierly traditions of that military caste to which he belonged. Often he pondered over the sorrows of the Holy Land, and the constant dangers that surrounded the little Christian communities isolated in the midst of an indigenous Moslem population. He was moved to holy anger as he thought of Christians taken prisoners by the infidels and forced by torture to renounce their faith. He was filled with a burning desire to preserve to his Saviour those souls which were so often in danger of being thus lost. Doubtless his blood was stirred by the formation of that new order, the fighting monks of the Temple. We are told that he made these questions the subject of earnest prayer, until at last the call came to him, and he summoned his brethren together, and proposed that they should take up in defence of their fellow Christians those swords which they had flung aside when they embraced the service of the Hospital. The brethren accepted with alacrity the proposals of their revered chief, and it was agreed that whilst they must in no way relinquish their original vows, or relax their care of the sick and the poor, a part of the monks should always be in readiness to take up arms against the attacks of the infidels. The new proposals were placed before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and received his blessing. The Order of the Hospital of St. John Baptist was now a military order, the monks had become knights, and Raymond du Puy, placing himself at the head of his brethren, all armed and mounted, offered their services to Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem.

Such is the traditional story of the militarizing of the Hospitallers, but they were never purely a military order like the Knights of the Temple, and in that fact lies the difference in the history of these two societies. However prominent their military duties afterwards became, the Hospitallers never allowed that spirit of Christian charity

to be forgotten, from which their Order had sprung, and their Master laid down as a guiding principle that they must never draw the sword, except when the standard of the cross was displayed, either for the defence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, or in the siege of some pagan city. Raymond du Puy was a gallant soldier and a great administrator, but he was also the servant of the poor and the suffering, and the spirit of Christian humility which he wished to see prevailing in his Order is seen in the Rule which he established, and which never ceased to be the Rule of the Order :—

In the name of God, Amen. I Raymond Servant of Christ's poor, and Warden of the Hospital of Jerusalem, with the counsel of all the Chapter, both clerical and lay brethren, have established these commandments in the House of the Hospital of Jerusalem. Firstly, I ordain that all the brethren, engaging in the service of the poor,[1] should keep the three things with the aid of God, which they have promised to God : that is to say, chastity and obedience, which means whatever thing is commanded them by their masters and to live without property of their own : because God will require these three things of them at the Last Judgement. And let them not claim more as their due than bread and water, and raiment, which things are promised to them. And their clothing should be humble, because Our Lord's poor, whose servants we confess ourselves to be, go naked and miserably clad. And it is a thing wrong and improper for the servant that he should be proud, and his Lord should be humble.

The militarization of the Hospitallers, the great work of Raymond du Puy, was in reality a slow and gradual process, inspired by the example of the Templars. Probably a body of military brethren was first formed in 1123 to meet the serious Egyptian invasion of Palestine in that year.[2] Then in 1136 the Hospitallers undertook responsibility for the

[1] At some later date after the loss of Jerusalem, when the Order was completely militarized, the following words were here added—*and the defence of the Catholic Faith.* It seems very probable that this addition was made by the Master Alfonso of Portugal (1203–1206).

[2] See King's *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, pp. 32, 33.

frontier on the side of Ascalon, and furnished the garrison for King Fulk's newly-built castle of Jibelin. Six years later they took over the guardianship of the eastern frontier of the County of Tripolis at the request of Count Raymond I, and garrisoned the famous castle of Le Crac, and a group of border fortresses covering the valley of El-Bukaia, and the road to Homs. For the unsuccessful attack on Damascus in 1148 by the armies of the Second Crusade they were able to provide a powerful contingent, and at the long siege of Ascalon in 1153 they played a part scarcely less important than that of the Templars. Nothing shows more clearly the respect in which these fighting monks were beginning to be held than the fact that when Alphonso the Battler, King of Aragon and Navarre, was slain in 1134, he left his kingdoms by will to be equally divided between the three great Orders of the Hospital, the Temple, and the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. The complications that arose from this strange legacy brought Raymond du Puy to Europe in 1140, and he was able to arrange a compromise which was doubtless the best that the circumstances would permit.

It is impossible to record in detail the rapid strides that were now made by the Knights of the Hospital. Each year saw an increase in their power, their riches, and their spiritual privileges. Their military strength expanded with their wealth, and the glorious capture of Ascalon in 1153 was largely due to the determination of Raymond du Puy and the valour of his knights. Their spiritual privileges excited the bitter hostility of the clergy. They had been exempted from tithes, they had been freed from the control of the bishops, and even in the case of a general interdict their churches remained open. Anastasius IV in 1154 not only confirmed all these privileges, but even added to them the right to have their own priests independent of the bishops. So indignant were the clergy that the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Bishops of the Holy Land made the long journey to Rome to protest in person to the Pope, but all in vain. When Raymond du Puy again

THE SEAL OF PRIOR WALTER, 1148
In the British Museum

Facing p. 8

12TH CENTURY

13TH TO 16TH CENTURIES

ANCIENT SEALS OF THE GRAND PRIORY OF ENGLAND

In the British Museum

visited Europe in 1157 his journey was one long triumphal progress, and Pope and Emperor, kings and nobles, vied in showing him honour and showering gifts upon his Hospital.

If Gerard was the founder of the Order, none the less Raymond du Puy was its real maker. He had found it a little community of monks tending the sick in a Hospital; he left it one of the greatest and most powerful institutions in Christendom. During the forty years of his rule he designed so wisely, he built on such sure foundations, he organized so skilfully, that he left an Order capable of adapting itself through the centuries to all the changes of time and circumstance, so that it survives even to the present day. Truly, he must be counted the greatest of the Masters of the Hospital. So universal was the esteem in which he was held that when he died in 1160, over eighty years of age, we are told that 'the Hospitallers and indeed all the Latin Christians of the East, who had been witnesses of his virtues, anticipating his canonization, revered him as of the number of the Blessed, a title which posterity confirmed to him.'[1]

Long before the death of Raymond du Puy, the Knights of the Hospital had become firmly established in England, and Shingay in Cambridgeshire is said to have been granted to them in 1140, though the date is not entirely satisfactory.[2] During the middle of the twelfth century we find a certain Prior Walter ruling over the Order, and it was about this time that the gift of land at Clerkenwell was made on which the great Priory was built, the headquarters of the Order in England. The pious donor, whose name has always been remembered with gratitude, was a certain Jordan of Bricett. He was the younger son of Ralph Fitz Brian, belonging to a Breton family which had settled in England after the Norman Conquest, and received a grant of lands in Essex as well as Bricett in Suffolk. About the

[1] Vertot, Book I, p. 52.

[2] See *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, p. 425, Note 2.

year 1144 he granted to the Church fifteen acres of land at Clerkenwell, one acre to the Hospitallers, and fourteen acres to a certain Robert the Chaplain, on which the Nunnery of St. Mary was built. Over ten acres of this land the Hospitallers made certain vexatious claims, and in or about 1148, to terminate the dispute, Jordan of Bricett, as the feudal lord, increased the grant to the Hospitallers by four acres, making five acres in all, leaving the remaining ten acres to the Nunnery.[1] On these five acres Prior Walter began to build the Priory of the Hospital, of which there now remain only a part of the church and the great entrance gate.

From England the Hospitallers were not long in extending their influence into Scotland, and in 1153 King Malcolm IV confirmed by charter the foundation of their house at Torphichen,[2] whose Commander as head of the Order in that country, is often termed Prior of Scotland, but was always under the supervision of the Grand Prior of England. In Ireland the Hospitallers arrived with the first invaders from England, and established themselves at Wexford. But in 1174 Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, granted to them Kilmainham, where they built their Priory, the headquarters of their Order.[3] Their first superior was Hugh de Cloghall, but by 1202 their possessions had become of such importance that the Grand Priory of Ireland was established entirely independent of that of England, with Maurice de Prendergast as its first Prior. As the

[1] A translation of the charters is given in Appendix A. Jordan of Bricett was still living in 1160; by his wife, Muriel de Munteni, he had four daughters, and after his death she married Maurice of Great Totham in Essex.

[2] It is generally stated that the Commandery of Torphichen was founded by King David I, but there is no evidence to that effect. When the rights and privileges of the Order were confirmed in Scotland in 1488, the earliest charter mentioned was that of King Malcolm IV about 1153. See Edward's "Historical Notes on the Knights Hospitallers in Scotland" in the *Scottish Ecclesiological Society's Transactions*, *Aberdeen, 1909.*

[3] See Falkiner, 'The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland', in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1907.

constitution of the Hospitallers gradually evolved and developed, it became based more and more upon the Nations or Tongues into which it was divided, and during the thirteenth century seven Tongues became recognized, of which the Priories of England and Ireland formed the English Tongue.

CHAPTER II

THE ANGLO-NORMAN MASTERS

THE Blessed Raymond du Puy was followed in rapid succession by two elderly Masters, both Frenchmen from Dauphiné, and then on the death of the second of them in 1162, the Anglo-Norman period in the history of the Hospitallers began. The Kings of England and the Kings of Jerusalem alike belonged to the same great house of Anjou. Henry II of England, the most powerful monarch in Europe, lord of a greater part of France than the French king himself, was nephew to the kings of Jerusalem, Baldwin III and his brother Amaury I, and first cousin to King Baldwin the Leper and his sisters and successors, the Princesses Sybil and Isabel. To him, as head of the house of Anjou, there was a constant tendency in the Holy Land to look for help and guidance, and one phase of this English influence can be seen in that brilliant series of Anglo-Norman soldiers, who as Masters of the Hospital now firmly and deliberately concentrated its energies on that path to military glory that history had marked out for it.

The first of the Anglo-Norman Masters, Gilbert d'Assailly, was elected in 1162. As Commander of Tyre he had been one of the Bailiffs of Syria since 1146, and probably derived his origin from the family of Assalit, a a name well-known in Languedoc. He was the first of the great military Masters of the Hospital, and under his rule its militarization proceeded so rapidly that within a few years we find the Hospitallers seriously rivalling the Templars in military strength. The name of Gilbert d'Assailly will always be associated in history with the

story of a great failure, but a failure which reflects no discredit either upon his capacity or his judgment. He was responsible for the one bold and clear-sighted effort that was made to avert the inevitable doom that overhung the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. It failed because the resources of the little state were insufficient, and its feudal lords were incapable of loyal co-operation or united action. The kingdom had always been miserably weak, and may be said to have been ripe for destruction from the very day of its foundation. European settlement had never been on a sufficient scale to give it health or vigour. In the days of its greatest strength the largest military force that it could put in the field, after denuding every fortress of its garrison, was only 15,000 men. It is surprising, not that the kingdom collapsed so quickly but that it lasted so long. Its survival was only due to the fact that the Mohammedan world was divided against itself and given up to anarchy. But there had recently arisen in Syria a great ruler, Nur-ed-din, the son of that Zangi who in 1144 had destroyed the County of Edessa, the northern bulwark of the Latin east. Nur-ed-din had united Damascus and Aleppo, and was now reaching out towards Egypt, whose government was in the last stages of decadence. Should Syria and Egypt be united under one ruler, nothing could avert the doom of the little Christian kingdom of Jerusalem.

To the clear vision and logical mind of the Master of the Hospital it was perfectly evident that Egypt was ripe for conquest, and that the conqueror would certainly be the Sultan of Damascus, unless he could be forestalled by the King of Jerusalem. Twice already, in 1164 and 1167, the Egyptians had summoned King Amaury to their assistance against the Syrians, and on the second occasion he had left a garrison in Cairo. Gilbert d'Assailly now used all his great influence to induce the king to undertake the definite conquest of Egypt, and pledged himself to place all the forces of the Hospital at his disposal. But as so often happened in that distracted and undisciplined kingdom,

it was sufficient for the Knights of the Hospital to favour one policy for the Knights of the Temple to advocate the very reverse, and their Master flatly declined to take part in the enterprise, a serious loss of strength to the expedition. However, the king, fully convinced by the arguments of the Master of the Hospital, determined upon a serious invasion of Egypt in the autumn of 1168. The Hospitallers, under Gilbert d'Assailly, concentrated at El Arish—500 knights and serjeants and 500 Turcopoles, as the native horse-bowmen were called. In order to equip this force, the Master had been compelled to raise a heavy loan from the bankers of Florence and Genoa, but the king had promised in return for their efforts to bestow upon the Order the city of Belbeis and all the land of Goshen, sufficient to produce an annual revenue of 100,000 besants, as well as a further 50,000 besants a year secured upon the ten chief cities of Egypt.

The Christian army crossed the frontier at the end of October, and marched straight on the capital; Belbeis was stormed on November 3rd, and handed over to the Hospitallers, and Cairo was reached on the 13th. Then followed a long pause, the siege was not pressed with vigour, the fleet failed to join the army, and the king allowed himself to be inveigled into negotiations with the Egyptian Vizier. Meanwhile the Caliph had sent a pathetic appeal for assistance to the Sultan of Damascus, who realized that at last his opportunity had arrived. His favourite general, Shirkoh the Kurd, accompanied by his nephew Saladin, soon to be so famous, set out from Ras-el-ma in the Hauran on December 17th, with 8000 picked troops. As soon as he heard the news King Amaury fell back from Cairo, and on December 25th left Belbeis in order to intercept the Syrians. But Shirkoh succeeded in evading the Christian army without fighting, and effected a junction with the Egyptians. Thereupon the king, unable to contend against the heavy odds which now faced him, withdrew the Hospitallers from Belbeis, and on January 2nd was in full retreat on Palestine. So ended the one great

effort that might conceivably have averted the fate which overshadowed the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Possibly the leadership was defective, there is not sufficient information available on which to base a sound judgement, but more probably success was impossible owing to the scanty resources of the little kingdom.

The complete failure of their expedition against Egypt, upon which they had built the most extravagant hopes, was a bitter blow to the Hospitallers, and there was a violent reaction against the military policy of the Master. So intolerable did his position become that he thought it necessary to resign his dignity, and retired to a hermitage. At once the real esteem in which he was held by those in authority became evident. The king, the barons, the citizens, and the clergy, with a unanimity truly remarkable, begged him to reconsider his decision, and at the urgent request of the Patriarch of Jerusalem he consented to resume office. But the insulting suggestion of certain personal enemies, that he should be called upon to give guarantees for his future conduct, was more than he could endure. His reply was final: 'I wish to justify my actions, and then to resign. I am not prepared to resume office on such conditions', and summoning the Chapter, he supervised the election of his successor, Caste de Murols, the Treasurer, and thus finally resigned his office in the year 1170.

But the authority of the new Master was not unquestioned, and many claimed that no Master was able to resign without the permission of the Pope, the first superior of all religious orders. It was decided that Gilbert d'Assailly should proceed to Rome, and lay the whole matter personally before Pope Alexander III, who duly confirmed his resignation, and the election of his successor. On the death of Caste de Murols two years later, the Hospitallers proposed to re-elect Gilbert d'Assailly, but the Pope at once intervened, and firmly forbade them to do so. We next hear of him eleven years later on a visit to King Henry II at Rouen, no doubt to discuss the serious

situation that had arisen in the Holy Land. After a most cordial reception he embarked for England at Dieppe on September 19th, 1183, in a vessel that proved to be unseaworthy. Three miles from shore she suddenly filled with water and sank, only eight persons being saved. So perished Gilbert d'Assailly, Master of the Hospital, of whom its early chroniclers state that 'he was a man of high purpose, under whom the Religion increased both in the number of the brethren, and in the quantity of its possessions, and he made good ordinances'.

Three years before the death of the first English master King Henry II presented to the Order of the Hospital an estate at Buckland, in Somerset, for the purpose of founding a Commandery and housing the sisters of the Order. From the very first the Order had included an establishment of sisters in Jerusalem, and in England sisters appear to have been attached to certain Commanderies. The system had obvious objections, and they were all now concentrated at Buckland under their first Prioress, Fina. At this time there were only nine sisters, but the numbers gradually increased, until a century and a half later we find as many as fifty, which apparently remained the normal establishment. The Prioress Fina lived to a great age, and ruled over Buckland for sixty years, dying in 1240. Her memory was always held in the deepest reverence. But the most famous of all the sisters of the Order is the blessed St. Ubaldesca of Pisa, who lived during this period. She made her profession in the Order of St. John as soon as she was old enough to do so, and devoted her whole life to the service of the sick and the poor. Of her it is written: 'Nature formed her generous and beneficent: grace rendered her charitable; she was the mother of the poor; the sick met with a relief always at hand in her assiduous care; there was no kind of misery but she brought a remedy for it, or gave consolation under it; and when her duties allowed her some moments to herself she spent them before the Cross, and in a continual meditation upon the death and passion of our divine Saviour. It

was in a continual exercise of these virtues that the blessed Ubaldesca died about the year 1206'.[1]

Meanwhile Caste de Murols' successor, Jobert, had died in 1177, and another Anglo-Norman soldier, Roger des Moulins, had been elected Master of the Hospital in his place. Of his previous career in the Order nothing is known, his name is not to be found among its Grand Bailiffs, which gives the impression that his service in it had not been very long. He was a subject of King Henry II of England, and was probably sprung from the family of that name settled at Moulines in Lower Normandy, whose arms were afterwards attributed to him. His soldierly reputation was such that Pope Alexander III considered it necessary to lay down at once that the primary objects for which his Order existed were charitable and not military, and to remind the new Master of the salutary principle of the Blessed Raymond du Puy that his knights must never draw the sword except when the Standard of the Cross was displayed in battle against the infidel.

The Holy Land had need of a good Knight as Master of the Hospital, for its quarrelsome barons seemed incapable of united effort, its young king Baldwin IV was a leper, and Syria and Egypt were now united under the rule of Saladin, the noblest and most chivalrous leader the Moslem world has ever known, who had sworn to drive the Christians out of Syria. The only hope lay in European intervention, and in the summer of 1184 a special mission was sent to the West consisting of the Patriarch Heraclius and the Master of the two military orders, Roger des Moulins of the Hospital and Arnold de Torroge of the Temple, but the latter died in Italy. This mission is an event of the first importance in the history of the Order of St. John in England, and one not likely to be forgotten, for it was during his visit to England that the Patriarch consecrated the Priory Church at Clerkenwell, and moreover Roger des Moulins was the first Master to visit the Priory.

[1] See Vertot, Book III, 113.

The mission reached England in March, 1185, and proceeded straight to Reading, where the King happened to be. They were confident that he, the grandson of Fulk, King of Jerusalem, would lead an army to the Holy Land, and when the Patriarch and the Master of the Hospital entered the royal presence, they placed in the king's hands the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the City of Jerusalem, the Patriarch exclaiming, 'Behold the keys of the kingdom, which the king and princes of the land have ordered me to give to thee, because it is in thee, alone after God, that they have hope and confidence of Salvation'. King Henry in reply, summoned the great barons of his realm to meet him at the Priory at Clerkenwell on March 18th. But the prelates and barons, whilst ready to vote money for a holy war, advised that the king's duty was to govern his kingdom, and not to go campaigning in the East. There can never have been a more dramatic scene in the great hall of the Priory, than when the Patriarch in bitter disappointment cried out: 'We come to seek a king, not money, for every corner of the world sends us money, but not one a prince'. And then he prophesied that the king would be henceforward forsaken by God, and his glory turned into disaster and shame.

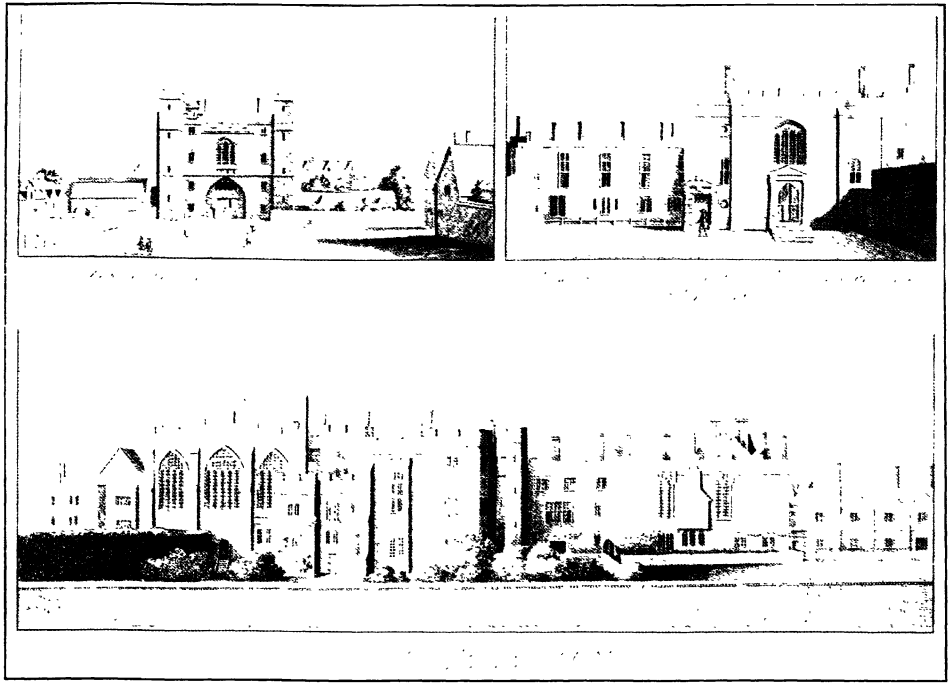
In spite of this scene, King Henry rode down to the coast with the Master and the Patriarch, reaching Dover on April 10th. They sailed on the 16th, and at their departure the king again deplored his inability to go on the crusade, owing to the danger he feared from his sons. The Patriarch, in bitter despair at the failure of his mission, retorted: 'No wonder, from the devil they came, and to the devil they will go'.

Two years after the return of the mission the blow fell, and in the spring of 1187 Saladin proclaimed the Holy War. The Master Roger des Moulins was at Nazareth with a small force when he heard that Saladin's son El-Afdal was over the border. At once riding forward to intercept him, he fell in battle at the fountain of Cresson near Cana of Galilee on May 1st, fighting desperately to the last

RECEPTION OF THE MASTER ROGER DES MOULINS BY KING HENRY II

From a painting by Stephen Reid in the Reading Museum

Facing p. 18



THE PRIORY OF THE HOSPITALLERS AT CLERKENWELL

against fearful odds. The ancient chronicler of the Order has worthily summed up his character in the following words: 'He was a man of great wisdom, and vigorous in battle: a good man and pious and very high-minded, and he loved much his brethren and our Lords the sick. He procured a confirmation of the Rule by Pope Lucius, and laid down good Statutes'.

On the death of Roger des Moulins, another Anglo-Norman Knight, William Borrell, the Grand Commander, stepped into his place as Lieutenant-Master. In the critical situation that had arisen it was impossible to summon a Chapter-General for the purpose of electing a new Master, and until that could be done the Grand Commander remained supreme. Two months after the engagement at the fountain of Cresson, Saladin crossed the Jordan and laid siege to Tiberias. The Christian army advancing to its relief was surrounded and completely destroyed in the disastrous Battle of Hattin on July 4th. A handful of knights under the Count of Tripolis cut their way through the Saracens, amongst them the Grand Commander of the Hospital, but with this exception King Guy and every Baron and Knight had been slain or captured, and that most sacred of all relics, the True Cross, was in the hands of the infidel. Among the prisoners were 230 Knights of the Hospital and the Temple, and of these the usually merciful Saladin had determined to make an example. Every Knight was given the chance of saving his life by renouncing Christianity and becoming a Moslem. To the everlasting honour of the military Orders, not a single man of them flinched before the ordeal, and two days after the battle the glorious crown of martyrdom was their reward. On the slopes of Kurn Hattin, where Our Saviour had preached the Sermon on the Mount eleven hundred years before, they were publicly executed by the Sultan's body-guard in the presence of the whole army. There can be no spot in all the world more sacred to those belonging to the Order of St. John than the slopes of Kurn Hattin, where on that July day in 1187 such a multitude of their

brethren, calmly and deliberately and in cold blood, gave their lives for the Christian faith. It seems a strange thing that no monument should mark the spot where they died so gloriously.

The overwhelming disaster of Hattin was irretrievable, the cities and fortresses of the Holy Land, denuded of their garrisons, could offer no serious resistance, and on October 2nd Jerusalem itself capitulated. In consequence William Borrell transferred the Convent of the Hospitallers to their recently acquired fortress of Margat, on the borders of Tripolis and Antioch, and there it remained until its transfer to Acre by the Master Geoffrey de Donjon ten years later. By the winter of 1187 the city of Tyre, closely besieged by Saladin, and half a dozen frontier fortresses, whose garrisons had not been withdrawn for the battle, were all that remained of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Of these Chateauneuf (Hunin), a castle of the Hospitallers, blocking the road from Bélinas (Banyas) to the sea, fell after a siege of nearly six months, but Safed in northern Galilee, a castle of the Templars, resisted for nearly eighteen months, and capitulated only to the Sultan in person. The defence of Belvoir (Kaukab-el-Hawa), another castle of the Hospitallers, covering the fords of the Jordan, lasted a month longer, and forms one of the most gallant episodes in the glorious history of the Hospital. After a blockade of nearly six months, Bernard the Castellan made a sally in force on January 2nd, 1188, and gained a brilliant little victory at Forbellet (Kefr Yebla), driving off the besiegers with heavy losses. This success he followed up by the capture of two caravans employed in removing the arms and stores from the castle of La Fève (El-Fuleh), so replenishing his own depleted magazines. But the besiegers soon closed round the fortress again, and in the spring Saladin visited the siege works personally, before going north for a campaign against the Prince of Antioch. The active defence of the Castellan continued to keep the enemy at bay, until finally after the fall of Safed the Sultan was able to concentrate all his forces against him. With

his defences crumbling around him, Bernard the Castellan was at last forced to capitulate on January 5th, 1189, and, after a gallant resistance that had now lasted eighteen months, was permitted by the chivalrous Sultan to march out to Tyre with all the honours of war.

Meanwhile, during the summer of 1188, with Saladin absent in northern Syria, it had been possible for the Grand Commander, William Borrell, to assemble the Chapter-General at Tyre, where Armengaud d'Aspe, Prior of St. Gilles and Castellan of Amposta, was duly elected Master of the Hospital. But at the beginning of 1190 he resigned his office, and yet another Anglo-Norman, Garnier de Nablus, Prior of England, was elected Master in his place. He was sprung from the Flemish family of De Milly, to one of whom the lordship of Nablus had been granted, and his career in his Order had been one of the highest distinction. Castellan of Jibelin in 1173, four years later he had been appointed Grand Commander, and in 1184 he became Prior of England, to which office shortly after had been added that of Grand Commander d'Outremer. It is interesting to note that the Anglo-Norman, William Borrell, who had so ably conducted the affairs of his Order during the critical interregnum, was shortly after appointed Marshal of the Hospital.

The story of the Mastership of Garnier de Nablus is the story of the Third Crusade. All Europe was in mourning for the fall of the Holy City and the loss of the True Cross. Princes and kings, the Emperor himself, vowed to consecrate their lives to the recovery of the Holy Land, and amongst the first to take the cross was Richard Cœur-de-Lion, then Duke of Aquitaine. In 1189 he succeeded to the throne of England, and it has been thought that it was perhaps due to his personal influence that Garnier de Nablus was elected Master of the Hospital. He was in his Priory at Clerkenwell when the news of his election arrived, and he left for Paris soon after, but delayed his departure for the East in order to accompany the King of England, who regarded him as his confidential adviser for oriental affairs.

A large part of the English army under the command of the Archbishop of Canterbury had already reached Palestine when the King and the Master embarked at Marseilles in September, 1190. They joined the King of France at Messina on the 23rd, and spent the winter in Sicily. It was not until April 10th, 1191, that they finally sailed for the East. Cyprus was conquered on the way, and on June 8th the king and the Master of the Hospital joined the army of Crusaders then engaged in besieging Acre.

Ever since the fall of Jerusalem, detachments of Crusaders from every country in Europe had been arriving in the Holy Land, and in August, 1189, they were strong enough to begin the Siege of Acre. But they were quickly blockaded in their lines by Saladin, and for nearly two years the siege dragged on at an enormous cost of life and treasure. The arrival of that capable and vigorous soldier, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, speedily changed the face of affairs, and on July 12th Acre surrendered, but the success of the Third Crusade had been ruined by its obstinate defence. No sooner was their first objective secured than bitter dissensions broke out in the Christian host, and at the end of the month the King of France abandoned the Crusade, and returned to Europe after taking a solemn oath to be a peaceful neighbour to King Richard. 'How faithfully he kept that oath is sufficiently notorious to all men, for the moment that he got back he stirred up the land and set Normandy in an uproar'. The King of England was now in supreme command of the crusaders, but with little real authority over any part of the army except the English contingent, whilst his policy and plans were continually obstructed by the disloyalty and intrigues of the French leaders.

On August 22nd Richard Cœur-de-Lion began his march on Jerusalem, taking the coast road to Jaffa, the fleet keeping pace with the army. The rearguard was the post of greatest danger, and that he entrusted to the Knights of the Hospital, under their Master, Garnier de Nablus. Day and night the Saracens continually harassed the march of the

Crusaders, whilst steadily avoiding a serious engagement, and the Parthian tactics of their Turkish horse-archers were almost more than discipline could endure. At last, on September 7th, a more determined attack than usual on the rear-guard brought on the pitched battle of Arsuf,[1] in which King Richard gained his greatest victory.

The Christian army was approaching the town, when suddenly Saladin massed his horse-archers against the rear-guard, with the object of bringing it to a halt, and then cutting it off from the main body. Squadron after squadron of horse galloped up, discharged their arrows into the marching columns, and then galloped away again. It was one incessant storm of arrows. The King's orders were that on no account must the rear-guard halt, nor must the cavalry move out of the column until he himself gave the order, when the whole of the mounted troops of the army would charge simultaneously. We are told that the infantry of the rear-guard were walking slowly backwards, with their faces to the foe, discharging their cross-bows as quickly as they could load them. The strain had almost reached the breaking-point, and Garnier de Nablus, riding up to the King, protested vigorously: 'Great St. George, will you let us be crushed in this way? Christianity will perish if we do not give battle to these rascals'. But the hero-king, calm and confident, keenly watching for the right moment for the decisive charge, simply replied: 'My dear Master, be patient, we must put up with it; I cannot be everywhere at the same moment'. At last the enemy began to close in, and an eye-witness states that 'they had laid their bows aside and were now thundering upon the rear-guard with their scimitars and maces like smiths upon anvils'. It was more than human nature could endure; two of the knights, the Marshal William Borrell, and a Norman Knight, Baldwin Le Carron, losing their heads, forced their way through the infantry, and flung themselves upon the Saracens. At once the whole

[1] For a detailed account of the Battle of Arsuf, see Oman's *Art of War in the Middle Ages*.

of the Knights of the Hospital, as if it had been the signal, wheeled their horses to the left, raised a shout of 'St. George!' and bursting through their foot charged home. Fortunately the decisive moment for which King Richard was waiting had arrived, the trumpets sounded the charge all along the line and the cavalry passing through the marching columns dashed upon the infidels. The Saracen and Turkish light horse were too closely engaged to be able to break away, and when the Christian warriors had finished their work, seven thousand of the enemy lay dead upon the field.

The Crusaders continued their march to Jaffa, but they were not destined to recapture the Holy City. Disloyalty, intrigue, and treachery were the ruin of their cause. Garnier de Nablus, in whom the King had greatly trusted, died on August 31st in the following year, 1192, the last of the great Anglo-Norman Masters of the Hospital. He was a gallant soldier and chivalrous knight; in the words of the ancient chronicler, 'he showed great courage in deeds of arms against the enemies of the faith'. Garnier de Nablus is one of whom his Order and his country may well be proud. King Richard remained only a few weeks longer, and sailed for Europe on October 9th, 1192, after concluding with Saladin the Treaty of Ramleh, which secured to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem the possession of the fortified cities on the coast, with the territory immediately dependent upon them, that is Phœnicia and the land of the Philistines, with the right of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the other holy places.

CHAPTER III

THE FALL OF ACRE, AND THE LOSS OF THE HOLY LAND

With the death of Richard Cœur-de-Lion in 1189, and the subsequent loss of Normandy, the Anglo-Norman influence in the Holy Land, which had been so great in the days of Henry II, was at an end, and never again was England to play so predominant a rôle in the Order of St. John as she had played during the generation that followed the death of the Blessed Raymond du Puy. But we still find English Knights occupying positions of the highest importance, such as William de Villiers, who, after being Commander of Acre, was in 1193 appointed Grand Commander d'Outremer, and in 1199 Prior of England. Contemporary with him is another famous English knight, Robert l'Anglais, who was Grand Commander of the Hospital for six years from 1195 to 1201, and in 1204 succeeded William de Villiers as Prior of England.

The subsequent history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, after the failure of the Third Crusade to restore its ancient frontiers, is one long tragedy until the final crash came just one hundred years afterwards. Its later kings were for the most part absentees, having other and more important realms to govern; in consequence the royal authority became steadily weaker, where a strong and vigorous monarchy was essential, if the kingdom was to survive. The great feudal lords soon became uncontrollable; turbulent and quarrelsome, disloyal to one another, incapable of co-operation against a common foe, their ultimate doom was inevitable. There was nothing wholesome left in the Latin East except the three great military

orders of the Temple, the Hospital, and the Teutonic Knights, the latter established as an independent order in 1198. From now onwards the responsibility for the defence of what remained of the Kingdom of Jerusalem rested almost entirely upon their shoulders, and it was only their zeal and devotion, their vigour and discipline, that for a time held the Moslem at bay.

Repeated attempts were made by the Popes to induce the great powers of Europe to combine for the restoration of the Latin Kingdom, but it proved impossible to revive the spirit of religious enthusiasm that had produced the great crusades of the past. In 1202 Innocent III had succeeded in organizing the Fourth Crusade, but it degenerated into a buccaneering expedition against Constantinople of a peculiarly disgraceful and scandalous nature. Then in 1212 followed that pathetic incident known as the Children's Crusade, but it helped to awaken the conscience of Europe, and, in the words of the Pope, 'the very children put us to shame; while we sleep they go forth gladly to conquer the Holy Land'. Pope Innocent III lived long enough to organize the Fifth Crusade, and he had intended to lead it in person, but he died in 1216. Under the command of John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, the Crusaders began the invasion of Egypt in 1218, but the follies of the papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius, ruined all possibility of success, and the expedition collapsed in 1220 in shame and disgrace.

A fresh attempt followed almost immediately to rouse once more the interest of Europe in the fate of the Holy Land, and in 1223 Robert de Dynham, Prior of England, had the honour to receive in his Priory at Clerkenwell the famous Master of the Hospital, Garin de Montaigu, perhaps the greatest after Raymond du Puy to rule over its destinies in Palestine. He had accompanied King John of Jerusalem on a special mission to the West to ask for help for the remnants of the kingdom, and he appears to have spent the winter in England. But the mission could scarcely have taken place under more unfavourable circumstances; the French had a local crusade of their own against the heretic

Albigenses, and in England the king was a child and the country in disorder. It was useless to talk about expeditions to the East for the recovery of the Holy City, and the mission was no more successful than that of the Master Roger des Moulins and the Patriarch forty years before.

But great hopes were aroused when the Emperor Frederick II married the young Princess Yolande, heiress to the throne of Jerusalem, and in 1228 the Emperor proceeded to the Holy Land. Terribly handicapped by the fact that he had been excommunicated by the Pope, he was able to accomplish very little, but by the Treaty of Jaffa he secured the restoration of the three holy cities, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, with a small accession of neighbouring territory. Had the Emperor been loyally supported by the Church, it is possible that he would have been able to restore the ancient frontiers of the kingdom. The whole of this period is nothing but a history of lost opportunities, but depressing though it is, for the Knights of St. John it is illuminated by the beautiful lives of three of the most famous of the saints of their Order.

St. Hugh, Commander of Genoa, devoted himself entirely to the service of the poor and the pilgrims in the hospital under his direction. His life was one of continual penance and boundless charity. Of him it is written that 'he passed the whole day either in prayer or in attendance on the sick, and if any pilgrims came in, he washed their feet and kissed them with profound humility. It was in a continual practice of these virtues that the Blessed Hugh finished at last the sacrifice of himself'.[1] St. Gerard Mecati of Villamagna was a serving brother of the Order, and displayed the utmost zeal and charity in the service of the poor; but his soul longed for the solitude and peace of a hermitage, and he is spoken of by his contemporaries as a second Hilarion. 'It was about the year 1242 that this pious hermit ended his days and was translated to the society of the Saints'. St. Gerland of Poland was a Knight

[1] Vertot, Book III, p. 143.

of the Order as famous for his piety as for his valour. For a time he represented the Master of the Hospital at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II; but at last he obtained permission to retire to his Commandery of Calatagirona in Sicily, where we are told 'he spent the rest of his days, leading a life truly angelical; he was a father of the poor, a protector of the widows, a guardian to orphans, a general arbitrator and an amiable compounder of all differences'.[1]

What had been gained for the Kingdom of Jerusalem by the efforts of the Emperor was lost by the criminal folly of its feudal barons, who by constant civil war kept the realm in a state of anarchy. Only the military orders remained faithful to their duty, and the contemporary historian, Matthew Paris, gives us an interesting description of the departure for the East of Theodoric de Nussa, Prior of England, with a contingent of Hospitallers and Templars. He relates how:—

> they started from the House of the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell in London, and passed through the City with spears held aloft, shields displayed, and banners advanced. They marched in splendid pomp to London Bridge, and sought a blessing from all who crowded to see them pass. The brethren indeed uncovered, bowed their heads from side to side, and recommended themselves to the prayers of all.

There was an English crusade under the Earl of Cornwall in 1240, but his forces were too weak to accomplish anything of importance, except the refortification of Ascalon, and then in 1244 came the greatest disaster that the Holy Land had known since the battle of Hattin, nearly sixty years before. The Sultan Ayoub was determined to put an end to the anarchy that prevailed in Syria, and invaded the Holy Land. A contingent of Chorasmians sacked Jerusalem, and the decisive battle followed at Gaza, from which the Latin kingdom never recovered. More than half of the small Christian army was furnished by the military orders, and but few escaped from the slaughter. The

[1] Vertot, Book III, p. 144.

INTERIOR OF THE PRIORY CHURCH AT CLERKENWELL

From a photograph by W. H. A. Fincham.

THE CRYPT OF THE PRIORY CHURCH

From a photograph by H. W. Fincham

Master of the Hospital, William de Chateauneuf, was wounded and taken prisoner, 325 of his Knights were slain, only 16 escaping from the battle, and the losses of the Templars and Teutonic Knights were no less severe. The frontier city of Ascalon, which the Emperor had entrusted to the Hospitallers in 1243, was able to hold the enemy at bay for just three years longer, but there was no possibility of relief, and on October 15th, 1247, the garrison capitulated. Never again were the Christians of the Holy Land able to put an army in the field, never again did they venture to fight a pitched battle; from now onwards they stood definitely on the defensive behind the walls of their fortified towns and castles, until the end came.

The disaster of Gaza and the second loss of the Holy City was the cause of the Sixth Crusade under King Louis IX of France, better known as St. Louis. The plan of campaign was the same as that of the Fifth Crusade, and it met with the same fate. In 1250 the crusading army was completely destroyed in the disastrous battle of Mansurah, and the subsequent retreat. Once more the military orders laid down their lives to the last man in battle for the Christian faith; the whole of the Hospitallers were killed in action, except five wounded knights taken prisoners, and amongst the slain was their Lieut.-Master, John de Ronay, for the Master taken at Gaza was still a prisoner of war.

The end of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was not far distant, when in 1260 the great Mameluke Sultan Beybars, the victor of Gaza, ascended the Egyptian throne, and like Saladin before him, vowed that he would drive the Christians out of Syria. He surprised Cæsarea in 1265, and then laid siege to Arsuf, now held by the Hospitallers. At the end of five weeks the town was stormed, and ninety Knights of the Hospital fell fighting to the last. The Templar fortress of Safed was captured the following year, and in 1266 Jaffa, Belfort and the great city of Antioch. In 1271 the Sultan laid siege to the fortress of Le Crac, the proudest possession of the Hospitallers in the East. After a desperate resistance lasting seven weeks, when most of the Knights had fallen,

what was left of the garrison capitulated, and was permitted to march out with all the honours of war. Montfort, the headquarters of the Teutonic Knights, was taken two months later, and the city of Tripolis was only saved by the arrival of the Seventh Crusade under Prince Edward of England, soon to be King Edward I, but he could do little with the small forces at his disposal.

One ghastly story is told of the fall of Antioch, which closely concerns the Order of St. John. There was in the city a convent of the sisters of the Order. It is said that the Prioress, when she knew that the city had fallen, called her nuns around her, and warned them what they must expect at the hands of the licentious Moslem soldiery. And then, since even under such circumstances, suicide was a sin unpardonable, she showed them the one way of escape—to render their appearance so horrible and loathsome that the brutal enemy in disgust would slay them instantly, and so send them pure and undefiled to join their Saviour in Paradise. And it is said that these brave sisters of the Order, following the example of their Prioress, cut off their noses and tore their cheeks to ribbons with the points of their scissors, and so, horrible to look upon and covered with blood, awaited the glorious crown of martyrdom, which mercifully was not long delayed to them.

Among the English Hospitallers of this period two names are conspicuous in the history of the Order. The first is Roger de Vere, of the great feudal house of the Earls of Oxford. He rose to be one of the Conventual Bailiffs and was Drapier of the Order, from 1262 to 1265, when he returned to his native land as Prior of England. But the most famous is the name of Joseph de Chauncey. He came of a distinguished family holding lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and tracing back its origin to the days of King Stephen. Most of his life must have been spent in the East, and in 1248 he was appointed Treasurer of the Order, a post which he held for twenty-five years. He was the most trusted adviser of the Master Hugh Revel, in the sweeping reforms that he made in the administration

of the Order. Joseph de Chauncey gained the friendship of King Edward I during the Seventh Crusade, and in 1273 succeeded Roger de Vere as Prior of England; but seven years later he relinquished his appointment, and went back to the East to resume his former post as Treasurer. His memory was long preserved in the Priory at Clerkenwell by the Lord Prior's Chapel, which he built.

The task of driving out the Christians, which the Sultan Beybars had left unfinished, was taken up by the Sultan Kelaun, and in 1285 he laid siege to Margat, the second of the two great fortresses of the Hospitallers. There were 200 knights and serjeants in the garrison, and for five weeks they held at bay the overwhelming forces of the enemy. But when the walls were undermined, and the garrison reduced to a mere handful of men, they were permitted to withdraw to Tripolis with all their possessions. Four years later the city of Tripolis was taken and destroyed, and the Sultan began to make preparations for the Siege of Acre, the Christian capital. But he died suddenly in the autumn of 1290, and the glory of driving the Christians out of the Holy Land was left to his worthless son Khalil.

Acre, generally known as St. Jean d'Acre, owing to the prominence of the Convent of the Knights of St. John, was at this time the chief commercial city in the Levant, with a population of between 30,000 and 40,000 souls. It was situated on a peninsula, strongly fortified on the land side with a double line of walls and towers thoroughly up to date, covered by a wide and deep ditch, and between the walls lay a broad open space providing room for cattle and refugees. From the sea on the north the ramparts ran for two-thirds of their length in a south-easterly direction, and then suddenly turned south to the sea on the other side of the peninsula. The sharp salient thus formed was the weak point in the defences of Acre, and was protected by a massive stone tower known as Maldis, or, in its Latin form, Maledictum. To the west of Maldis lay St. Anthony's Gate, and further north near to the sea, St. Lazarus's Gate.

The garrison consisted of 700 knights and 14,000 infantry, but the fighting value of many of the latter was probably a somewhat uncertain quantity. More than half the knights were furnished by the military religious orders, and there were about 240 Templars, and 140 Hospitallers under their Master John de Villiers. The other three orders, the Teutonic Knights, the Knights of St. Lazarus, and the Knights of St. Thomas, were probably unable to furnish more than 50 knights between them. All available knights appear to have been called up from Europe, and amongst the Hospitallers to arrive in the previous autumn passage had been William de Henley, Prior of England, with a contingent of English Knights. The commander of the garrison was the Master of the Temple, William de Beaujeu, by far the most experienced and respected soldier in the East, and he distributed his forces as follows. The northern wall from the sea to St. Lazarus's Gate was held by the Templars and the Knights of St. Lazarus; from that point to St. Anthony's Gate was held by the Hospitallers and the Knights of St. Thomas, the gate being entrusted to Matthew de Clermont, the Marshal of the Hospital. The Teutonic Knights and the forces of the King of Jerusalem held Maldis and the remainder of the north-eastern wall, and the eastern wall to the sea was entrusted to the representatives of the Kings of France and England.

The Saracen army, over 100,000 strong, with ninety-two battering-engines, began to concentrate before Acre towards the end of March, 1291; the Sultan Khalil arrived on April 5th, and from that date the siege may be said to have begun. For the first month the progress made was slow, the battering-engines began to get into position by April 11th, but it was another three weeks before they began to press the attack seriously. The city was, however, closely invested, and there were constant sorties by the garrison. During this period all who could afford to do so sent away their women and children to Cyprus, and many of the more well-to-do civilians left the city. No doubt at such a time the Master of the Temple was thankful to see

the departure of all useless mouths. But the venerable Patriarch of Jerusalem, Nicholas de Hanapes, insisted upon remaining behind, that he might encourage his flock to the last in the hour of their tribulation.

The crisis of the siege began on Friday, May 4th. The Saracens had selected for their main attack the weak spot in the defensive system of the city, the sharp salient at the north-east corner, covered by that famous work Maldis, and the wall and towers between it and St. Anthony's Gate. On May 4th Maldis, which had been steadily bombarded for many days, at last fell in ruins, and then began that systematic and continuous bombardment of the doomed city, from the ninety-two battering-engines of the Saracens, which lasted day and night until the final assaults were delivered. But on this fatal day the garrison was greatly encouraged, in spite of the disaster, by the arrival of King Henry of Jerusalem from Cyprus, with a reinforcement of 200 knights and 500 infantry, and his ships were available for removing any further civilians who desired to leave. Many knights and soldiers who were not legally bound to remain appear to have taken this opportunity to abandon the city. The King of Jerusalem at once assumed command of the point of danger, as it was fitting that he should do, but the general direction of the defence of Acre remained in the hands of that experienced soldier, the Master of the Temple, as before.

After ten days' incessant bombardment, supplemented by mining operations which never ceased, the wall between Maldis and St. Anthony's Gate began to present breaches practicable to the enemy. On Tuesday, May 15th, the Saracens set fire to one of their mines, which brought down a fresh section of the wall, and then delivered their first general assault, or rather a series of assaults lasting from sunrise to sunset, upon the positions held by the troops of King Henry and the Teutonic Knights. The continuous attacks were repulsed with terrific losses to the enemy, who were successfully prevented from breaking through, but only with the utmost difficulty.

Next day, Wednesday, May 16th, at daybreak, the Saracens again advanced to the assault, and after a series of desperate attacks, during which eye-witnesses state that they saw a band of fanatical Hadjis throw themselves into the ditch in order that their troops might mount to the assault over their bodies, the defenders, worn out by their exertions and overwhelmed by superior numbers, were forced to fall back upon the inner line of defences. The exulting Moslems swarmed through the abandoned breaches by thousands, and it seemed as if Acre were lost. At this critical moment Matthew de Clermont, Marshal of the Hospital, stationed at St. Anthony's Gate, collecting together all the available Knights of the Hospital and Temple, threw himself upon the right flank of the enemy as they pressed forward against the inner wall in all the disorder of success. The heavy cavalry rode through and through the Saracen ranks, cutting them down by hundreds, until at last they drove them back in panic through the breaches they had so recently stormed. Not content with this success, Matthew de Clermont followed them up beyond the shattered ramparts, and in a brilliant charge flung them back upon their own lines; as an eye-witness tells us, 'they fled away at his approach like sheep before a wolf'. It was a fine example of what the mediæval knight could do under favourable circumstances and on suitable terrain. The Saracen trumpets now sounded the retreat, and the troops of King Henry and the Teutonic Knights reoccupied their lost positions, which were consolidated during the night, a temporary wall being built across the opening made by the enemy, and all breaches being filled up with obstacles. But success had been purchased at a heavy price; 2000 Christian warriors had been slain, and there remained but 7000, many of them badly wounded, to hold the long line of ramparts.

Early the next morning before daybreak a last council of war was held in the Convent of the Hospitallers. There can have been little hope of repulsing another assault, the desperate nature of the situation was only too evident, and

the possibility of relief no longer existed. They doubtless discussed the question of attempting to open negotiations with the enemy, for that was certainly done later in the day. Arrangements were also made for embarking the remaining women and children, but they failed owing to the stormy weather. Then they all confessed their sins, the venerable Patriarch in a few solemn words gave them his blessing, and commended them to the mercy of God, and after embracing each other they went down to the ramparts to meet their end.

But on that day, May 17th, there was no serious fighting, and the Saracens appear to have remained quietly in their lines, reorganizing and completing their preparations for the final assault on the following day. The Master of the Temple used the respite to get into touch with the enemy in a last hopeless effort to obtain some sort of terms. That evening the King of Jerusalem and his men withdrew from the ramparts, on the grounds that they had had no sleep for three nights, handing over charge of the sector to the Teutonic Knights, but undertaking to return before daybreak. They never did return, but when the Saracens resumed the attack the following morning, guessing that all was lost, they embarked upon their ships and sailed for Cyprus. And so Henry de Lusignan, the last King of Jerusalem who ever reigned in the Holy Land, the unworthy descendant of generations of hard-fighting ancestors, forgetting his duty and his knightly honour, abandoned his post in the moment of danger, left the last of his subjects to their fate, and sought safety in ignominious flight. Well may the eye-witness of the siege, who has left us a record of this shameful incident exclaim in the heat of his indignation: 'Would to God that a whirlwind had arisen, and had submerged these base fugitives, and that they had sunk like lead to the bottom of the sea'.

Early in the morning on Friday, May 18th, before sunrise, while the city was still shrouded in mist, the Saracen columns advanced once more to the assault upon the shattered ramparts. In the absence of King Henry the

line was too weakly held to check the enemy for long. The gallant Teutonic Knights fell to a man, fighting to the last, but nothing could save the situation; the Saracens eventually broke through by King Hugh's Gate, also known as the English Tower, midway between Maldis and St. Anthony's Gate, and then swarmed into the city through every breach and opening in irresistible force. With their left flank thus uncovered, the troops holding the eastern sector of the wall appear to have fallen back upon the inner line of defences. A strong force of Saracens wheeling to the right flung themselves upon the Hospitallers holding St. Anthony's Gate. Here Matthew de Clermont, the Marshal, stood firmly to his ground, and three times the Hospitallers drove the enemy back to 'a place commonly known as Maldis', as John de Villiers tells us in a letter still extant.[1] But the situation was desperate, and nothing but desperate remedies could be of any avail. There still stood in reserve not far distant a force of 500 cavalry, doubtless Knights and Turcopoles of the Hospital and Temple. The Master of the Temple requested the Master of the Hospital to make a sortie with them and to deliver a counter-attack upon the Saracen reinforcements hastening forward in support of the assaulting troops. At that moment William de Beaujeu fell dead, shot down by a Saracen cross-bowman, or pierced by a lance, for accounts differ. He was as gallant a Master as ever ruled over the Temple; his end was glorious, and he was at least spared the sorrow of witnessing the final ruin of the cause to which he had devoted his life.

John de Villiers led the reserve cavalry out through St. Lazarus's Gate, and, forming up on the plain beyond, charged through the Saracen reinforcements, some said up to their very camp. But the force was too small for such a task to be effective, and casualties had been very heavy; the remainder, wheeling about, hacked their way back through the ranks of the enemy, and John de Villiers

[1] Printed in King's *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, pp. 301, 302.

was amongst those who reached Acre in safety. Now, however, all was lost, the garrison had been unable to hold the enemy on the inner line of defence, and the Saracens were pouring into the city on every side. What Templars still survived fought their way back in a compact body to their Convent near the seashore, and there held out till the last man had fallen. Most of the Hospitallers had perished at St. Anthony's Gate. John de Villiers with a little group of his brethren fought his way back into the city, and made his last stand in one of the streets near the harbour, until all had fallen dead or badly wounded. Matthew de Clermont, the Marshal, was seen in one of the streets of Acre, vainly spurring his exhausted charger for a last dash upon a group of infidels. His horse fell beneath him, there was a rush of Saracens, and when they had passed, his lifeless body lay bleeding on the ground. So died one of the noblest heroes who ever made his profession in the Order of St. John.

Except in the Convent of the Templars there was no further organized resistance. The surviving troops threw away their arms and armour, and made a rush for the boats in the harbour. Here horrible scenes were witnessed, made still more dreadful by the storm of hail and rain that had burst upon the city at the moment of the assault. The seashore was a mass of screaming women and children, and panic-stricken soldiers, struggling to get into the boats, with the sailors haggling over the price of safety and trying to pick out those who could pay the most. Into this mob of helpless fugitives, mad with fear, rode the merciless Saracen horse, killing all whom they could reach and pursuing them into the very waves of the sea. The venerable Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had been inspired throughout the siege by the most devoted sense of duty, was forced into one of the boats. But the kindly old man insisted upon holding back in order to rescue as many people as possible, with the result that his over-loaded boat sank beneath the waves. The Master of the Hospital was saved only owing to the devotion of his body-servant, who

at imminent risk of death returned with a serjeant to seek him. Together they carried him off to one of the boats, and, returning, succeeded in getting away six other knights, some of them mortally wounded; and these seven were the only Knights Hospitallers who survived the fall of Acre. No English Knight is known to have been amongst these survivors, all are believed to have perished; the most distinguished of them was William de Henley, Prior of England for over ten years, whose memory was long preserved by the cloisters which he built on the south side of the Priory Church at Clerkenwell.[1]

Concerning the horrors of the sack of Acre, it is scarcely necessary to speak; there was never any mercy shown in a city taken by storm. Many took refuge in the churches, but the pitiless enemy set fire to the buildings; others for a time held out in the numerous fortified houses, only retarding a little their inevitable doom. The nuns of the various religious Orders had been sent away early in the siege, only the devoted sisters of St. Clare had remained behind to nurse the sick and wounded. When the end came they followed the example of the sisters of the Hospital at the sack of Antioch, and by mutilating and disfiguring their countenances provoked the indignant Moslem soldiery to slay them forthwith, and their dead bodies were seen flung into a heap in one of the streets. About 10,000 survivors were made prisoners; of these the men were all slain by the express orders of the Sultan, and the fate of the women and children was lifelong slavery. The dramatic fall of Acre was the end of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the remaining Christian towns were abandoned without further fighting.

[1] For the fact that he built the cloisters, see Porter's *Knights of Malta*, Vol. II, p. 282; but the author makes a curious blunder as regards the date of his death.

CHAPTER IV

THE END OF THE TEMPLARS, AND THE TRANSFER OF THEIR PROPERTY

THE loss of Acre and the evacuation of every fortress and town on the Syrian coast was a crushing blow to the military religious orders. In the East they had been practically annihilated, their rich possessions in Palestine and Syria had been lost for ever, and for the moment their very existence seemed to be at stake. Both the Templars and Hospitallers proceeded to reorganize their Convents[1] at Limassol, then the chief port of Cyprus, in readiness for the expected attack on that island by the triumphant Saracens. The Hospitallers had long possessed important interests there, and the Castle of Colossi, only six miles west of Limassol, the seat of the Commander of the Order in Cyprus, had been presented to them by King Hugh I in 1210.[2] The danger of attack passed away for a time with the assassination of the Sultan Khalil in 1293. Meanwhile the Master John de Villiers, had issued a general citation calling up all available Knights in Europe, and Brother Peter de Hakeham, Prior of England, with all the able-bodied brethren in the province, proceeded to Cyprus for the Chapter-General, assembled to discuss the critical situation. At this historic meeting the future of the Order was decided. It was resolved that it should

[1] The word 'Convent' is always used in the Order of St. John in a technical sense. Statute XIX, 2, defines it as follows: 'The Convent is the place where the Master or his Lieutenant, the Church, the Infirmary, and the Inns, or eight Languages, are together'.

[2] A part of the Castle of Colossi passed into the possession of the Order of St. John in 1913: see the Report of Chapter-General 1913, pp. 8, 9, and Fincham, p. 5.

remain for the present at Limassol, and that it must always remain as close to Palestine as possible, in order to be ever in readiness to re-conquer the Holy Places should opportunity occur. In order to carry out their charitable duties, a Hospital for the poor and pilgrims was again established, and for the protection of pilgrims visiting the Holy Land a squadron of galleys was equipped to escort them across the seas. From now onwards the Order of St. John was to be a naval power. By this same chapter the Priors were forbidden for the future to receive any novice without an express commission from the Master, lest the establishment that the Order was capable of supporting should be exceeded, now that their rich Syrian possessions were lost.

Not only was the fall of Acre a heavy blow to the prestige and power of the Hospitallers in the East, but it also created a very serious and delicate situation for them in Europe. It was easy to say that the Order was no longer fulfilling the objects of its existence now that the Holy Land was lost, and their broad acres and great wealth were a temptation difficult for impecunious governments to resist. The danger first manifested itself in England and Portugal, and Edward I, always in need of money for his wars, seized and sequestered their revenues to his own use. He attempted to justify his action by the claim that as the Commanderies had been founded for the defence of the Holy Land, which was now lost, the revenues would be better employed in maintaining the poor than in supporting the brethren in luxury in Cyprus. However, Boniface VIII was not the type of Pope with whom specious arguments of that kind were likely to carry weight; the Order was under the particular protection of the papacy, and he made it perfectly clear that unless the sequestration were removed, he would not hesitate to use the spiritual weapons at his disposal. The strength of the papal arguments convinced the king that the Order was indeed rendering most valuable services to Christendom, and no reasonable doubt of it was left when the Knights of St. John seized Rhodes in 1310, and

resumed their ceaseless warfare in defence of the Catholic Faith with all their ancient zeal.

Far different was the fate of that other religious and military fraternity, the Order of the Temple of Solomon. Like their comrades of the Hospital, the Templars had poured out their blood in torrents in defence of the Holy Land. But once they were driven from Palestine a sort of paralysis seemed to come over the Order. Unlike the Hospitallers, they appeared to have no plans for the future, no definite policy, no apparent intention of finding new methods of justifying their existence. Their wealth was very great, almost as great as that of the Order of St. John, and there are indications that their iron discipline had been somewhat relaxed, and that the brethren had become more demoralized by the pleasures and temptations of this world than those of the Hospital. It is not without reason that such a saying existed as 'to drink like a Templar', whilst their pride had been notorious a century earlier. When Fulk of Neuilly told Richard Cœur-de-Lion to provide for his three evil daughters, Pride, Lust, and Luxury, the king made the bitter retort: 'He bids me marry my daughters. I give Pride to the Templars, Lust to the Cistercians, and Luxury to the Bishops'. The Templars had a determined and unscrupulous foe in Philip the Fair, King of France, who feared their immense political influence, coveted their wealth, and had vowed their destruction. Pope Clement V, pledged to the French King, tried in vain to save the Order by suggesting an amalgamation with the Hospitallers. Their Master James de Molay refused, and in 1306 the arrest of the whole of the Templars was ordered. Their devoted services in defence of the Christian faith were forgotten; accused of heresy, idolatry and every filthy vice that a foul imagination could conceive, they were cruelly tortured until the weaker brethren confessed to sins they had never committed. In Paris 113 Templars were burnt alive for refusing to admit that they were guilty, and their Master James de Molay, as gallant a soldier as ever fought for the Faith, was roasted

alive in Paris over a fire of charcoal. The entire Order was finally abolished by a papal decree at the Council of Vienne in 1312, and the whole of its property transferred to the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

But in England, as elsewhere, there was the greatest difficulty in securing obedience to the papal decree, and Brother William de Tothale, Prior of England, never lived to see his Order enter into possession of the Templar property. Edward II had ordered the arrest of the Templars in January, 1308, and their lands had been placed in charge of certain persons called the ' Guardians of the lands of the Templars ', all rents and profits being paid to the royal exchequer. Almost from the first the King showed a tendency to regard the Templar property as if it were already his own, which called forth an immediate protest from the Pope. But no sooner was the Order abolished than he began to dispose of certain of its estates, and informed the Prior that he regarded the claim of the Pope to dispose of property in England without the consent of Parliament as derogatory to the royal dignity, following it up by presenting the House of the Temple in London to his cousin, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and conferring other estates on his creditors. In the following year, however, the papal representations became of so urgent a nature that they could no longer be ignored, and the King directed all the property to be handed over to the representatives of the Master and Order of St. John. How deeply the Hospitallers sympathized with their unfortunate colleagues of the Temple is revealed to us by the fact that the Prior of the Hospital in England ordered a list to be compiled of the Masters of the Temple in England, in order that the Hospitallers might always remember them in their prayers, and the last of the Masters, who died in a dungeon in the Tower, is spoken of as Brother William de la More the Martyr.[1]

The Priors were not long in discovering that the removal of the royal objections was scarcely more than the beginning

[1] See Addison, *The Knights Templars*, p. 293.

of their real difficulties. Not only had many estates been bestowed upon powerful barons, who were quite determined not to part with them, but now the heirs of the original donors put forward the claim that, as the Order of the Temple was extinct, the estates should in justice revert to them, and enforced their claims by seizing possession. In vain a new Prior, Richard Paveley, struggled to obtain respect for the rights of his Order, but not all the thunders of the Vatican, even to the extent of excommunication, could induce the possessors to give up the estates they had seized. At last his successor, Brother Thomas Archer, supported by the Pope and the Bishops, succeeded in 1324 in obtaining an Act of Parliament definitely vesting all the property of the Templars in the Order of St. John, that it might be used, as the pious donors had intended, for the defence of the Holy Land and the protection of the Catholic Faith in the East.

But the heirs of the donors had not the slightest intention of obeying an Act of Parliament if they could possibly avoid doing so. They at once petitioned for the repeal of the Act, on the grounds that its conditions were contrary to law, against all reason, and opposed to the opinion of the judges. The great barons were equally determined to cling to the estates in their possession, and they simply claimed that Parliament had no right to interfere with the tenure of private property, and to dispose of their possessions without their consent. The Order of St. John, instead of benefiting by the transfer of the Templar lands, found itself impoverished by long and expensive litigation and brought to the verge of ruin. The Prior Thomas Archer was old and infirm and quite incapable of dealing with the intricate state of affairs that had arisen. So serious was the situation that the Master Elyon de Villeneuve, selected Leonard de Tybertis, Prior of Venice, as Visitor to the Priory of England, with full power to take whatever action he might think necessary. The Prior of Venice was a man of wide business experience; he had been Procurator-General of the Order at the Papal Court, and had been

appointed by the Master Fulk de Villaret, the conqueror of Rhodes, to serve on the special commission originally sent to take possession of the Templar lands in the West. At the request of the King, Brother Thomas Archer was deprived of his office and replaced temporarily by the Prior of Venice. Within a year the sound judgement and business ability of the Italian Prior had evolved order out of chaos, capital had been realized to pay off debts contracted at usurious rates of interest, and in 1300 he was able to hand over the Priory to his successor, Brother Philip Thame, who was to control its destinies for no fewer than twenty-eight years.

Under the rule of Philip Thame the vexed question of the Templar lands was finally settled. A fresh Act of Parliament was passed in 1334 confirming the previous Act, and writs were issued to the Sheriffs ordering them to take possession in the King's name of all property unjustly withheld from the Order of St. John. But the Temple in London, the most famous of all the properties of the disgraced Order, did not finally pass into the possession of the Hospitallers until 1340, and they continued to let it out to the lawyers, who had been established there by Thomas Earl of Lancaster. The fate of the unhappy Templars, the majority of whom were certainly innocent of the crimes imputed to them, was pitiable in the extreme. The ecclesiastical council which had investigated their alleged offences had promised them a pension of fourpence a day, which with the purchasing power of money at that time was the equivalent of nearly ten shillings a day at the present time. But the pensions were never paid by the holders of their forfeited estates, and many of these veteran soldiers of the Church were in actual danger of starvation, when the King, deeply moved, wrote to the Prior asking him to have pity upon them.

It was now a generation since the Templars had been deprived of their lands in 1308. Many estates had changed hands several times over, and during that long period of strife and litigation much property had been irretrievably

CHURCH OF THE BAILIWICK OF EGLE

From a photograph at St. John's Gate

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RUINS OF THE COMMANDERY OF TEMPLE BRUER

From an engraving by Samuel Buck in 1720

lost. Moreover, there must have been estates which for various reasons it was not tactful to claim, and there can be no doubt that in order to secure firm possession of the remainder, the Prior must have considered it prudent to withdraw his claims over many outlying properties. The estates of the extinct Order of the Temple when they finally reached the Order of St. John were by no means the same as they had been when they left the hands of the Templars thirty years before. But none the less they represented an immense addition to the possessions of the Order, and necessitated a complete reorganization of its Commanderies, which presumably was the work of Brother Philip Thame during his long period of administration. Ten of the Commanderies[1] given in his report of 1338 ultimately ceased to be separate administrative units, and were replaced by ten new Commanderies formed, with the exception of Baddesley, from the estates shown in his report among the Temple lands, whilst the Member of Winkbourne expanded into a Commandery. These ten new Commanderies were :—

Baddesley in Hampshire	Sandford in Oxford
Egle in Lincoln	Temple Balsall in Warwick
Ribstone in Yorkshire	Temple-Bruer in Lincoln
Rotheley in Leicester	Templecombe in Somerset
Willoughton in Lincoln	Temple Cressing in Essex.

The most important of these was the Commandery of Egle, which afterwards carried with it the title of Bailiff and the possession of the Grand Cross.

Even when the Hospitallers had at last secured firm control over the possessions of the Templars, it almost seemed as if the inheritance had brought a curse with it. Commanders suddenly found the value of their Commanderies almost doubled, young Knights who had not yet earned the privilege suddenly found themselves appointed

[1] Bothemescombe, Chibburn, Chippenham, Godesfield, Grafton, Hardwick, Maplestead, Skirbeck, Staundon, and Sutton-at-Hone.

Commanders, and the Convent was almost deserted owing to the numbers who left for Europe to make good their claims to the property of the Templars. All discipline seemed on the verge of breaking down, when the Chapter-General of Montpellier met in 1330, and attempted to arrest the demoralization by a regulation that no one should be eligible for any appointment whatever until he had resided five years in the Convent, and completed his 'Caravans', or period of active service, on board the galleys. Even this drastic order seemed powerless to check the degeneration caused by the sudden access of wealth, and twelve years later Pope Clement VI found it necessary to make the strongest representations in a letter to the Master Elyon de Villeneuve in which he says :—

We are informed by persons of merit and distinction that it is the common sentiment of the clergy, and indeed of all the Christian world, that you and your brother companions scarce make any good use of the immense estates you possess, as well on this side as beyond the sea. Those who have the administration of them ride, they say, fine horses, make good cheer, are richly dressed, are served in gold and silver, keep abundance of dogs and hawks for hunting and game, lay up great treasures, give little alms, and neglect the defence of the Christians, especially of those beyond the sea. For this reason it has been under consideration whether it would not be proper for the Holy See to institute a new military order and endow it with part of your revenues, in order to raise and keep up a laudable emulation between the two Orders, as there was formerly between you and the Templars: this, however, we have not yet thought fit to put in execution out of the just confidence we have that you will immediately restore the ancient discipline and make a general reformation of manners in your Order.

This sharp reproof of the Pope[1] combined with the stern lesson taught by the fate of the Templars, and the threat to deprive the Order of its recently acquired wealth, had

[1] Vertot, Book V, p. 254.

the desired effect. Gradually the Order of St. John adjusted itself to its new conditions, gradually its discipline was restored to its old high standard, and the Knights of Rhodes, by their dauntless courage, heroic devotion, and self-sacrificing zeal, regained once more the confidence and admiration of the Christian world.

CHAPTER V

THE BURNING OF THE PRIORY BY WAT TYLER

WITH the occupation of Rhodes in 1310 the Hospitallers became a Sovereign Order, ruling supreme over their own territory, and henceforward more generally known as the Knights of Rhodes, until the loss of that island and their transfer to Malta. For a time the Saracens of Egypt and Syria remained their most dangerous enemy, but with the rise of the Ottoman Turks in the latter half of the fourteenth century, the Knights of St. John entered upon their great historic mission as the chief bulwark of Christendom against the expanding naval power of the Turks.

The Master Fulk de Villaret, the conqueror of Rhodes, by his arrogance and arbitrary conduct caused a revolt of the Knights against his authority, and he resigned his position in 1319. Under his successor, the Master Elyon de Villeneuve, who ruled over the destinies of the Order for twenty-seven years, those constitutional changes took place which gave to the Order its characteristic forms, and which were retained with but slight modifications until the loss of Malta nearly five centuries later. In the Holy Land the Hospitallers had been a cosmopolitan order, with its brethren drawn from every nation in Europe, and in theory at least all official appointments had been conferred upon those most fitted to hold them, regardless of nationality. The governance of the Order was in the hands of the Master, later known as the Grand Master, assisted by the Prior of the Church, responsible for the Chaplains, and the five Bailiffs of the Convent, who were as follows :—

1. The Grand Commander, exercising a general supervision over the estates and properties of the Order.
2. The Marshal, the minister of war.
3. The Hospitaller, in charge of the Hospital and Charities.
4. The Drapier, the quartermaster of the Order.
5. The Treasurer, the minister of finance.

In Cyprus the number was raised to seven by the addition of the Admiral in 1300 and the Turcopolier in 1303.

The provincial administration ' beyond the sea ' (d'outremer) was in the hands of Priors, later known as Grand Priors, and the Castellan of Amposta in Aragon, and ' this side the sea ' (deça mer) in the hands of the Bailiffs of Syria. Under them were lesser bailiffs, in charge of smaller administrative units, and known as Commanders, or in Latin Preceptors. All these provincial officials were under the supervision of a Grand Commander d'outremer, representing the Master in Europe, until his office was divided up between the Grand Commanders of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. These high officials—namely, the Bailiffs of the Convent, the Bailiffs of Syria, the Priors, and the Castellan of Amposta—were all members of the Chapter-General, the supreme legislative assembly of the Order, by whom they were appointed, and they were therefore known collectively as Capitular Bailiffs.

The brethren of the Order of St. John were divided into three classes, Knights, Chaplains, and Serjeants-at-Arms, later known as Serving Brothers of Arms. For discipline the military brethren came under the Marshal, the chaplains under the Prior of the Church, and the hired domestics, called Serving Brothers of Office, under the Grand Commander. But the brethren were also grouped together according to the Nations or Tongues[1] to which they

[1] In speaking of the national societies forming the Order of St. John, it has been customary amongst modern English writers to use the French word ' Langue ', but such was never the custom of our ancestors, who always used the English word ' Tongue ', as may be seen in the Minute Book of the Tongue, preserved in the Archives at Malta.

belonged, at first probably four in number, French, Spanish, Italian, and German, but during the thirteenth century the number of recognized Nations or Tongues was increased to seven—namely, Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Spain, England, and Germany. From the earliest times there was a natural tendency to consult with the brethren concerned in matters relating exclusively to their Tongues, and as a general rule appointments beyond the sea were given to natives of the country concerned. But as late as 1247 we find a Knight of German origin, Theodoric de Nussa, appointed Prior of England. Gradually, however, each national group of brethren had begun to consider that they had a right to expect all appointments in their native land to be conferred upon them alone, and when Elyon de Villeneuve succeeded to the venerable office of Master of the Hospital, the time had arrived when it was necessary to recognize the fact that the Order of St. John was no longer merely a cosmopolitan order, one and indivisible, but was in reality a federation of national societies, with interests by no means always identical.

Under the Master Elyon de Villeneuve, the changes that had been gradually taking place were definitely recognized, and became a part of the constitution of the Order. Henceforward the organization of the brethren in the Convent in their seven Tongues was the distinctive feature of the constitution upon which the whole administration was based. The Commanderies and Priories were reserved exclusively for the use of the Tongue concerned, and all disputes and questions concerning them were settled in the Assembly of the Tongue, which within a few years acquired the right of nominating to all vacancies, for election by the Master in Council. At the head of each Tongue was placed one of the Bailiffs of the Convent, whose office became irrevocably attached to it. These Conventual Bailiffs are generally described as the Pillars of the respective Tongues of which they were the chiefs, and were responsible for its discipline, and for the maintenance of an Auberge or lodging for its use. Since the Treasurer now ceased to

be a Conventual Bailiff, there were only six available, and Germany, the smallest of the Tongues, was without a Bailiff, until in 1428 the Grand Bailiff was created for her benefit. The distribution of the Conventual Bailiffs was as follows :—

Provence : The Grand Commander.
Auvergne : The Marshal.
France : The Hospitaller.
Italy : The Admiral.
Spain[1] : The Drapier (later Grand Conservator).
England : The Turcopolier.
Germany : The Grand Bailiff.

As a result of these changes the provincial Grand Commanders ceased to exist, except for a short time longer in Spain, where circumstances were exceptional owing to the wars against the Moors.

The office of Conventual Bailiff was the highest and most dignified in the Order, after that of the Master, but it had this disadvantage, that it necessitated residing permanently in the Convent. Since, however, the appointments were made by seniority on the nomination of the Assembly of the Tongue concerned, it carried with it the compensating privilege of the right to the first vacant Capitular Bailiwick in that Tongue. The term Turcopolier, the office held by the Pillar of England, needs explanation. He was originally a Serjeant-at-Arms commanding the native horse-bowmen, called Turcoooles, in the pay of the Order. But when he was raised to the dignity of a Conventual Bailiff, the office was reserved exclusively for Knights. That the office of Turcopolier was selected for the Pillar of England was apparently due to the accident that at the Chapter-General of Montpellier the office happened to be held by an English Knight, Brother John Braybrook. At Rhodes,

[1] To counterbalance the French influence, Spain was divided into two Tongues in 1462, Aragon, with the Drapier as its Pillar, retaining its original precedence ; and the new Tongue of Castile and Portugal, with the Grand Chancellor as its Pillar.

and afterwards at Malta, the Turcopolier was commandant of the coastguard, and inspector of coast defences. The residence of the Turcopolier, the Auberge of England, still exists at Rhodes: it was purchased in 1919 by Colonel Vivian Gabriel, a Knight of Justice of the Order, and beautifully restored and equipped. Close by was the Chapel of the English Tongue, occupying the top floor of a massive square tower on the city wall, a little to the north of St. Catherine's Gate, and very fully described by Belabre.[1]

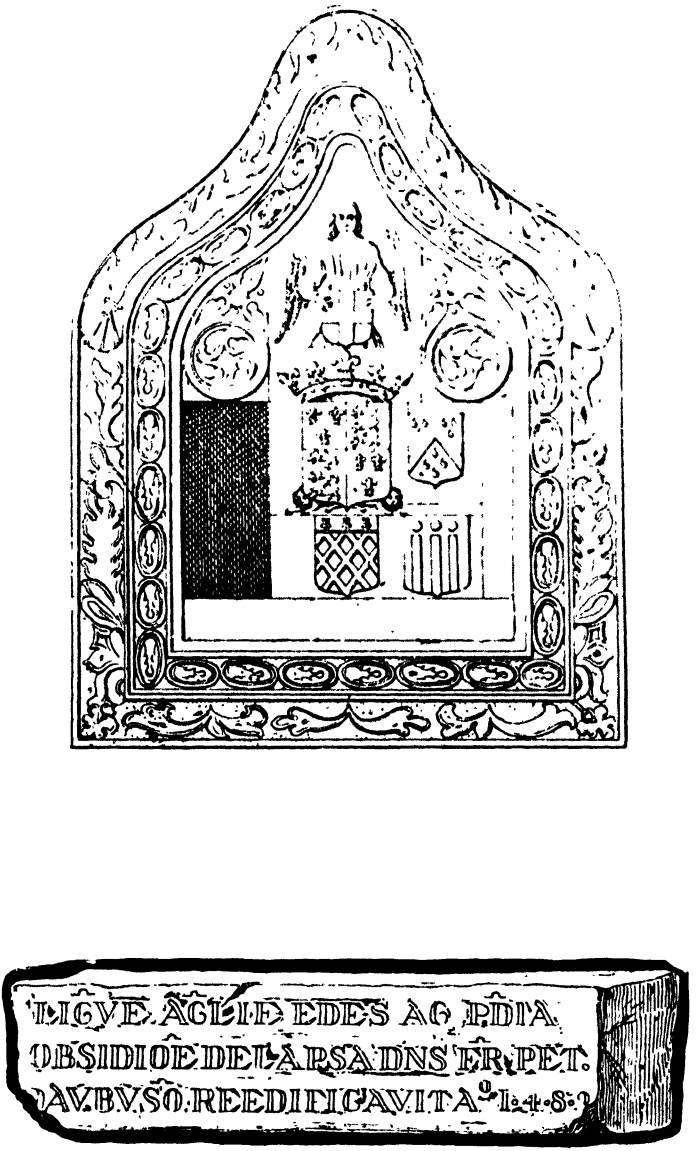
The number of English brethren in the Convent was never very large, and the establishment, which was governed entirely by financial considerations, was the smallest of all the Tongues, except that of Germany. In Cyprus in 1303 the establishment of military brethren was eighty, of whom only five were English. After the acquisition of the Templar estates, when the establishment of the Convent at Rhodes was raised to 200 military brethren, that of the Tongue of England was fixed at 28. Apparently, whilst the revenue of the other Tongues tended to increase, that of England must have remained stationary. For in 1466 the establishment of the Convent was raised to 350, in 1501 to 400, and in 1514 to 550, but the strength of the English contingent remained fixed at its original figure of 28. The Tongue seems to have had to rely almost entirely upon the Priory of England, the Scottish contingent was infinitesimal, and the Priory of Ireland was of no serious value to the Order, owing to the chaos and anarchy constantly prevailing in that unhappy island. In times of special emergency a General Citation was issued by the Master and Council, summoning all able-bodied brethren in the provinces to report for duty at the Convent.

Brother Philip Thame, who had been Prior of England since 1330, died in the year 1358, leaving behind him the reputation of having been the most capable administrator the Priory had ever possessed. He had obtained a final

[1] See *Rhodes of the Knights*, pp. 90, 92, 135.

THE AUBERGE OF ENGLAND AT RHODES

From a photograph at St. John's Gate



HERALDIC DESIGN ON THE AUBERGE OF ENGLAND

From Rottiers' "Description des Monumens de Rhodes, 1828"

settlement of the vexed question of the Templar estates, he had successfully carried through the re-organization of the Commanderies that it necessitated, and his report to the Master Elyon de Villeneuve, on the state of the Priory of England in 1338 is one of the most valuable historical documents we possess. His successor, Brother John Pavely, ruled for thirteen years, and is remembered by his association with Richard Whittington, the famous Lord Mayor of London. Whittington left his native county of Gloucestershire in 1368, to seek his fortune in London, where he arrived completely destitute. He applied for assistance at the Priory of Clerkenwell, where he was kindly received by Prior John Pavely, and being handy and willing was soon put into one of the minor posts of the Priory. It is not known how long he remained, but he was certainly indebted to the Order of St. John for his first support in London.[1] Prior John Pavely died in 1371, and was followed by Brother Robert Hales, who, for a brief space, was to play a prominent part on the stage of English history, and whose tragic end will ever be remembered in the Order, which he loved and served so well.

Robert Hales is first heard of as Commander of Slebeche and Sandford, and in 1358 is described as Bailiff of Egle and Commander of Beverley. He took part in that famous attack on Alexandria in 1365, when the Master Raymond Berenger, in alliance with King Peter I of Cyprus, 'the last of the Crusaders', carried the great city by escalade in spite of a stubborn and spirited defence. 'Never was a more furious and bloody attack known', we are told, and in it the Order of St. John lost over one hundred Knights.[2] Brother Robert Hales so distinguished himself that the Master conferred upon him a Commandery of Grace, and in 1371 he took up his residence at Clerkenwell as Prior of England.

At this time the rapid expansion of the military power of the Turks was a cause of the gravest uneasiness throughout

[1] See Robert Malcolm's *Curiosities of Biography*.
[2] Vertot, Book V, p. 269.

the East, and in 1375 the immense preparations of the Sultan Amurath I convinced the new Master, Robert de Juilly, that a serious attack would be made the following year, either upon Rhodes or upon Smyrna, then in the possession of the Order. His urgent representations to the Pope caused Gregory XI, in his capacity as first superior of the Order, to convene an assembly of the chief Commanders at Avignon in November—an assembly at which, no doubt, the Prior of England was present. In view of the magnitude and imminence of the danger, it was decided to send out a special reinforcement to Rhodes in the following March, to consist of 500 knights and 500 serving brothers. The Priors were to nominate the Knights they considered fit for active service, and each Knight was to select a Serving Brother to go with him. In December the Pope wrote a personal letter to Edward III requesting him to permit the Prior of England with thirty-eight Knights and thirty-eight Serving Brothers to proceed to the East for a campaign against the Turks.

But at this critical moment the Master Robert de Juilly, thought fit to raise a question of extreme delicacy, and one fraught with possibilities of the gravest friction. The King of England still claimed rights of suzerainty over Scotland, and since the 'Meeting of Norham' in 1291, when Brother Alexander Welles, Commander of Torphichen in Scotland, had taken an oath of fealty to the King, the Priors appear to have regarded the Scottish Commandery as one to which they had the right of nominating Commanders. To such a claim Scottish national feeling must necessarily have been antagonistic, and the Master, perhaps forgetting the neutrality of his high position, and remembering only that as a Frenchman he was opposed to any English claims upon Scotland, early in 1376 appointed a Scotsman to the Commandery which was then vacant. The Prior of England was furious at such an infringement upon what he evidently regarded as his rightful prerogative, and flatly declined to pay his Responsion, or annual contribution to the revenues of the Order. The situation was

rendered still more delicate by the attitude of the English Government, which appears to have regarded the Master's action as deliberately provocative, and at once placed a sequestration upon the whole of the revenues of the Order in England. The Master, alarmed at the result of his hasty and ill-considered action, could do nothing but appeal to the Pope for assistance. Gregory XI, himself a Frenchman, after considering the customs and precedents involved, gave his verdict in favour of the Master, and wrote to the Prior of England appealing to his loyalty, and hinting at the necessity he might be under of making use of his spiritual weapons. The Prior, now that his first anger was over, recalled to a sense of his duty, acted as mediator with the Government, and in due course the sequestration was removed. But the confidence of the Government in the Prior was shown by his appointment to be Admiral of the King's Western Fleet.

Shortly after, Brother Robert Hales left for the East with the English contingent of thirty-eight Knights and thirty-eight serving brothers. The Master Robert de Juilly, had died in the June of that year, and at Marseilles, in September, the Prior of England joined the force assembled there by the new Master, John d'Hérédia, who, accompanied by the Priors of St. Gilles and Rome, was about to proceed to Rhodes. But the decision of the Pope to transfer the seat of the Papacy from Avignon to Rome, and his desire to be escorted there by the Knights of St. John, necessitated a modification in the Master's plans. His squadron of nine galleys only reached Genoa on October 18th, after encountering a severe storm off the coast of Provence. Christmas was spent at Corneto, and then on January 17th, 1377, Gregory XI made his state entry into Rome, preceded by the Priors of England, St. Gilles, and Rome. The expedition was now free to continue its voyage to Rhodes, and the Master and the three Priors, after taking leave of the Pope, went on board their galleys at Ostia. Off the coast of Crete they encountered a Venetian fleet, about to attempt the recapture of Patras

from the Turks, and at the request of its admiral, the Master consented to join in the enterprise. Patras was carried by escalade, and the Master, in spite of his great age, was the first up the ladders, and slew the Turkish governor with his own hand, cutting off his head. For this reason he is often represented with a Turk's head in his right hand. But in an attempt on Corinth that followed he was taken prisoner. In vain the chivalrous Prior of England, the very model of Chaucer's 'verray parfit gentil knight', with his brothers of St. Gilles and Rome, at once offered themselves as hostages to the Turks for the ransom of their superior, if only they would release him. But the Master refused to allow the sacrifice to be made, saying that their Order could more easily spare an old man like himself than three young and vigorous knights, and so in sorrow and bitter disappointment they continued their voyage to Rhodes.

How long the Prior of England remained in Rhodes, it is now impossible to say, but the threatened Turkish attack fell elsewhere, and it soon became clear that all imminent danger had passed away for the present. It does not seem probable that he can still have been there for the Chapter-General of 1380, which deemed it necessary to lay down that 'the collations which the Master and Council should make of the Commanderies of Europe should be received with submission, notwithstanding the pretensions of some Priors, who had assumed to themselves a right of naming to those Commanderies that fell vacant within their Priories'.[1] It was no doubt the claim of the Prior of England to nominate to the Commandery of Torphichen in Scotland that had made the regulation necessary.

When the Prior returned to England from Rhodes he returned to a country seething with discontent, in which all the accumulated grievances of a generation were about to burst into flame. Political discontent at the mismanagement

[1] Vertot, Book V, p. 285.

and humiliation of the long-drawn-out French war, combined with the social discontent caused by a continual effort to force the labourer to work for a lower wage than the market-price, were about to result in open rebellion. In the autumn of 1380 Parliament chose this particular moment of all others to increase the revenue by a heavy Poll Tax, and at the New Year the Treasurer resigned in despair. It required a brave man and a sincere patriot with a strong sense of duty to accept such an office at such a moment, but the Prior Robert Hales, consented to fill the vacancy and face the rising storm. The people met the demands for the new tax by a form of passive resistance, almost every village rendering a ludicrously false return of the numbers liable to pay. The Prior retorted by sending down commissioners to check the returns with the actual population, and then the storm burst.

On the first days of June in 1381, the Essex men were up in arms under a Londoner named Thomas Farringdon, a personal enemy of the Prior, who according to Farringdon had wrongfully deprived him of certain tenements. On the 10th they burned the Commandery of Temple Cressing, which belonged to the Prior, and next day marched on London, where they camped on the 12th at Mile End. The Kentish men, rising a few days later, also marched on London, and by the 12th were camped on Blackheath under the notorious Wat Tyler, a disreputable old soldier of the French wars who, since his discharge, appears to have gained a precarious livelihood as a highwayman. Whilst the rebels were inspired by a vague general wish for the redress of all grievances, they had a very definite desire for the heads of the traitors, as they called the King's ministers, and more especially for the heads of Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as Chancellor, was head of the Ministry, and of Prior Robert Hales, who, as Treasurer, was considered responsible for the hated Poll Tax. To the unthinking mob the saintly Archbishop and chivalrous Prior seemed the very personification of all their troubles; the latter they had nicknamed Hobbe the

Robber, and with a fierce pleasantry they swore to shave their beards for them.

On the morning of Thursday, June 13th, John Ball, the mad priest of Kent, inflamed the already excited mob to the highest pitch of frenzy by an impassioned sermon on Christian communism, taking as his text his famous rhyme :—

> When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman ?

Early that afternoon they burst into the city, the Kentish men over London Bridge, and the Essex men by Aldgate. The first desire of the mob was for food and drink, and then murder and arson quickly became the order of the day. By four o'clock a great horde was pouring down the Strand to destroy the Duke of Lancaster's beautiful palace of ' The Savoy ', which speedily went up in flames, its destruction being completed by the explosion of three barrels of gunpowder. On their return they sacked and burnt the Temple, doubly hateful to them as a possession of their arch-enemy, the Prior, and the home of the lawyers, whom they regarded as the oppressors of the people : ' It was marvellous to see how even the most aged and infirm of them scrambled off with the agility of rats and evil spirits '. It was dark by the time the rebels had finished their work of destruction at the Temple. But in spite of that, with Thomas Farringdon riding at their head, and shouting imprecations against the Prior, they moved off to attack the Priory of St. John at Clerkenwell. Breaking in the great entrance gates, they swarmed into the quadrangle, and began systematically plundering the buildings. In the church they found seven unhappy Flemings clinging to the high altar for sanctuary, but the mob, inspired with a fierce hatred for all foreigners, dragged them outside and butchered them. Then, having finished their work, they set fire to the church, hospital, mansion and all, and the great Priory, headquarters of the Order of St. John in England, went up to heaven in flames. That night a great

THE BURNING OF THE PRIORY BY WAT TYLER

From Harrison's "History of London," 1786

Facing p. 58

In the Convent

On Active Service

DRESS OF THE HOSPITALLERS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

From paintings by Pinturicchio in Siena Cathedral

mob camped on Tower Hill and St. Catherine's Wharf, clamouring for the blood of Hobbe the Robber and the Traitor Sudbury.

Next morning at 7 o'clock the Boy King rode off to Mile End to meet Wat Tyler and the rebels, in accordance with an agreement made during the night. It was hoped that this move would cause those who were watching the Tower to withdraw, and so give an opportunity to the Archbishop and the Prior to escape. But the implacable Thomas Farringdon had no intention of letting his enemy slip through his fingers in that way, and remained behind watching with a strong body of men. The Archbishop attempted to slip out by the little Water-Gate, and escape by boat, but a woman who was watching raised the alarm and he returned.

Then Wat Tyler, after his interview with the King at Mile End, leaving the main body of his followers there, hurried back to the Tower and rejoined Farringdon. The two leaders at the head of a strong detachment of rebels burst into the fortress, meeting with no resistance from the garrison, and their men scattered in all directions, hunting for their victims. The two doomed ministers, realizing for some time that their end was not far distant, had withdrawn to the Chapel to prepare themselves to meet their Maker. First the Archbishop heard the confession of the Prior and granted him absolution, then the two partook of Holy Communion together. They heard two or three masses, then the Archbishop chanted the 'Commendacione', and the 'Placebo', and the 'Dirige', and the seven penitential psalms, and last of all the Litany, and as he reached the words 'Omnes sancti, orate pro nobis', the howling mob burst into the Chapel. Mercifully their end was not long delayed. Cruelly buffetted and spat upon, cursed and reviled by the screaming rabble, they met their end on Tower Hill with the calm dignity befitting their high rank. The gentle and kindly Archbishop of Canterbury was the first to suffer on the rough log that served as a block, the clumsy headsman,

a half-witted rascal, John Starling by name, taking eight blows of his axe to sever the head from the body.[1] Then came the turn of that gallant soldier and chivalrous Knight, the Prior Robert Hales. The chronicler Walsingham summed up his character and his fate in the words, 'a magnanimous Knight, though the commons loved him not'. But what can be said of the 400 Knights and gentlemen, men-at-arms and archers, forming the garrison of the Tower, who made no resistance to the entry of a half-armed mob, and never drew sword or bow to prevent the atrocity that followed? Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that the King's mother, the Princess of Wales, was in their charge, and that for that reason they feared to provoke the rabble. They are best left to the judgement of their own age, and the writers of that time unite in pouring upon them bitter scorn and contempt; happily such incidents were rare in the age of chivalry.

Placing the heads of the Archbishop and the Prior upon pikes, the former with his mitre nailed to his brows, the 'Commons of England', as they insolently styled themselves, paraded their ghastly trophies in triumph through the city. They even carried them as far as Westminster Abbey, to show the horrified monks how they had 'shaved the beards' of Sudbury the Traitor and Hobbe the Robber. Then returning to London Bridge, they placed the heads over the gateway that all who passed by might see them. In the bitterness of their hatred for the dead Prior they even sent out a detachment to Highbury under a ruffian named Jack Straw, who burnt his manor house there to the ground.

But Wat Tyler's 'hurling time', as the people afterwards called the reign of terror he established, was not to be of long duration, and vengeance was near at hand. The following morning, Saturday, June 15th, that redoubtable leader

[1] The Archbishop died like a martyr, and doubtless he would have been canonized, but his gentle nature had revolted at the idea of persecuting the heretic Lollards, for which he was never forgiven by the fierce bigots of the day.

was cut down in Smithfield by the Lord Mayor, William Walworth, and the young King, Richard II, filled with the inspired confidence of youth, placing himself at the head of his distracted followers, led them out to St. John's Fields, where the ruins of the Priory were still smouldering, and there they were dispersed later in the day by Sir Robert Knolles with a detachment of men-at-arms and a strong force of armed citizens. Of the leaders, Jack Straw and John Starling were executed the following day; John Ball, the priest, escaped for the moment, but was caught a month later, and executed on July 15th. Thomas Farringdon, the Prior's enemy, for what reason we do not know, was merely imprisoned in Devizes Castle for eight months, and then pardoned.

APPENDIX

List of Grand Priories

The Tongue of Provence
St. Gilles (Provence)
Toulouse

The Tongue of Auvergne
Auvergne

The Tongue of France
France
Aquitaine
Champagne

The Tongue of Italy
Rome
Lombardy
Venice
Pisa
Barletta
Messina
Capua

The Tongue of Aragon
Amposta (Aragon)
Navarre
Catalonia

The Tongue of England
England
Ireland

The Tongue of Germany
Heitersheim (Germany)
Bohemia, including Poland
Hungary
Dacia (Denmark)
Brandenburg (Bailiwick)

The Tongue of Castile
Castile and Leon
Crato (Portugal)

Note.—The Bailiwick of Brandenburg was a Grand Priory in all but name, administering thirteen commanderies, and so was the Grand Commandery of Cyprus, administering seven Commanderies, but the latter was held in common by all the Tongues.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE murdered Prior was succeeded by Brother John Redington, Commander of Ribstone, who was granted the privilege by the Master of also holding Egle as the fifth Commandery of his appanage. He resigned the Commandery of Egle in 1386, which was then conferred upon Brother Brian de Grey, the Turcopolier, and it was presumably only after his death three years later that it was raised to the dignity of a Capitular Bailiwick, carrying with it the Grand Cross and a seat on the Chapter-General of the Order. In 1385 the new Prior was appointed Admiral of the King's Western Fleet, an appointment which had also been held by his predecessor Prior Robert Hales. Upon Brother John Redington fell the task of rebuilding the ruined Priory, and it was perhaps to meet the heavy expenditure entailed that he was permitted to hold Egle for over four years, one of the richest Commanderies in England. In rebuilding the Church, the old round nave was replaced by one of the usual rectangular form, ninety feet in length, with the great Bell Tower at its north-west corner. That the work of restoration was practically completed by Prior Redington before his death in 1399 is proved by the fact that King Henry IV took up his residence there for two weeks just before his coronation.

Redington's successor, Brother Walter Grendon, Commander of Halston, not only had the honour of entertaining the new King, but in the following year the restored Priory was selected as the residence of the Emperor Manuel II during his visit to the English Court. On the advice of

Marshal de Boucicault, the Emperor was making a prolonged tour of the Courts of Western Europe, in the hope of making them realize the importance of supporting his crumbling Empire, which had so long been the bulwark of Christianity against the advancing hordes of Islam. From Paris he had proceeded to Dover, and, after being entertained by the monks of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, was met on Blackheath with great magnificence by Henry IV and the English Court. Together the two monarchs passed through London, and December 21st, 1400, must have been a day long remembered by the Knights of St. John, when the Emperor of the East and the King of England rode in state through the great gateway of their Priory. It was doubly suitable as a residence for the Emperor, since most of the brethren must have served in the East and have been acquainted with the Greek language and customs. They would certainly be less astonished and scandalized than the doctors of the Sorbonne by the language, rites, and vestments of the Greek clergy.[1] In fact, it was rather the Greeks who were scandalized by the customs of the English, if we are to judge by the accounts of the historian Chalcocondyles.

The rule of John Redington and Walter Grendon coincides with that painful period in the history of the Order when the Knights of Rhodes were divided against themselves. The Great Schism which split the Church in 1378 equally divided the Order of St. John. And whilst the Tongues of Italy and England accepted the Italian Pope, the remainder of the Order, including the Convent at Rhodes, regarded the anti-Pope at Avignon as alone legitimate. Even the Tongue of England was divided, for the Priors of Scotland declined to acknowledge the Italian pontiff. Matters came to a head in 1383, when Urban VI solemnly deposed the Master John d'Hérédia and appointed in his place Brother Richard Caracciolo, Prior of Capua. The Convent of Rhodes ignored the Pope's action and continued its

[1] Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Chapter LXVI.

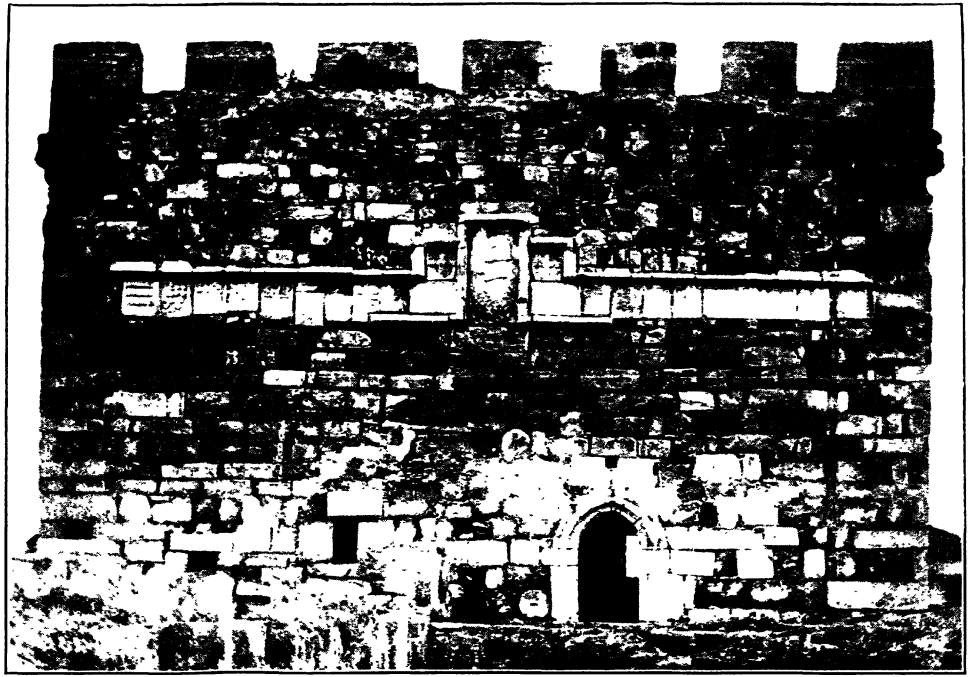
allegiance to Hérédia, but the situation was destructive of all discipline. With two rival Masters claiming the revenues of the Order, the more worldly-minded Priors and Commanders simply ceased to pay their Responsions, and spent them on their own pleasures. In 1395 Caracciolo died, and Boniface IX refrained from appointing a new Master, nominating a relative of his, Brother Boniface de Caramandra, to be Lieutenant-Master, and after his decease, Brother Peter Carafa, Prior of Rome, thus preserving the fiction that the office of Master was vacant. The following year Hérédia died, and the Convent elected in his place Brother Philibert de Naillac, Prior of Aquitaine.

In 1409 it seemed for the moment as if the Council of Pisa had ended the schism, and the new Pope Alexander V issued a bull declaring Philibert de Naillac to be the only legitimate Master, and ordering all the brethren of the Order to render him obedience on pain of excommunication. To deal with the abuses that had grown up as a result of the schism, a Chapter-General was summoned to meet at Aix in Provence to consist of the Priors and four senior Commanders of each Priory. At this Chapter it was considered necessary to pass a definite statute forbidding the Priors to deprive the Commanders of *their seignorial* rights over Commanderies, from which it is evident that the breakdown in discipline had resulted in an abuse of their powers by those dignitaries. Another result of the schism was that Priors and Provincial Chapters had resumed the right of electing to Commanderies, which in the past had meant ignoring the claims of seniority, and substituting gross favouritism under the guise of selection. That the Prior of England was not present at this Chapter-General is more than probable, since the Master was himself on a mission to England at that time. The Pope had placed him at the head of a special embassy to the French and English Kings, in the hope of negotiating a firm peace between those two monarchs, and on March 8th, 1410, Henry IV granted a safe conduct for him and a suite

of one hundred persons with their horses, goods, and harness.[1]

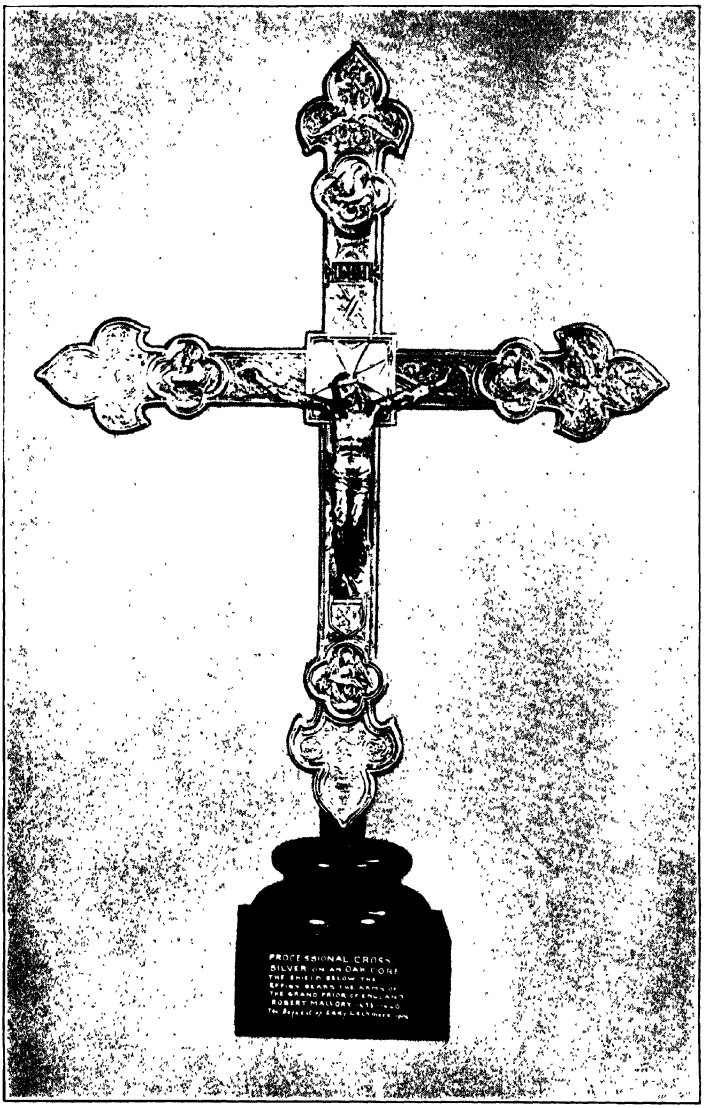
Philibert de Naillac was one of the only four Masters to visit the Priory at Clerkenwell, and a memorial of his visit exists to the present day in the English Tower of the castle of Budrum on the coast of Asia Minor. In 1402 the Hospitallers had been driven out of Smyrna by the famous Tartar conqueror, Tamerlane, a town which Pope Gregory XI had transferred to them in 1374. In compensation for its loss, Philibert de Naillac two years later seized a Turkish castle on the mainland opposite the island of Cos, and occupying the site of the ancient city of Halicarnassus. Here the Hospitallers constructed their great fortress of St. Peter, the name of which has now been corrupted to Budrum. It soon became their most important possession outside the island of Rhodes, since in conjunction with the castle of Landimachio, on the opposite island of Cos, twelve miles away, it commanded the channel between the islands and Asia Minor, the usual route followed by the shipping of that day. Budrum was converted by the Hospitallers into the most powerful fortress in the East, but its construction had only been rendered possible by generous financial assistance from nearly every country in Europe. The appeal of the Hospitallers for help was warmly supported by the Pope, and they were given authority to sell a certain number of Indulgencies to those contributing to the fund, and a copy of the Indulgence granted to Sir William Fitz Hugh and Dame Margery his wife in 1414 is in the Museum of the Order at St. John's Gate. As a result of the visit of the Master, Philibert de Naillac, large sums of money were raised in England, with which the tower at the south-east angle, known as the English Tower, was constructed. In memory of its origin there were set up over the entrance door on the north side, in one long line, the coats of arms of the chief contributors, twenty-six in number, of which six were members of the

[1] Taaffe, Vol. II, p. 334.



THE ENGLISH TOWER AT BUDRUM

From a photograph at St. John's Gate



PROCESSIONAL CROSS OF THE GRAND PRIOR THOMAS MALLORY, 1433

In the Museum at St. John's Gate

royal family, and fourteen were Knights of the Garter; in the centre are the arms of King Henry IV.[1] The tower is one of the most interesting English historical monuments outside our native land. It was unfortunately badly damaged during the Great War, and is in danger of collapse. At one time the British Order of St. John was meditating its restoration, but the work was found to be too costly.

Meanwhile, the only result of the Council of Pisa had been to aggravate the Great Schism, by replacing two rival Popes by three, and it was not until the Council of Constance in 1417 that it was ended by the election of Pope Martin V. To restore discipline in the Order after forty years of chaos was no easy task, especially in the Tongue of Italy, and required all the diplomatic skill of the Master. The famous Chapter-General of re-union was held at Rhodes in 1421, and there the Great Schism which had so long divided the Order, as it had divided the Church, was finally healed. There the Priors and Bailiffs who had been under different obediences made a solemn recognition of the Master Philibert de Naillac, as their only head and superior, and all embraced each other with joy to see their Order once more united.[2] We are particularly told that the Priors and Bailiffs of the Tongue of England were present, and their names are fortunately still preserved: they were Brother Thomas Skipwith, Turcopolier and

[1] Among the shields are those of Henry of Monmouth, the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford, York, and Gloucester, and from left to right the families of Grey, Lord Zouche, de la Pole impaling Wingfield, Neville, Percy, Holland, Beauchamp, Burleigh, Lord Strange of Knockyn, FitzAlan Earl of Arundel, Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Lord Stafford, De Vere Earl of Oxford, Courtenay Earl of Devon, FitzHugh, Cresson, Woolfe and Fairfax. See King, *The Pilgrimage of 1926*, pp. 100, 103, and an article in *First Aid*, March, 1925, also *Report of Chapter-General*, 1922, pp. 26, 27.

[2] During the great schism the Tongue of England, accepting the legitimate line of Popes, rendered nominal allegiance to the following Master and Lieutenant-Masters: Richard Caracciolo, Prior of Capua, 1383–95; Bartholomew Carafa, 1395; Boniface de Caramandra, 1395–1400; Peter Carafa, Prior of Rome, 1400–5; Nicholas Orsini, Prior of Venice, 1405–9. After the Council of Pisa in 1409, the Master Philibert de Naillac was acknowledged.

Grand Commander of Cyprus; William Hulles, Prior of England; Richard Paule, Prior of Ireland; and Henry Crownhall, Bailiff of Egle. With the re-union of his beloved Order, it seemed as if the life-work of this great and good Master was finished. Scarcely had he received the papal brief confirming the proceedings of the Chapter-General than he was taken seriously ill, and in the words of the French historian, 'ended his days with a tranquillity that may be considered as a presage of the felicity which heaven designed for him'.[1]

For twelve years after the termination of the Great Schism, Brother William Hulles continued to direct the fortunes of the Priory of England, and on his death in 1433 was succeeded by Brother Robert Mallory, Commander of Greenham Balsall and Grafton. The new Prior appears to have celebrated his promotion by the dedication of a chapel to Saints Catherine, Margaret, and Ursula in the Priory Church, and the gift of that beautiful silver processional cross which is still used by the Order of St. John to the present day.[2] But his short period of rule was not destined to be one of repose. Bars Bey, the energetic Sultan of Egypt, finding the Knights of Rhodes the chief obstacle to his conquest of Cyprus, made peace with that country, in order to be free to devote all the resources of his kingdom to crushing the Order of St. John. So grave did the situation appear that in 1435 the Master Anthony Fluvian, who was the first to style himself formally Grand Master,[3] considered it necessary to issue a General Citation, fixing the contingent to be sent out to the East from each Priory at twenty-five knights. A General Citation was practically a mobilization of all the brethren of the Order, and at the

[1] Vertot, Book VI, p. 322.

[2] The very existence of this cross had long been forgotten, until Sir Edmund Lechmere, Chancellor of the Order, found it on the Continent and bequeathed it to the Order in 1894.

[3] Boisgelin, on the authority of Antonio Paoli, states that John de Lastic was the first to be styled formally Grand Master. This is certainly an error, for Anthony Fluvian so styles himself on his coinage.

rate of twenty-five to each Priory would produce a reinforcement of about 500 knights. Prior Robert Mallory went out to Rhodes in person at the head of his contingent, but the extensive preparations of the Master caused the Sultan to reconsider his plans, and the danger from Egypt was postponed for a few years longer.

Robert Mallory died in 1440, and was succeeded by Brother Robert Botyll, Commander of Melchbourne Anstey and Trebigh, who was to rule over the Order in England for nearly as long a period as Brother Philip Thame, and from about this time we find the Priors beginning to be described as Grand Priors. In the early days of his rule the chief concern of the Priory at Clerkenwell was the imminent danger that once more threatened the Order in the East. Bars Bey, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, had been succeeded by one of his former ministers, Jakmak, who was determined to carry out the plans of his predecessor and in 1440 sent a strong squadron of eighteen galleys to ravage the islands of the Religion.[1] They were repulsed with heavy losses in a succession of engagements at sea, and the Sultan, furious at the humiliation, began serious preparations for a Siege of Rhodes. John de Lastic, the Grand Master, in 1441 issued a General Citation to meet the danger, and once more the Knights of England flocked out to the East to fight for the Catholic Faith and the honour of their Order.

There was heavy fighting at sea in 1442, and then in 1444 a great Egyptian armada, too powerful for the galleys of the Religion, landed a force of 18,000 Mamelukes. The island of Rhodes was ravaged from end to end, and at last the siege of the city began, a siege which lasted forty days, but of which history unfortunately records few details.[2] The Egyptian camp was pitched near St. Anthony's Church, and their batteries concentrated their

[1] The Order of St. John was frequently spoken of simply as 'the Religion', in such phrases as 'the galleys of the Religion', 'the banner of the Religion', 'the ambassador of the Religion', etc., etc.

[2] See De Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 28.

fire on the outlying fort covering the entrance to the Harbour of the Galleys, where the Castle of St. Nicholas was afterwards built, and of the curtain wall linking the Harbour to St. Peter's Tower. By the middle of August the curtain wall began to show a serious breach, and the Grand Master John de Lastic, decided to take the offensive and to make a sortie in force with all the troops at his disposal. On August 24th, in the darkness of early morning, the garrison silently filed out of the fortress and formed up in front of the ditch, light troops in front, supported by a stand of pikes and the archers on the flanks. As soon as daylight began to appear the drums and trumpets sounded the charge, and the Egyptian camp was successfully rushed. A great number of the Mamelukes were killed, and the remainder, taken completely by surprise, fled in panic to their galleys and hastily embarked, abandoning guns, stores and baggage to the victorious garrison. In this glorious victory many English Knights must have played their part, but the name of one only is known to us for certain, that of their commander, Brother Hugh Middleton, the Turcopolier and Pillar of England. Four years after the Siege he wrote a long letter of instructions to his agent in England, which is now in the Library of King's College, Cambridge, and he died in 1449.[1]

Whether the Grand Prior of England was at the Siege of Rhodes is not definitely recorded, but the great esteem in which he was held by John de Lastic is proved by the fact that at the Chapter-General held at Rome in 1446, he was one of the commission of three appointed by the Grand Master to exercise his powers in his absence. That he was held in equal esteem in his own country is also evident, since he was among the most trusted advisers of King Henry VI. When that unfortunate monarch showed signs of recovery from the state of imbecility into which he had fallen in 1453, it was the Grand Prior and the

[1] This Letter of Hugh Middleton with an Introduction, Modernized Version, and Notes by Colonel E. J. King was printed in pamphlet form by the Order of St. John in 1930, for private circulation.

Bishop of Winchester who were first admitted to audience with him on January 7th in the following year, and we are told that he spoke to them as well as he had ever done. The Grand Prior and the Bishop were deeply affected by their interview with the gentle and saintly King, and as they came out from the audience chamber they wept tears of joy, and related how the King had told them that he was in charity with all the world, and only wished that the great Lords were the same. When the Yorkists occupied London in 1460, the Grand Prior joined their forces, and marched with them to the Battle of Northampton, in which the King was taken prisoner. Whether his conduct is only another example of that ingratitude and faithlessness which stained the reputation of so many of the great men of that age, is difficult to say. Possibly he had hoped in some way to be able to assist that most unhappy King, over whose restoration to health he had wept tears of joy only six years before. Robert Botyll died in the year 1467,[1] and there are still three memorials of him in existence. In the Priory Church at Clerkenwell there is a window containing a small stained glass shield of his arms, bearing the arms of the Order in chief,[2] and in a window of the Chapter House of Exeter Cathedral there is another small shield with his arms impaling those of the Order. The latter was, perhaps, erected when he was Commander of Trebigh, in Cornwall. There is also a window bearing his arms in Islington Parish Church.

Few Knights have had a more distinguished career in the Order of St. John than Brother John Langstrother, Bailiff of Egle and Grand Commander of Cyprus, who succeeded Robert Botyll as Grand Prior of England. Born in 1416, he was the son of Thomas Langstrother, of Crosthwaite. His elder brother, William Langstrother, was also a Knight of the Order, and when John Langstrother

[1] The death of Prior Robert Botyll is generally given as 1469, but apparently it took place in September, 1467. See Ramsay, *Lancaster and Yorks*, Vol. II, p. 333.

[2] This window bears the erroneous inscription 'Resign: 1469', and was evidently erected some considerable time after his death.

was appointed Bailiff of Egle, in 1464, it was in succession to his brother, who had held the Bailiwick for over twenty years. In 1448 we find John Langstrother Commander of Dalby, and acting as Lieutenant-Turcopolier, and he seems to have spent the greater part of his career in the East. He was Castellan of Rhodes in 1453, when he was sent on a special mission to England as Receiver-General. High in the favour of the Grand Master Orsini, whose election he had largely influenced, he was appointed by him Seneschal and Grand Commander of Cyprus, the richest and most desirable of all the Bailiwicks of the Order. It is more than probable that had it not been for the tragic fate which was so soon to befall him in England, he might have crowned his career on the death of Orsini by being the only English Grand Master of Rhodes.

No sooner was their Grand Prior dead in September, 1467, than the Knights of Rhodes residing in England presented to the King the name of John Langstrother as his successor. But Edward IV well knew the loyal devotion of Langstrother to his predecessor Henry VI, whom he now held a prisoner in the Tower, and flatly declined to consider the appointment. He even went further, and, ignoring all the customs and rules of the Order, made the preposterous suggestion that the Knights should accept as their Grand Prior one of the Queen's family, young Richard Woodville, then only a boy and not even a member of their Order. The Knights could only point out that the election was in the hands of the Grand Master and Council, who were never likely to consider such a suggestion. For two years the office of Grand Prior remained vacant, but by 1469 Langstrother had arrived in England from the East, and when in the summer of that year the Earl of Warwick, commonly called the king-maker, had secured control of the government by armed force, he found himself appointed Treasurer, an ill-omened post for a Knight of St. John, which had cost Prior Robert Hales his head not a hundred years before. When three months later Edward IV was able once more to assert

THE EXECUTION OF THE GRAND PRIOR JOHN LANGSTROTHER IN 1471

From a contemporary MS. in the University Library, Ghent

Facing p. 72

WINGS OF THE TRIPTYCH
PRESENTED BY THE GRAND PRIOR JOHN WESTON, 1476
In the Priory Church at Clerkenwell

himself, he declined to permit Langstrother to continue in office as Treasurer, but did consent to accept him as Grand Prior of England.

In the spring of 1470 the Earl of Warwick was forced to quit the country, but returned in the autumn, and Edward IV himself fled to the Continent. The party of Henry VI was now definitely in the ascendant, and that unfortunate monarch was withdrawn from the Tower, in which he had been a prisoner for over five years, and restored to his throne. Amongst his new ministers was the gallant and chivalrous Grand Prior, who had never wavered in his loyalty to the gentle and pious King, and was now re-appointed Treasurer. But in the following spring Edward IV returned, seized London, and defeated and slew the Earl of Warwick at the Battle of Barnet. The Grand Prior meanwhile had left for the West of England to receive Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales, who were about to return from their long exile in France, and landed at Weymouth on April 14th, the very day that the Battle of Barnet was fought. At the fatal field of Tewkesbury on May 4th, 1471, the Grand Prior commanded the centre of Queen Margaret's army, sharing the command with the young Prince of Wales and Lord Wenlock. The Queen's forces suffered a crushing defeat, the Prince of Wales was taken prisoner and brutally murdered in the very presence of Edward IV, and the Grand Prior and other leaders took sanctuary in Tewkesbury Abbey, where they were seized by the victors. They were beheaded two days later on May 6th. So perished John Langstrother, one of the noblest of the Grand Priors of England, who in an age of universal corruption had kept his honour unsullied and died at last in the service of that King whom after generations regarded as almost a saint. His body was not dismembered, and was afterwards reverently buried in the Priory Church at Clerkenwell.[1]

[1] A headless skeleton, believed to be that of Langstrother, was found during some excavations in the crypt of the Priory Church not many years ago. See Fincham, pp. 64, 66.

Of Langstrother's successor, Brother William Tornay, Bailiff of Egle, and at one time Receiver-General in England, there is little to record, and in 1476 he was succeeded by the Turcopolier, Brother John Weston. The new Grand Prior had been Captain of the Galleys[1] at the time when the Religion was supporting the claims of Charlotte de Lusignan to be Queen of Cyprus, and the Venetians were supporting her rival, Catherine Cornaro. The manner in which he avoided difficulties, whilst continuing to co-operate with the Venetians against the Turks, was highly praised by the Grand Master and Council. His period of rule as Grand Prior was rendered famous by the Grand Master D'Aubusson's brilliant defence of Rhodes against the Turks, but in English history it is chiefly remembered by that curious assembly held in the great hall of the Priory a little before Easter in 1485. There King Richard III had summoned the great Lords of the realm, and the Lord Mayor and the citizens of London, to hear him solemnly and publicly deny the scandalous and not unfounded rumour that he intended to marry the Princess Elizabeth, his own brother's daughter.

John Weston presented to the Priory Church a very beautiful triptych, which was placed over the high altar, where the two side-panels still hang, but the central portion has unfortunately long since disappeared. They are paintings of religious subjects after the Flemish School, by a follower of Roger Van der Weyden.[2] The Grand Prior died in 1489, and was succeeded by the Turcopolier, Brother John Kendal, who had commanded the English

[1] After 1552 the Captain of the Galleys was termed the General of the Galleys, and the commander of each galley, previously termed the Patron, was given the title of Captain, their lieutenants being styled Patrons. See Boyssat, I. 421.

[2] This triptych was doubtless removed when the Church was dismantled in 1540 on the suppression of the Order by King Henry VIII, but its fate is wrapped in obscurity. The two side-panels were long preserved at Milton Abbey in Dorsetshire, and when the owner sold its contents in 1932, the opportunity was presented to the Order of recovering possession of one of its long-lost treasures.

Knights in the Siege of Rhodes. He is the first of the Grand Priors whose appearance is known to us, since he had a portrait medal struck commemorating the famous Siege; this can be seen in the British Museum, and in the Museum at St. John's Gate. At his death in 1501 he was succeeded by the Turcopolier, Brother Thomas Docwra, the best known of all the Grand Priors of England, under whose rule was to begin that stormy period which culminated in the downfall of the Order in this country.

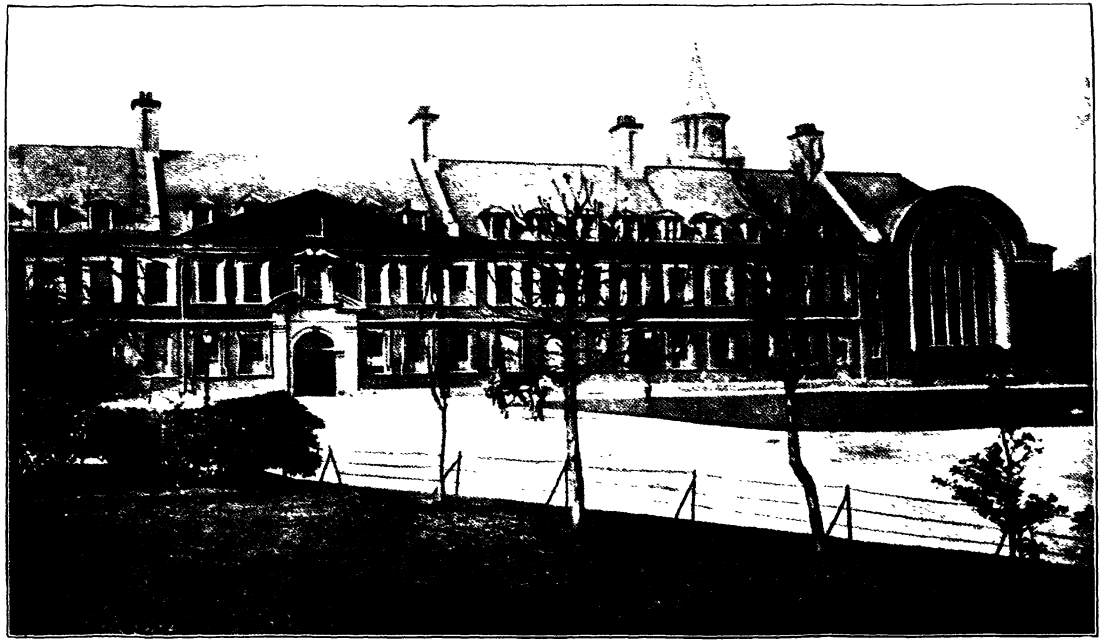
CHAPTER VII

THE ENGLISH COMMANDERS AND BAILIFFS

THE brethren of the Order of St. John were a military and religious fraternity who had taken the vows and made their profession in the Order for life 'in the service of the poor and the defence of the Catholic Faith, to keep the three things with the aid of God, which they have promised to God: that is to say, chastity and obedience, and to live without property of their own'. Like other Religious, they made their life's career in their Order, and after long and good service in the Convent they expected to find their reward in the administration of a Commandery in their native land. The term 'Commandery' in the words of the Statutes 'comprehended the Priories, Castellany of Amposta, Bailiwicks, demesnes, members, houses, lands and estates of all sorts belonging to the Order'.[1] Whilst Boisgelin defines the word 'Members' for us as estates 'which were not originally thought sufficiently considerable to be made Commanderies'.[2] In other words the estates and properties of the Order were grouped together into administrative units, each in charge of an official known as the Commander, or, in Latin, Preceptor, and his residence was known as the Commandery, and gave its name to the administrative unit. These Commanderies were grouped in provinces each in charge of a Capitular Bailiff, generally termed the Grand

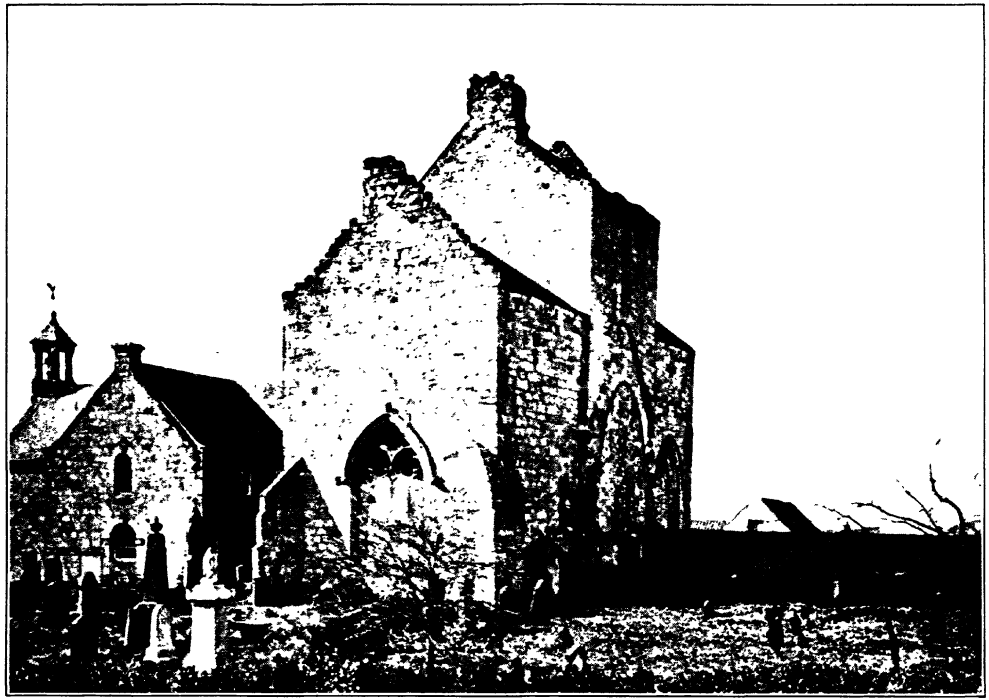
[1] Statutes XIX, 15.

[2] *Ancient and Modern Malta*, Appendix XXII, p. 301.



PRIORY OF KILMAINHAM IN IRELAND

From a photograph at St. John's Gate



COMMANDERY OF TORPHICHEN IN SCOTLAND

Prior, but in a few exceptional cases known by other titles, such as Castellan Bailiff or Grand Commander.[1]

A Commandery was not only the residence of a Commander, but was also a little community of brethren leading a conventual life. We know that in the middle of the fourteenth century in England the Commanderies contained on the average three professed brethren, with a large number of Serving Brothers of Office, and that as late as the fifteenth century they were required to receive novices into residence.[2] But gradually this conventual life in the Commanderies grew less rigid, and by the sixteenth century and perhaps earlier we find the Commanders leading a life very similar to that of the country gentlemen around them, with the exception that marriage was forbidden to them. They were of course, however, always liable in times of emergency to be called up to the Convent for military duty. In great Commanderies such as the Priories of Clerkenwell in England, and Kilmainham in Ireland, where large administrative staffs were necessarily kept, the conventual life was doubtless maintained down to the dissolution of the monasteries.

At first the Commanders were supposed to send the whole of their revenue to the Convent after deducting what was absolutely necessary for the support of the community. But this led to abuses of an obvious nature, and at the Chapter-General of Cæsarea in 1262, it was laid down that Commanders should pay to the Convent a fixed proportion of their revenue known as ' Responsions ', and generally calculated at one-third of their net receipts. But Responsions were always liable to be increased by the Chapter-General in times of emergency. Besides these

[1] For example, the Castellan of Amposta, the Bailiff of Brandenburg, the Grand Commander of Cyprus.

[2] See the case of the Commander of Cagnac in the Priory of Toulouse, who during the Mastership of Anthony Fluvian refused to receive a young Knight assigned to him, and sent him on to the Commander of St. Sulpice. The Grand Master threatened to deprive the Commander of his habit and Commandery unless he maintained and provided for the Knight assigned to him.

annual payments, on the death of a Commander the whole of the net revenue of his Commandery from the day of his death until May 1st, following, went to the Treasury of the Order, under the name of the 'Mortuary', and the whole of the revenue of the following year also went to the Treasury under the name of the 'Vacancy'. All the personal effects of deceased brethren, known as 'Spoils', also went to the Treasury, except one-fifth, which the brethren were permitted to leave by will.

Until 1354 appointments to Commanderies were in the hands of the Grand Priors and the Provincial Chapters, but this resulted in gross abuses, and at the Chapter-General held in that year the power to make such appointments was transferred to the Grand Master in Council, with due consideration for the rank, age, and services of the brethren. Nominations were made in the Convent by the Assembly of the Tongue and confirmed by the Council, and in practice all appointments were strictly according to seniority. But there were two exceptions to this rule: the Grand Master had the right to nominate to a Commandery in each Priory once in every five years, and the Grand Prior had the same right in his own Priory, but in lieu of this right a fifth Commandery might be added to his appanage, which in England was Melchbourne in Bedfordshire. Such appointments, since they were made regardless of the customary rules, were said to be obtained 'of Grace', whilst those made by seniority according to custom were said to be obtained 'of Cabishment'.[1] There was also in every Priory what was called the Magisterial Commandery, the property of the Grand Master, to which he could appoint a Commander or not as he thought fit. In England, Peckham in Kent was the Magisterial Commandery, and in Ireland, Kilsaran. Occasionally the Pope as first superior of the Order made use of his prerogative to appoint to vacant Commanderies, but such action was

[1] Cabishment is a corruption of the old French 'chevissement', the undertaking an enterprise one hopes to go through with. Statutes XIX 22.

always deeply resented and was the cause of serious friction.

A novice might enter the Order of St. John on reaching sixteen years of age, and was enrolled in the Grand Priory in which he was born, but he was not sent out to the Convent until he had attained 20 years of age. On admission he was required to pay certain dues known as 'Passages', amounting in the sixteenth century to £100, a very large sum of money at that period. Originally these dues had represented only the cost of the passage to the East, hence their name.

To be eligible for appointment to a Commandery, a brother, whether knight, chaplain, or serving brother-at-arms, must have resided five years in the Convent, during which period he must have performed three complete 'caravans', as service on board the galleys was called, each caravan consisting of a full year of such service. But Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen could be appointed only to Commanderies situated in their respective countries. A Commander after five years' service as such, provided that he was certified to have effected improvements on the property in his charge, was eligible for translation to a richer Commandery, which on appointment he was said to have obtained 'of Meliorment'.[1] After fifteen years' service in the Order, of which ten full years must have been spent in the Convent, a Knight, but only a Knight, was eligible for promotion to Bailiff, a dignity which carried with it the Grand Cross and a seat upon the Chapter-General.

The terms 'Bailiff' and 'Bailiwick' were originally used in the Order of St. John of all its officials, great and small, but eventually they became restricted to those high offices which carried with them a seat upon the Chapter-General, and the terms 'Bailiff' and 'Grand Cross' became synonymous. The nature of the dignity is clearly defined in the Statutes as follows: 'under the name of Bailiff are

[1] Meliorment, having effected improvements in the Commanderies previously held. See Mifsud, p. 153.

comprehended the Conventual Bailiffs, the Capitular Bailiffs, the Priors and the Castellan of Amposta'[1]. The Conventual Bailiffs are of course the Pillars of the Tongues in permanent residence in the Convent. The Capitular Bailiffs were the holders of those richer Commanderies, to which had been attached a seat upon the Chapter-General in order to increase the representation of the Tongue. In England the Commandery of Egle in Lincolnshire had been raised to this position. There were thus four Grand Crosses[2] in the Tongue of England, namely:—

The Turcopolier, or Pillar of England.
The Grand Prior of England.
The Grand Prior of Ireland.
The Bailiff of Egle.

Like all the Conventual Bailiffs, the Turcopolier, if English or Irish, was entitled to the first vacant Capitular Bailiwick in his native land, but the Scotsman could aspire to nothing more than the Commandery of Torphichen. But after 1495, at the request of King Henry VII, only Englishmen were permitted to hold the Grand Priory of Ireland, since Irish-born Priors had been showing too much and too active a sympathy with the turbulent native aristocracy.

Besides these Grand Crosses of Justice, as they were called, since they wore the Grand Cross by virtue of the dignities they held, there were also Honorary Bailiffs appointed 'per favorem et ad honores', and generally referred to as Grand Crosses of Grace. They took precedence immediately after the Grand Crosses of Justice and were members of the Chapter-General; but as regards appointments to Commanderies and to the higher dignities of the Order, they had no seniority over the other Knights, but ranked with them according to the dates of

[1] Statutes XIX, 6.

[2] When the Bailiwicks 'in partibus' were definitely attached to certain Tongues, that of Armenia was attached to the Tongue of England. See St. Allais, *L'Ordre de Malthe*, p. 162, but there is no record of an Englishman having ever been appointed to this office.

their receptions. In the modern British Order there are five Grand Crosses of Justice by virtue of the dignities that they hold, and eight Grand Crosses of Grace, exclusive of members of the royal family.

The Grand Priors were responsible to the Order for the proper administration of the Commanderies within their Provinces, and under the Statutes they were bound to make a personal visitation of every Commandery once in five years.[1] They had, however, no responsibility for the collection of Responsions or other dues, which were paid to Receivers-General directly responsible to the Treasury of the Order. The collection of Responsions was taken out of the hands of the Grand Priors by the Chapter-General of 1364, owing to the scandalous misuse of his powers by the famous John d'Hérédia, afterwards Grand Master. The Grand Priors had a jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, and might correct the brethren of all classes within the forms prescribed by the Statutes. But they had no power to deprive a brother of his habit, to condemn him to perpetual imprisonment, or to deprive him of his Commandery or his seniority. Serious offences deserving such punishment could only be reported to the Grand Master and Council, who alone had power to deal with them. Once a year, or more frequently if necessary, the Grand Priors summoned a meeting of the Provincial-Chapter, which all Bailiffs and Commanders in the Province at the time were compelled to attend under heavy penalties. In England these Provincial Chapters were generally held at the Commandery of Melchbourne in Bedfordshire, which formed part of the Grand Prior's appanage. Whenever absent from his province, the Grand Prior had the right to nominate a Lieutenant-Prior, who exercised the same powers. The Grand Prior had a seat in the House of Lords, taking precedence of the lay barons.

The number of Commanderies in England was at one time as many as thirty-six,[2] but was never an absolutely

[1] Statutes, Title XV.

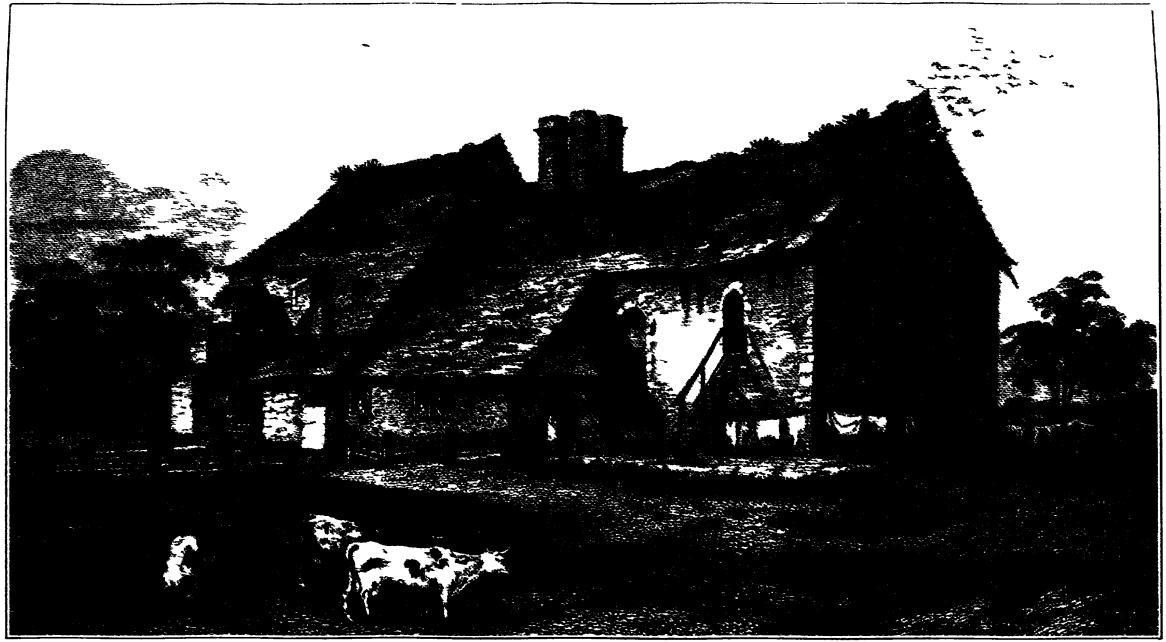
[2] Mifsud, p. 67.

fixed quantity, and must have depended upon the number of brethren upon the establishment, which tended to become considerably smaller after the fourteenth century. From time to time changes were necessarily made according to administrative requirements, and smaller Commanderies would sometimes be added to greater Commanderies, or detached and combined with others to form new Commanderies. The Commanders were for the most part Knights, but a due proportion of Commanderies was reserved for the Chaplains and Serving Brothers of Arms, who were very few, less than 20 per cent of the whole, and took precedence together on the same roster, according to seniority. After the Chapter-General of 1364 it became impossible for the Serving Brothers of Arms to rise to the dignity of Knighthood in the Order. Besides the Commanderies there was also a Priory for the Sisters of the Order at Buckland, in Somerset, where fifty Sisters resided under a Prioress, living according to the rule of the Austin Canonesses.

In the Grand Priory of Ireland with its headquarters at Kilmainham, there were at one time as many as twenty-three Commanderies.[1] But the Priory was ruined by the prevailing anarchy and corruption, few Irish Knights were ever seen in the Convent, and after the loss of Rhodes it became necessary for the Grand Prior to retain the whole of the Commanderies in his own hands. In Scotland there was only the one Commandery of Torphichen, sometimes called the Priory of Torphichen, because its Commander as the senior Scottish Knight is called the Prior of Scotland.[2] He was subject to and dependent upon the Grand Prior of England. For a short time there had been a second Commandery in Scotland at Balantrodach, formed out of

[1] Mifsud, p. 68.

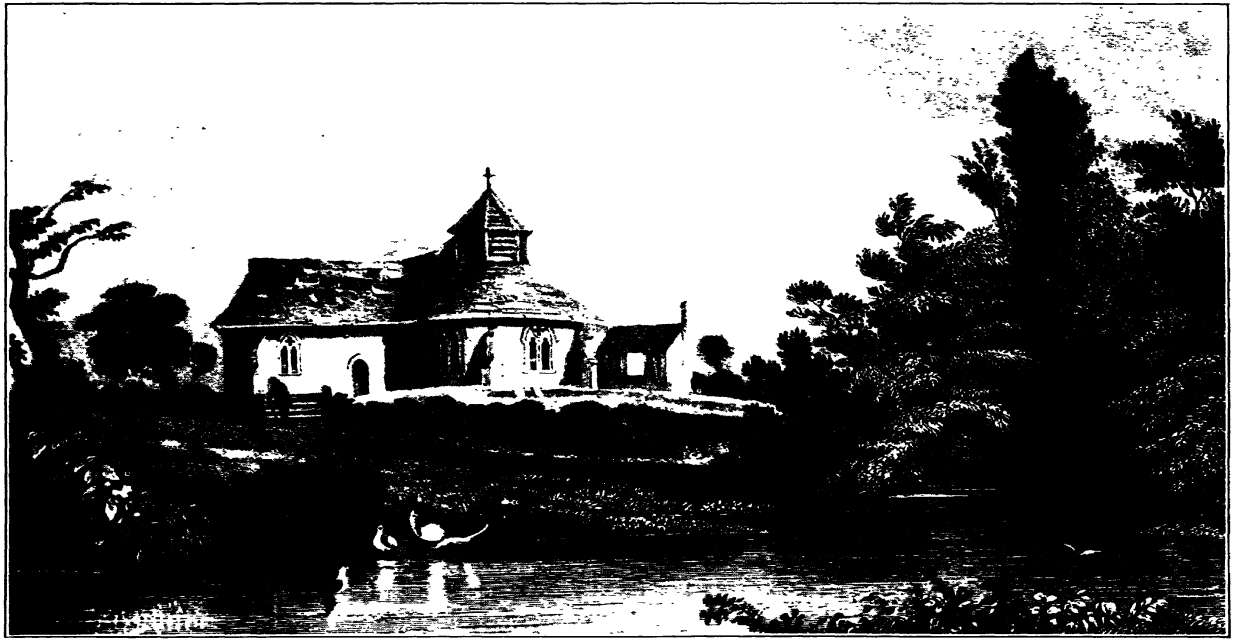
[2] In 1925 an inscription was discovered on the North Transept Vault of the Church of the Commandery of which the following words can be deciphered, ANDREAS MELDRUM MILES ORDINIS SCTI IOHANIS. He was Prior of Scotland from some time before 1446 down to 1449. See *Report of Chapter-General*, 1926, pp. 20, 21.



COMMANDERY OF SWINGFIELD

From an engraving by George Cooke in 1806

Facing p. 82



COMMANDERY OF MAPLESTEAD

From an engraving by H. Wallis in 1831

the Templar estates, but it was ultimately absorbed in the Commandery of Torphichen.[1]

Goussancourt's *Martyrology* gives a list of the English Commanderies, excluding, with the exception of Temple Balsall, those belonging to the Grand Prior's original appanage, and the Magisterial Commandery. As this list presumably refers to the state of affairs just before the dissolution, the Commanderies at the beginning of the sixteenth century would be as follows, those of Templar origin being marked (T):—

Commanderies forming the Grand Prior's Original Appanage

Clerkenwell in Middlesex
Temple Balsall in Warwick (T)
Sandford in Oxfordshire (T)
Temple Cressing in Essex (T)

The Fifth Commandery allowed under the Statutes

Melchbourne in Bedfordshire

Commanderies added to the Grand Prior's Appanage at a Later Date

Buckland in Somerset[2] Hogshaw in Bucks
Greenham in Berkshire Poling in Sussex
Maltby-cum-Skirbeck in Lincoln

The Magisterial Commandery

Peckham in Kent

[1] See Mifsud, p. 74.

[2] Buckland and Bothemescombe were added to the Grand Prior's appanage in 1433, in substitution for the visitation fees previously paid to him by all Commanderies. Mifsud, p. 44.

Independent Commanderies

Anstey in Wiltshire
Baddesford in Suffolk
Baddesley in Hampshire
Beverley in the East Riding
Carbroke in Norfolk
Clanefield in Oxfordshire
Dalby in Leicester
Dingley in Northampton
Dinmore in Hereford
Egle in Lincoln (T)
Halston in Shropshire
Mayne in Dorset
Mount St. John in the North Riding
Newland in Yorkshire
Ossington in Notts
Quenington in Gloucester
Ribstone in Yorkshire (T)
Rotheley in Leicester (T)
Shingay in Cambridge
Slebeche in Pembroke
Swingfield in Kent
Templebruer in Lincoln (T)
Templecombe in Somerset (T)
Trebigh in Cornwall
Willoughton in Lincoln (T)
Winkbourne in Notts
Yevely in Derby

Priory for the Sisters of the Order

Buckland in Somerset

Note.—In Brother Philip Thame's report the Commandery of Baddesley is known as 'Godesfield with Baddesley and Runham'; Winkbourne is described as a Member only; and Egle, Ribstone, Rotheley, Sandford, and Willoughton with Temples Balsall, Bruer, Combe and Cressing as being Temple lands. The following, given as independent Commanderies, appear to have become absorbed in others by the sixteenth century, viz., Bothemescombe, Chibburn, Chippenham, Grafton, Hardwick, Maplestead, Skirbeck, Staundon, and Sutton-at-Hone.

CHAPTER VIII

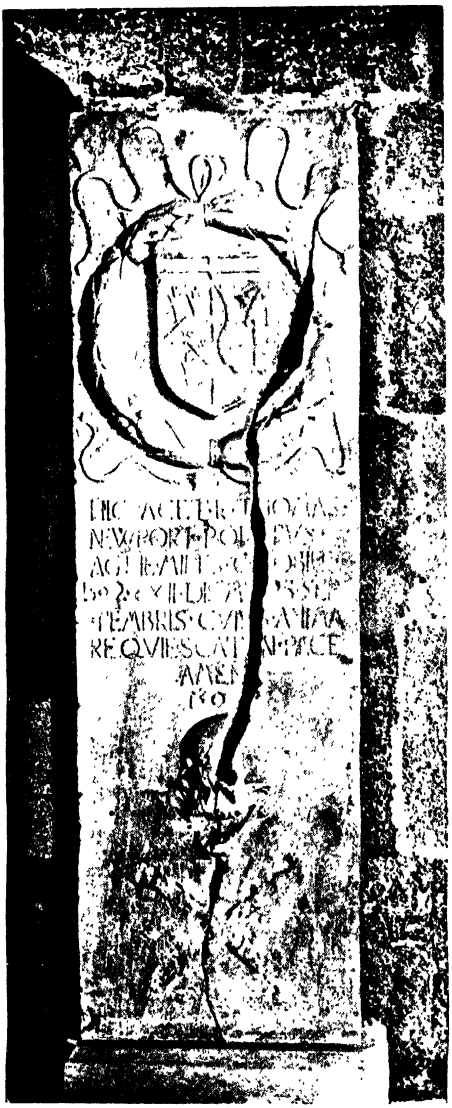
THE TWO SIEGES OF RHODES

THE deeds of the Hospitallers at Rhodes form one of the noblest chapters in the glorious history of their Order. Holding the most exposed outpost of Christendom against the ever-advancing power of the infidel, they carried on a ceaseless warfare against overwhelming odds for two centuries. From their island stronghold their galleys patrolled incessantly the eastern waters of the Mediterranean, and peaceful merchant and pious pilgrim alike had reason to bless the banner of St. John. But the Knights had a double duty to perform; they were enlisted 'in the service of the poor' as well as 'in the defence of the Catholic Faith', and despite their ceaseless naval and military activities, the great Hospital from which the name and origin of the Order are derived remained famous throughout the East. Of all the great deeds of the Order of St. John none are greater than the two famous Sieges of Rhodes. In the first, in 1480, the illustrious Peter d'Aubusson, the greatest hero the Order had produced since the Blessed Raymond du Puy, successfully defied the vast resources of the mighty Turkish Empire, the chief military power of its age. In the second Siege, in 1522, the heroic L'Isle Adam, after six months' resistance, abandoned to his fate by Pope and Emperor alike, finally capitulated only to save the civil population from inevitable massacre.

After the capture of Constantinople in 1453, Mahomet the Great, filled with the pride of victory, summoned the Grand Master John de Lastic, to pay him tribute.

Infuriated by the haughty defiance of the Knights, he swore that he would utterly destroy them. But his ceaseless campaigns in Europe and Asia left him no time or opportunity to concentrate his forces against the island fortress until the last year of his reign. On May 23rd, 1480, a Turkish army of 70,000 men landed in the Bay of Trianda, and supported by a fleet of 160 sail, excluding small craft, began the Siege of Rhodes. To meet the almost unlimited resources of the enemy, the Grand Master d'Aubusson had but a slender garrison, 450 Religious, perhaps 4000 troops in the pay of the Order, together with the privateersmen accustomed to use Rhodes as their base, and a few companies of armed citizens.

The Turkish general, Misach Palaeologos Pasha, was a renegade Greek prince of the Imperial family, who to save his life at the taking of Constantinople had accepted Islam, and had since risen by his abilities to be Grand Vizier. He selected as his first objective the outlying fortress of St. Nicholas, the capture of which would enable him to prevent vessels running the blockade from entering the great harbour, and so complete the investment. After fourteen days' bombardment the first assault was delivered on June 9th, but was beaten off by the defenders led by the Grand Master in person, the Turks leaving 700 dead on the mole. Ten days later, on June 19th, the assault was renewed in greater force and after more elaborate preparation. But after ten hours' savage fighting the assaulting columns were finally repulsed, leaving behind them 2500 dead, including their commander, Ibrahim Bey, a very distinguished officer and a member of the Grand Seignior's family. It is in connection with this second assault that the name of an Englishman has been handed down in history. The night before the attack, under cover of darkness, the Turks had fixed a large anchor under the water in the rocks at the head of the mole, and to it a cable was attached to enable them to haul a floating bridge into position across the channel of water between them and the fortress. One of the garrison, a sharp-eyed



MEMORIAL SLAB OF FR. THOMAS NEWPORT, DIED 1502

In the Museum at Rhodes

Facing p. 86

PORTRAIT MEDAL OF THE TURCOPOLIER JOHN KENDAL, 1480
In the British Museum

English sailor, Roger Jervis[1] by name, saw what had happened. Plunging into the sea, he detached the anchor and carried it to the Grand Master, who was so pleased to see the Turkish plan thus frustrated that he gave him the handsome reward of 200 ducats.

Abandoning the attack on Fort St. Nicholas, Palaeologos Pasha decided to concentrate his efforts against the weakest section of the defences, known as the Jews' Wall, and covering the south-east quarter of the town. The wall crumbled away before the fire of the heavy Turkish artillery, only to reveal behind it fresh and more elaborate defences. A further long bombardment followed, and the roar of the Turkish guns could be heard at Lango and Chateau Roux, a hundred miles away. At last, on July 27th, the great assault was launched. In the first rush the attacking columns carried all before them, but in a great counter-attack, led by the Grand Master, who fell dangerously wounded in five places, the Turks were finally hurled from the breach.[2] The fugitives as they fell back threw into disorder the supporting troops hastening to their assistance, and panic suddenly seized the Turkish army, which broke up and scattered over the country side. Pushing their advantage to the full, the Knights drove the enemy right through their camp, capturing the Pasha's standard, and they counted 3500 dead left on the field. It was some days before the Turkish general had re-organized his demoralized

[1] Vertot calls the man Gervase Rogers, and Porter calls him Roger Gervase. May we not assume that these are but foreign corruptions of the good English name of Roger Jervis? The gift of 200 ducats seems extraordinarily lavish; if the purchasing power of money at that period is reckoned at twelve to fifteen times that of the present day, the gift represents between £1200 and £1500.

[2] 'Certain Turkish fugitives who surrendered stated that when the Grand Master mounted the breach and displayed the standards of the Religion, they suddenly saw a golden cross shining in the heavens and the Virgin clothed in white, bearing a spear in her right hand and a shield in her left, and beside her a man clothed in camel's hair, and following them a band of soldiers richly armed, hastening to the help of the town, and that this vision was the cause of the panic that seized their army'. Boyssat, Vol. I, p. 172 (Edition Baudoin).

army, but there was no more fighting spirit left in his troops, and when two Spanish ships succeeded in running the blockade, he decided to raise the siege. The stores were burnt, the troops embarked on board the transports, and on August 18th Rhodes saw the last of the Janissaries depart, after a Siege of eighty-nine days. The losses of the Turks are estimated at 9000 killed and 30,000 wounded. Those of the Order are not accurately known, but must have been appallingly heavy; there were said to be 450 Religious in the Convent, and out of those holding official positions only, 231 were amongst the killed. The Grand Master ultimately recovered from wounds that had seemed fatal, and a few years later was raised by the Pope to the dignity of Cardinal in recognition of his devoted services in defence of the Christian Faith.

Unfortunately, history gives us no details of the gallant deeds of the English contingent in this great siege. No doubt in such a crisis the Tongue stood nearly at its full establishment of twenty-eight brethren, but only the names of fourteen are now on record, and those mostly in a corrupt and foreign form not always easy to recognize.

Amongst the killed were :—

Fr. Thomas Green, Bailiff of Egle
Fr. John Wakelyn, Commander of Carbroke
Fr. Henry Hales, Commander of Baddesford
Fr. Thomas Plumpton
Fr. Adam Tedbond
Fr. Henry Battesby
Fr. Henry Anlaby (Anulai)

Amongst those who survived the siege were :—

Fr. John Kendal, the Turcopolier and Pillar of England
Fr. Marmaduke Lumley (he was desperately wounded, but survived)
Fr. John Boswell
Fr. Thomas Docwra

Fr. Leonard de Tybertis
Fr. Walter Westbrough (Viselberg)
Fr. John Roche

For more than forty years after their repulse, the Turks refrained from further attack upon Rhodes, and it was during this period of tranquillity that Brother Charles l'Alleman de la Roche-Chinard, Grand Prior of St. Gilles, presented to the Convent in 1503 that beautiful Missal which is now one of the most treasured possessions of the British Order of St. John.[1] It is specially mentioned for its exquisite beauty by the first great historian of the Order, Giacomo Bosio, who wrote his famous work at the end of the sixteenth century.

When the Grand Master Fabricio del Caretto died in 1521, it was evident that the young and capable Sultan Suleiman, who had just ascended the Ottoman throne, was likely to turn his arms against the Order at a very early date. The election of a new Grand Master capable of meeting the approaching crisis was therefore of more than usual importance. For a moment it seemed as if Brother Thomas Docwra, Grand Prior of England, would be elected to fill the vacancy. Perhaps the most distinguished of all the English Grand Priors since Garnier de Nablus, his energy, capacity, and soundness of judgement were well known throughout the Order, whilst his wide diplomatic experience had brought him into intimate contact with most of the leading statesmen of the day. He was a man of European reputation, by far the most prominent figure in the Order, and his election at such a moment would have been an ideal appointment. But the French influence was of too overwhelming a nature, and Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand Prior of France, was duly elected. His bitter opponent, Andrew d'Amaral,

[1] It was taken by the Knights from Rhodes to Malta, and placed in the Conventual Church there. During the troubled period that followed the French occupation in 1798 it disappeared. It ultimately found its way to England, where it was purchased by Leo Olschki of Florence, from whom it was bought by certain members of the Order in 1929.

Grand Chancellor and Pillar of Castile and Portugal, when he heard the news, exclaimed, 'He will be the last Grand Master of Rhodes',[1] words which afterwards helped to cost him his head.

The Grand Seignior, fresh from the capture of Belgrade, was determined not to risk the repulse that his grandfather had suffered, and forces twice as numerous were detailed for the Siege of Rhodes. His young and ambitious brother-in-law, Mustapha Pasha, was placed in command, with Pyrrhus Pasha, a capable old soldier, as his chief of the staff, and 140,000 troops were concentrated, with 60,000 pioneers drawn from the peasantry of Bosnia and Wallachia. For the blockade of the island and the transport of troops and stores, 400 vessels, including 100 galleys, were assembled under the Capitan Pasha Curtoglu, the most famous corsair of his day. To meet these vast preparations the Grand Master had at his disposal 600 Religious, 4500 troops in the pay of the Order, a few companies of armed citizens, the privateersmen of the port, and pioneer companies drawn from the country peasantry. The lower classes of the town, typical Levantines, were useless either for fighting or working: in the words of the Abbé Vertot, 'They were insensible to any passion but that of fear, and could never be brought to look danger in the face'.[2]

The strength of the English contingent is not known to us, but it cannot have been much less than twenty-eight Religious, of whom the names of twenty are on record. Amongst the senior Knights were:—

Fr. John Buck, Turcopolier and Pillar of England, commanding the Local Reserve for the sectors of Aragon and England.

Fr. Nicholas Hussey, commanding the Bastion of England (St. Mary's).

Fr. William Weston, commanding the Post of England, that is the curtain wall linking the Bastion with that

[1] Vertot, Book VIII, p. 423.

[2] Book VIII, p. 433.

of Provence (St. John's). He was at this time Commander of Baddesley and Mayne.

Fr. Thomas Sheffield, Commander of Beverley, and the Grand Master's Seneschal.

Fr. Henry Mansel, The Grand Master's Standard Bearer.

Fr. Nicholas Fairfax, on the Grand Master's Staff.

Fr. John Rawson, Junr., Commander of Quenyngton.

Fr. Giles Russell, Commander of Baddesford and Dingley.

There were also present John Baron and Frances Buet (Blewett ?), who were serving with the garrison of Fort St. Nicholas, William West, Thomas Pemberton, George Askew, John Sutton, George Aylmer, Michael Roche, Nicholas Usel (?), Otho de Monsill, Richard Neville,[1] and Nicholas Roberts. Most of these were killed or wounded in the Siege, but the last-named lived to write an account of it to the Earl of Surrey, which is still extant.[2]

On June 26th, 1522, which marks the beginning of the great Siege, the Turks began to disembark, but it was thirteen days before the landing of the troops, guns, and stores was completed. The siege opened badly for the infidels, the morale of their troops proved to be very poor, they lacked confidence in their young general, they resented the absence of the Grand Seignior, and were demoralized by the active defence of the Order. So dangerous did the situation appear that the chief of the Staff, Pyrrhus Pasha, considered it necessary to write personally to the Sultan that his immediate presence was essential, unless operations were to be a complete failure. Accordingly, on July 28th Suleiman the Magnificent arrived with 15,000 fresh troops, and from that moment the siege was pressed with the utmost vigour. Of all the famous sieges of history, that of Rhodes must ever stand amongst the most famous, and of all the heroic deeds in that long-drawn-out fight against

[1] See Mifsud, p. 149.

[2] Printed in Porter, Vol. I, Appendix 15.

hopeless odds, none were more heroic than the gallant defence of the Bastion of England by that little knot of English Knights and soldiers, until none were left to hold it longer. The defence of the Bastion of England must always remain one of the finest feats of arms in English military history.

All through the month of August the Turkish artillery carried out a systematic bombardment of the fortifications from the Bastion of Aragon eastward to the sea, whilst their pioneers were engaged in an elaborate scheme of mining. It was evident from the first that the Bastion of England, at the south-west angle of the defences, would be the main objective, for the Commander-in-Chief, Mustapha Pasha, had himself taken charge of the sector of the Turkish lines facing this point. The long bombardment was followed in September by a series of savage assaults, in which the attempt was made to carry the breaches by sheer weight of overwhelming numbers, in spite of the hideous loss of life that it entailed. On September 4th two mines were successfully sprung under the Bastion of England, bringing down twelve yards of the ramparts, which slid into the ditch. The noise of the explosion was the signal for the assault, and in the first rush the Turks carried the breach, planting seven standards along the crest of it before the defenders had recovered from their surprise. But Brother Nicholas Hussey, rallying his men on an inner barricade, was able for the moment to hold up the attack. Meanwhile the Grand Master, who was at Mass in the English Chapel close by,[1] hearing the noise and guessing what it meant, came up with his household and guards. He led the counter-attack in person, flung the Turks out of the Bastion and threw down their standards. It was now that Brother Henry Mansel fell. Conspicuous by the fact that he bore the Grand Master's Standard, he was shot down by a Turkish arquebusier; carried back to hospital, he died

[1] This ruined chapel stands at the entrance to the Bastion of England, and was built for the use of its English garrison. See King *The Pilgrimage of 1926*, p. 98.

PORTRAIT OF THE GRAND PRIOR THOMAS DOCWRA, 1501–1527

From Selden's "Titles of Honour," 1602

Facing p. 92

THE BASTION OF ENGLAND AT RHODES

From a photograph at St John's Gate

there a month later. Furious at the repulse of his men, Mustapha Pasha dashed into the crowd of fugitives as they broke back from the breach and cut down several with his scimitar. Fresh troops were brought up and a fresh attack was organized, but Nicholas Hussey and his men were waiting in readiness on the breach, and now, unaided by surprise, the Turks were finally driven back, and as they fled were mown down in masses by the artillery of the town. They left 3000 dead upon the ground, including three Sandjak Beys.

After failing in an attack on the Bastion of Italy, Mustapha Pasha decided to deliver a further assault on the Bastion of England, whilst Achmet Pasha on his left, supported by the Aga of the Janissaries, should make a subsidiary attack on the Bastion of Aragon. The Pasha openly stated that he cared not how many men he sacrificed, provided that he gained the Bastion, and was prepared himself to die on the breach. On September 17th the assaulting columns were launched to the attack and, regardless of their losses, forced their way forward as far as the inner barricades, and even planted some of their standards there. Brother John Buck, the Turcopolier, at once brought up the Local Reserve for the sectors of Aragon and England. The French historian describes it as 'a swarm of English Knights, led on by a commander of that nation whose name was John Buck'.[1] But the situation appeared so serious that a detachment was withdrawn from the sector of Germany, under Christopher von Waldner, and moved up in support. Apparently John Buck and his Englishmen moved out from behind the barricades and flung themselves upon the flank of the assaulting columns. So fierce was the charge that the Turks were compelled to give ground, but fell back slowly and in good order, fighting hard. Mustapha Pasha, placing himself at the head of his supports, led them into action and, throwing himself into the midst of the Knights, killed some of them with his

[1] Vertot, Book VIII, p. 448.

own hands. To quote the Abbé Vertot's vivid description:

> Had he been as well followed by his soldiers, Rhodes would have been in great danger. But the artillery of the place, the little pieces especially that played upon the breach, and a great number of musketeers that galled them from behind the entrenchments, made so terrible a fire that the Infidels, no longer regarding the menaces of Mustapha, abandoned the breach and dragged him along with them in their flight. Howsoever glorious this success might be to the Order, nevertheless the Knights paid very dear for it. They lost on this occasion the Commanders Buck and Waldner, several English and German Knights, and the greatest part of their principal officers.[1]

The Turks left 3000 dead before the Bastions of England and Aragon.

The Grand Seignior now began to grow restive, and his confidence to be shaken in the military abilities of his brother-in-law, Mustapha, who seemed 'a much braver soldier than an able general'.[2] For three long months the immense Turkish army, taught to regard itself as invincible, had been successfully defied by a mere handful of Knights and soldiers, and all in vain the blood of the bravest Janissaries had been poured out in torrents on the breaches of Rhodes. Mustapha Pasha, anxious to retrieve his shaken reputation, decided upon a general assault on September 24th, to be delivered simultaneously upon the four Bastions of Aragon, England, Provence, and Italy. To increase the ardour of the troops, a great throne was raised for the Sultan on a piece of rising ground, like the throne of Xerxes at Salamis, from which he might observe the gallant deeds of his soldiers. At daybreak the Turkish guns opened an intensive bombardment, especially against the points selected for attack, and under cover of the smoke the Janissaries dashed forward to the assault, determined to gain the plunder of Rhodes or to

[1] Vertot, Book VIII, p. 448

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 448.

find consolation in the arms of the houris of Paradise. Never had the Turks fought with greater determination, and again the hardest fighting took place at the Bastion of England. In the words of the French historian: 'It was the place where there was the greatest bloodshed, it was the weakest part of the place, the warmest attacked, and withal the best defended'.[1] Not many English Knights and soldiers can have survived John Buck's savage counter-attack on the 17th, and this day must have marked the end of what was left of the English contingent, for in the latter half of the siege no Englishman was available to command the ruins of what had once been the Bastion of England, and a certain French Knight, one John Bin de Malicorne, had to be entrusted with their command.

One incident recorded of this great fight is of so dramatic and tragic a nature that it must not be left untold. An officer of the Bastion of England, and therefore presumably an English Knight, being killed, was carried out of the action to the house of the woman he loved. She is said to have been a young Greek lady of exquisite beauty, who had borne to him two children. As she saw her dead lover carried into the house, the madness of despair came upon this poor lady. Thinking that the Turks were already in the town, and exclaiming that it was better that her children should die by their mother's hand rather than fall into the power of such fiends, she slew them both. Then putting on the blood-stained armour of her lover, and taking his sword in her hand, she went to seek her death on that ghastly breach. Passing through the arque-busiers and crossbowmen, she joined the line of grim fighting men who stood in front, extended across the breach at wide intervals to allow for the swing of their great two-handed swords. As the Janissaries again pressed forward into the fight, she slew the first of them and wounded several others, until at last the merciful blow of a Turkish scimitar sent her to rejoin her lover and her children, and brought peace again to her tortured soul.

[1] Vertot, Book VIII, p. 451.

Everywhere the general assault was a failure in spite of the reckless disregard of their men's lives shown by the Turkish officers. For a moment it looked as if the Aga of the Janissaries would succeed in effecting a lodgement in the post of Aragon. But the Grand Master brought up 200 fresh troops from the garrison of St. Nicholas and drove them back. It was here that two English Knights fell, Brother John Baron and Brother Francis Buet; both had been stationed in St. Nicholas. After six hours' fighting, the Turks began to give way at all points, and it was evident that the day was lost. To save the honour of the army and prevent a shameful flight, the Sultan ordered the retreat to be sounded. But 15,000 men lay dead in front of those awful breaches. Furious at the incompetence of his general and brother-in-law, the Grand Seignior at once deprived him of the command and sentenced him to be shot to death with arrows. But at the last moment he was reprieved and sent to Egypt as Viceroy. The command of the army was given to Achmet Pasha, the chief engineer, and a scientific soldier of considerable attainments.

The new General placed his confidence in a policy of attrition, and it gradually became more and more evident that the fortress was doomed. In vain the Knights watched for the relief that never came. Abandoned by the Great Powers, their only hope lay in the efforts of their brethren beyond the seas. Messina was the base selected for the relief force, and there the Knights assembled from every Priory in Europe, there troops were collected and stores accumulated. But it seemed that winter as if all the powers of evil were in league against the Order and contrary winds or terrific gales hampered all their efforts. Every contingent that left for Messina seemed to meet with misfortune, though none was more unfortunate than that which sailed from England. Under the command of Brother Thomas Newport, Bailiff of Egle, the English Knights embarked at Dover, taking with them a strong body of seasoned troops. But in the Bay of Biscay they

met with heavy gales, and their vessel was driven back on their own shores and there foundered with all hands.

Towards the end of November the Grand Master selected an English Knight of his household, Brother Nicholas Fairfax, for a special mission to Crete to try to raise fresh troops to replace some of the heavy casualties. Nicholas Fairfax managed to slip through the blockading squadrons and reached Crete in safety. But he found the Venetians so nervous on the question of their neutrality that he only succeeded in raising 100 men. With these he succeeded in again running the blockade and reached Rhodes on December 16th. By now the fate of the fortress was sealed, and after the six months' siege, it was clearly no longer tenable. On December 20th, when it was obvious that a general assault could scarcely fail, the Grand Master capitulated to save the civil population from inevitable massacre. The terms granted were as honourable to the Order as they were to the chivalrous young Sultan, but it was much against his will that the Grand Master was prevailed upon to surrender, and he would have preferred to die on the breach surrounded by his Knights. By his gallant defence against overwhelming odds he had gained imperishable renown for his Order, and the name of L'Isle Adam will ever rank with the greatest of his predecessors, Raymond du Puy and Peter d'Aubusson. The Emperor Charles V, who to his everlasting shame had abandoned Rhodes to its fate, pronounced the verdict of history when he exclaimed on hearing the news : ' There has been nothing so well lost in the world as Rhodes '.[1]

[1] Porter, Vol. I, p. 479.

CHAPTER IX

THE DOWNFALL OF THE ORDER IN ENGLAND

THE loss of Rhodes was the second great crisis in the history of the Hospitallers. Just as the loss of Acre more than two centuries before had placed the existence of the Order in serious danger, and had actually resulted in the suppression of the other great military Order, the Templars, so the loss of Rhodes rendered it possible for unsympathetic governments once more to allege that the Order was failing to justify its existence. The gravity of the danger first revealed itself in the same two countries as in the previous crisis, namely in England and Portugal. In the latter country, King John III declared his intention of seizing the revenues of the Order and employing them in a holy war against the Moors, since the Knights of Rhodes appeared content to remain inactive in their temporary home at Viterbo. Scarcely had the Grand Master averted this danger by his tact and diplomatic skill, than a similar danger manifested itself in England.

In that country the Order had been greatly assisted in the critical years following the loss of Rhodes by the high esteem in which its Grand Prior was held by Henry VIII. Brother Thomas Docwra was famous both as a soldier and as a diplomatist, though to the modern Order he is best remembered by his buildings. For it was he who restored the Bell Tower of the Priory Church, now unhappily destroyed, and inserted the Perpendicular windows in the choir, and, above all, built the great gate-house, which was finished in 1504, and still remains the

home of the Order. As a young man he had fought under the illustrious Grand Master Peter d'Aubusson, at the Siege of Rhodes in 1480. He had subsequently greatly distinguished himself as Captain of the Galleys, he had been Grand Prior of Ireland, Turcopolier for six years, and had finally succeeded John Kendal at his death in 1501 as Grand Prior of England. In 1521 he even contested the Grand Mastership of the Order with the famous L'Isle Adam. The new Grand Prior stood high in the confidence of Henry VII, and it was no doubt at his suggestion in 1506 that the complimentary title of 'Protector of the Order' was conferred upon the King.[1] Henry VII was a frequent visitor at the Priory of Clerkenwell, and it was there in the first year of his reign, during the rule of Brother John Weston, that he gave the Great Seal to John Morton, Bishop of Ely, and appointed him Chancellor, 'in a small upper room, next the garden in the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem'. The Grand Prior stood equally high in the favour of the new King, Henry VIII, upon whom the complimentary title of 'Protector of the Order' was conferred in 1511, as it had been upon his father before him. By Henry VIII he was employed upon several diplomatic missions of importance, and in 1520, at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he was appointed 'to ride with the King of England at the embracing of the two Kings'. He died in 1527 and was buried in the Grand Prior Docwra's Chapel in the Priory Church at Clerkenwell.

The death of the Grand Prior removed an obstacle to designs that the King must have long been meditating. He had always been in financial difficulties, and the fortress of Calais had never ceased to be a heavy drain upon his resources. As he pondered over the problem, the idea occurred to him that since the Knights of Rhodes were no longer performing any definite functions, to make them

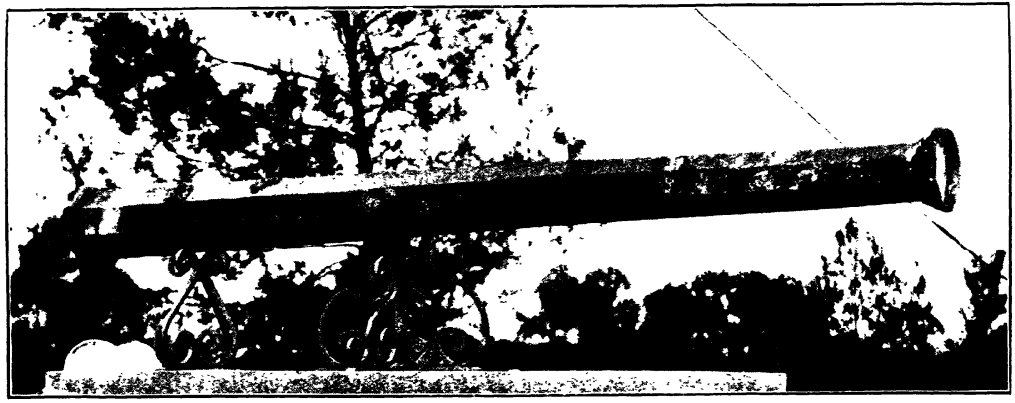
[1] Apparently Henry VII and Henry VIII of England were the only monarchs to whom the title 'Protector of the Order' was given, until it was conferred upon the Czar Paul I of Russia in 1797. See Taaffe, Vol. IV, p. 223.

responsible for that fortress would be a very convenient solution. Apparently it was the King's intention to constitute the Tongue of England as a separate military order, with the defence of Calais as its object, the expenses of which would then be met from the revenues of the Order.

No sooner was the Grand Prior dead than preliminary steps were taken to give effect to the royal plans, and when Brother William Weston, the Grand Prior elect, arrived in England, he was prevented from entering into possession of his Priory, which was being reserved for a court favourite. No sooner did the Grand Master hear the news than he sent a special mission to the King, explaining that the Order would shortly be permanently established in Malta, where it would be in a position to fulfil the objects for which it existed, the maintenance of its Hospital and the defence of the Catholic Faith. He also requested the King of France to use his influence and to mediate on behalf of the Order. But the envoys returned to Nice, where the Convent was now established,[1] with the disquieting news that the intentions of Henry VIII appeared to be firmly fixed, and that they could do nothing to change them. Moreover, they added that the King of England was extremely annoyed that he should not have been consulted as regards the future of the Order, which the Grand Master had discussed personally with his rivals the Emperor and the King of France.

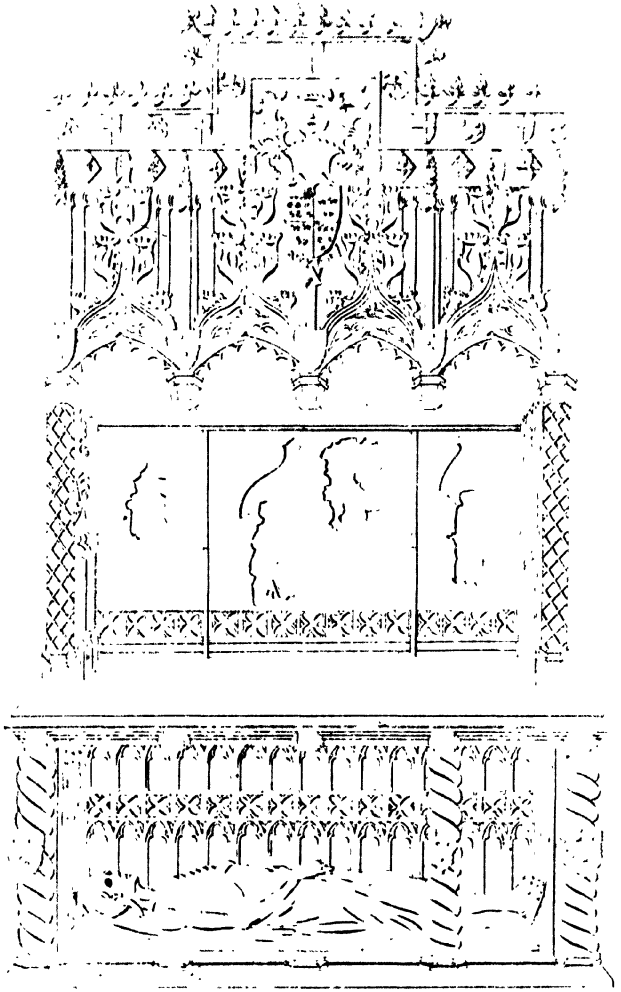
On receiving the report of his envoys, the Grand Master at once decided to make the journey to London and to pay the King a personal visit, in spite of his great age and the unusual severity of the winter. Embarking at Nice for Antibes on January 2nd, 1528, he sent in advance his

[1] The Convent settled first at Messina, from which it was driven by the plague in July, 1523; after a short stay at Cumæ, it arrived at Civita Vecchia on August 1st, 1523, and was granted Viterbo as its residence by the Pope in January, 1524. It was driven from Viterbo by the plague in July, 1527, and after a short stay at Corneto went to Villefranche, and took temporary possession of Nice on November 14th, 1527, finally evacuating that town on July 12th, 1529.



GUN PRESENTED BY KING HENRY VIII TO THE GRAND MASTER L'ISLE ADAM

In front of Guard-room House at Newark Castle



TOMB OF THE GRAND PRIOR WILLIAM WESTON, 1510

From Cromwell's "History of Clerkenwell," 1828

confidential agent, Brother Anthony Bosio,[1] to announce his approaching visit. The envoy received a most cordial welcome from the King and his great minister, Cardinal Wolsey, both of whom wrote personal letters to the Grand Master couched in the warmest terms, and Bosio was able to inform him that the King was so touched by the long and painful journey he was making at such a season that he had completely changed his intentions and was prepared to do his utmost to satisfy him. Accordingly, after completing certain business in France, the Grand Master continued his journey to London, and took up his residence in the Priory at Clerkenwell, where the four Grand Crosses of the Tongue and a numerous assembly of Knights from England, Scotland, and Ireland were gathered together to meet him. A few days later he made his state entry into the city escorted by the great lords of the realm, the utmost honour and respect were paid to him, and he was lodged by the King in his own palace. His reception by Henry VIII was of the most gracious description, and he insisted upon hearing from the lips of the venerable hero the full details of the siege and fall of Rhodes. The proposal that the Order should establish itself in Malta, if the recapture of Rhodes should prove impossible, met with the King's warm approval, and he promised a gift of 20,000 ducats towards the expenses of an expedition for its recovery, which ultimately took the form of nineteen bronze cannon with 1023 cannon balls.[2] Nothing further was heard of the plans regarding Calais, and the King confirmed all the privileges of the Order, asking only one favour of the

[1] The famous historian of the Order, Giacomo Bosio, was a nephew of this Anthony Bosio.

[2] These cannon were taken out to Syracuse in Sicily by Brother John Sutton, Commander of Beverley, in January, 1530, and thence conveyed to Malta. They were afterwards transferred to Tripoli, where they were captured by the Turks in 1551, who used some of them in the Siege of Famagusta in Cyprus twenty years later. One of these cannon was found in the harbour of Famagusta in 1908, half buried in sand and mud; it is numbered XIIII, and has upon it the arms of King Henry VIII and those of the Grand Master L'Isle Adam. It now stands in front of Government House at Nicosia.

Grand Master, that he would cancel the appointment of Brother John Rawson to be Turcopolier, and re-appoint him to be Grand Prior of Ireland, since his previous 'gentle administration had been very instrumental in polishing and civilizing its inhabitants, who were at that time not many degrees above savages'.[1] Brother William Weston, formerly Turcopolier, was now permitted to enter into possession of the Grand Priory of England, but he was compelled to pay a benevolence of £4000 to the Crown, which was advanced by the Receiver-General, and on May 15th he signed a deed at Clerkenwell, in the presence of the Grand Master, undertaking to repay this amount out of the revenues of his Priory. The Grand Master left England at the beginning of June, and on taking his final leave of the King was the recipient of many valuable presents, including a golden basin and cup set with precious stones, which attracted so much attention that it has been recorded by almost every historian.[2]

The rule of the new Grand Prior from the very day that he came into office, can scarcely ever have been free from anxiety as to the future of the Order that he loved. No sooner had one danger passed away than another far more formidable arose out of the matrimonial troubles of the King. Queen Catherine, his wife, was no longer young nor beautiful, and, worst of all, she had borne her lord no son. Moreover, a lady of the court, both young and beautiful, had attracted the favourable attention of the monarch, so his conscience troubled him, and he felt that it would be sinful to continue to live in matrimony with a deceased brother's widow. Unable to endure longer the pangs of a tortured conscience, Henry VIII confided his troubles to the Pope in 1528, with a request that he might be freed from so sinful a union. But the Queen was aunt to the Emperor Charles V, and Pope Clement VII, too much in the power of that potentate to be a free agent, found

[1] Vertot, Book IX, p. 29.

[2] This cup was given by the Grand Master Verdala, in September, 1584, to John Andrew Doria, Prince of Melfi. See Mifsud, p. 192.

himself unable to give sympathetic consideration to the wishes of the conscience-stricken King. The resulting quarrel gradually assumed the most serious proportions, and culminated in 1534, when the Pope excommunicated the King, and the King in his turn denied the Pope's supremacy over the Church, and claimed for himself the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, whereupon that Church dutifully granted to him the divorce that he so earnestly desired. The final stage of the quarrel was reached in 1536, when Pope Paul III published a bull deposing the King, and charging the Emperor with its execution. Now the staunchest supporters of the Papal supremacy were naturally to be found in the religious orders, and it was obvious that an attack upon them would have the double advantage of striking a severe blow at the King's enemy, the Pope, and of adding to the resources of a treasury always insufficiently supplied. Accordingly a visitation of the monasteries was ordered in 1535, and so shocked was the tender conscience of the King by the carefully concocted disclosures of his agents that the smaller establishments were dissolved the following year, and their possessions confiscated. The process was gradually extended to the greater monasteries, and Glastonbury, the English Jerusalem, the last and greatest of them all, fell in the autumn of 1539.

Thus far the Knights of Malta, as they were now called, had remained untouched, with the exception of the Priory of Buckland in Somerset, where the fifty Sisters attached to the Order resided. Here, owing to the pressure brought to bear upon her, the Prioress Katherine Bourchier, had surrendered her priory to the royal commissioners in February, 1539. But the Knights stood in an entirely different category; they were not regarded by the authorities as a mere encumbrance like the monks and nuns, and the objects for which they existed appealed to all the chivalrous instincts of the age. At what was to be the last Provincial Chapter of the Grand Priory of England ever held at Melchbourne on August 10th, 1535, there had been

nothing to indicate that the Knights of Malta were in any particular danger. Henry VIII appears to have been loath to attack the Order, of which he had been proud to accept the title of Protector nearly thirty years before, but he was faced with an insurmountable difficulty, that the Knights were the loyal servants of the Pope, whose claims to universal spiritual dominion he had defied, and with whom he was now at such bitter enmity. In England, to refuse to denounce the Pope's supremacy, if called upon to do so, was now high treason, and gallant men like Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Fisher had died upon the scaffold rather than deny their faith. It was a sheer impossibility for the King to permit the existence in England of an Order so powerful and so highly organized, unless it was prepared to renounce its loyalty to his most determined enemy. The Knights would become inevitably a centre of disaffection, and a rallying point for all the forces of reaction. But it was equally impossible for them to renounce their allegiance to the Pope, the first superior of their Order, on whose authority their whole constitution was based. In July, 1539, after two of the Knights had already chosen the martyr's crown, the King wrote letters to the Grand Master, which practically constituted an ultimatum, demanding that in England the papal supremacy should cease to be recognized by the Order. The Chapter-General met in the following year, and the Grand Master John de Homêdes sent a special mission to London, but it was impossible to accept the King's conditions, and the envoys could effect nothing.

Meanwhile, it had long been realized in England that no favourable reply to the royal suggestions could be expected, and in April, 1540, before any reply could be received, an Act of Parliament was passed dissolving the Order, and conferring its estates upon the Crown, whilst the Knights were forbidden to continue to wear the habit or to use the badges and titles of the Order. The Act clearly states that the reason for suppressing the Order was because the Knights 'unnaturally and contrary to the

duty of their allegiance sustained and maintained the usurped power and authority of the Bishop of Rome, and have not only adhered themselves to the said Bishop, being common enemy to the King our sovereign Lord, and to his realm, untruly upholding knowledging and affirming maliciously and traitorously the same Bishop to be supreme head of Christ's Church by God's holy words, intending thereby to subvert and overthrow the good and godly laws and statutes of this realm their natural country, made and grounded by the authority of the Holy Church by the most excellent wisdom and policy and goodness of the King's Majesty, etc.'.[1]

The attitude of the Knights towards the misfortunes that had befallen them, through no fault of their own, was worthy of the best traditions of their great Order. Throughout the painful ordeal through which they had passed, they made honour their only guide, and without a moment's hesitation they sacrificed their estates and their careers, rather than abate one atom of their principles. As Fuller in his *Holy War* remarks, 'the suppression of the Hospitallers deserveth especial notice, because the manner thereof was different from the dissolution of other religious houses. The Knights Hospitallers, being gentlemen and soldiers of ancient families and high spirits, would not be brought to present to Henry VIII such puling petitions and public recognitions of their errors as other Orders had done'. The shock of the dissolution was the death-blow of the Grand Prior, Brother William Weston, who died of a broken heart on May 7th, 1540, the very day that the Act of Dissolution took effect. He was a Knight of great distinction and came of a family long connected with the Order, an ancestor, John Weston, having been Grand Prior from 1476–89. In the final Siege of Rhodes, he had commanded the Post of England, and succeeded the gallant John Buck as Turcopolier. After the evacuation he was placed in command of the sailing vessels of the Order, which proceeded direct from Crete to Messina.

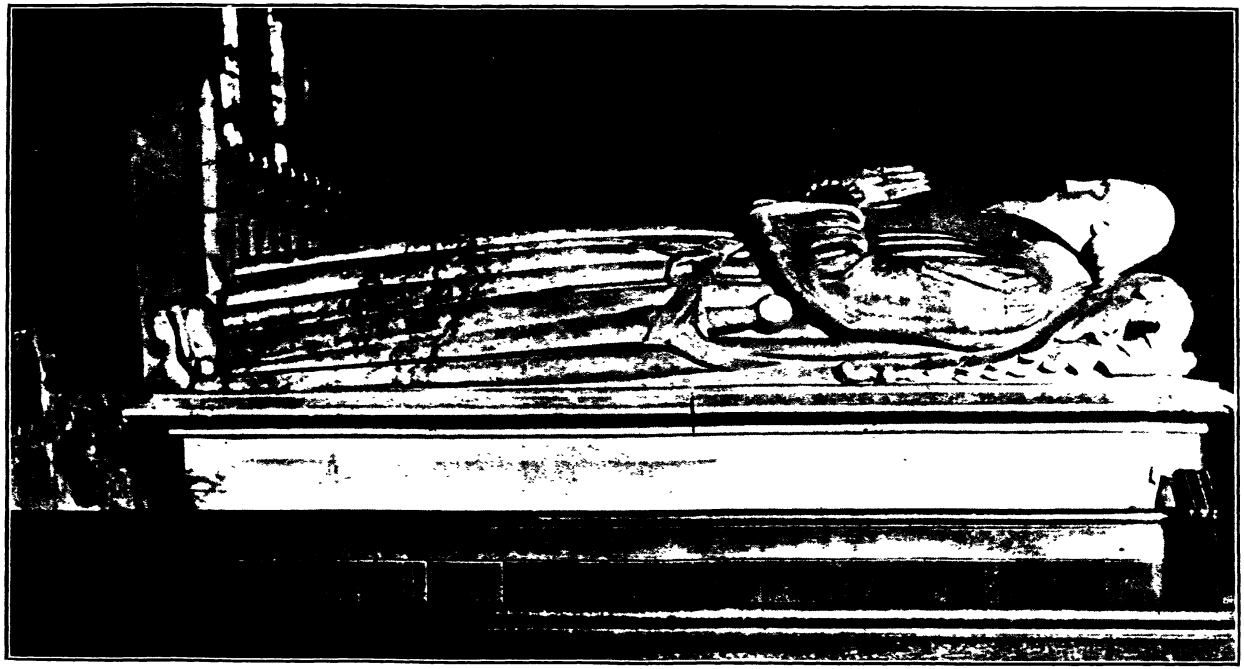
[1] See Mifsud, p. 207.

He was buried in St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, from which the remains of his memorial were removed to the crypt of the Priory Church in 1931. The death of the Grand Prior was not the only tragedy that accompanied the dissolution: three of the Knights gained the glorious crown of martyrdom, and though the Knights of the present day belong for the most part to a different creed, yet they will never forget the names or cease to honour the memories of those three gallant gentlemen of their Order who laid down their lives on the scaffold for conscience' sake, rather than deny the faith in which they had been born and bred.

The best known of the martyrs is the Blessed Adrian Fortescue, a cousin of Queen Anne Boleyn, and in the island of Malta he has always been revered as a martyr. A gallant soldier, he had been created a Knight of the Bath by Henry VIII in recognition of his services in the French War, and in 1520 had attended the King on the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold. In 1532 he was admitted to the Order of St. John by the Grand Prior as a Knight of Honour and Devotion, but was never a professed Knight. He was first arrested in 1534, under the Act of Supremacy, but was released in the autumn under a general amnesty; he was re-arrested in 1539 with Brother Thomas Dingley, Commander of Baddesley and Mayne, a nephew of the Grand Prior. The two Knights were tried together on April 20th for refusing to deny the Pope's supremacy over the Church, and on July 10th were beheaded on Tower Hill. The third of the martyrs, Brother David Gunstone, was admitted to the Order in 1533, and proceeded to Malta the following year. A high-spirited young Knight, he was arrested and imprisoned for duelling in 1535, but the next year was pardoned, and resumed his 'Caravans'. He returned to England in the spring of 1540, and was arrested in the following year under the Act of Supremacy. A more shameful death awaited this poor Knight, and on July 1st, 1541, he was dragged on a hurdle through Southwark, and hanged, drawn, and quartered at St. Thomas Waterings.

THE BLESSED ADRIAN FORTESCUE, MARTYRED IN 1539

From paintings at Valletta and Notabile



TOMB OF THE GRAND PRIOR THOMAS TRESHAM. 1559

In Rushton Church, Northamptonshire

Besides these three Knights, Brother William Salisbury and Brother John Forest also gave their lives for the faith, though they failed to gain the crown of martyrdom. Both were admitted to the Order in 1537, they served their 'Caravans' together and returned to England in June, 1539. Apparently both of them died in prison,[1] and the name of the former is qualified in the minutes of the Tongue by the addition of the words 'the good Knight', a term applied equally to the martyred David Gunstone, and carrying with it the implication of martyrdom.

Although the Tongue of England had now been dissolved in that country, the firm action of the Grand Master and Council prevented the Knights from disbanding, and kept the organization in existence, ready to resume its old life, when happier times should arrive. The ten English Knights assembled in the Auberge in Malta, seeing that the estates from which they derived their sustenance were confiscated, and warned that the pensions granted by the King would be forfeited unless they resided in England, despairing of the future, decided to wind up their affairs, sell their plate and valuables, and return home. But the Grand Master, having greater confidence in the future, and being determined to keep the Tongue in existence, forbade their departure and made arrangements for their support out of the Common Treasury. Under the abnormal circumstances it was decided not to fill the vacant Grand Priory of England until the religious troubles were over, and on the death of the Turcopolier Giles Russell in 1543, that post also was kept vacant, the military duties being handed over to the Grand Master's Seneschal. Similarly on the death of the Bailiff of Egle the Bailiwick remained vacant. To represent the Tongue of England on the Council, Brother Oswald Massingberd was elected Lieutenant-Turcopolier.

[1] Boisgelin, Vol. II, p. 26, states that a certain Adrian Forest perished by the axe of the executioner, placing his name between those of Dingley and Fortescue; presumably this is the same person as John Forest, and is merely a misprint.

On the death of Henry VIII in January, 1547, there was for the moment a hope that his policy would be reversed and the Order of St. John once more restored in England. The Tongue at once decided to send an agent to London to investigate the possibilities of recovering their Commanderies, but so impoverished were the Knights that they actually had to pawn some of their plate to defray his expenses. So hopeful was the Order that, when the Grand Prior of Ireland died some months later, the Grand Priory was not kept vacant as the other Bailiwicks had been, but was bestowed upon Brother Oswald Massingberd, subject to the proviso that he was not to take the title or assume the Grand Cross until he should have entered into legal possession of his Priory. In the following year the Grand Prior of St. Gilles, then on a mission to the French Court, was instructed to request the King of France to use his influence with the English Government to procure the restoration of the Order. Confident that restoration was close at hand, the Council decided to fill the vacant post of Turcopolier, and Brother Nicholas Upton, Commander of Ribstone, was duly elected. But shortly afterwards it became apparent that with the religious and political influences now at work in England there could be no hope of restoration for the present. Accordingly, when Brother Nicholas Upton fell in action in 1551, the Council decided to keep the office of Turcopolier vacant, Brother Oswald Massingberd once more representing the Tongue of England on the Council as Lieutenant-Turcopolier.

The death of Nicholas Upton was worthy of the finest traditions of the English Tongue. In the summer of 1551 a great Turkish fleet under Sinan Pasha and the famous corsair, Dragut, destined for the Siege of Tripoli, attempted to surprise Malta on the way. The Turkish fleet put in at Marsa Muscat on July 16th, and immediately began landing troops. Nicholas Upton, as Turcopolier, was responsible for coast defence, and placing himself at the head of 30 Knights and 400 mounted Maltese at once attacked the landing parties. Finding them scattered over

the countryside, plundering and burning, he inflicted enormous losses upon them, and when the Turks attempted to concentrate in the plain of Curmi he charged them so furiously that they could make no serious resistance, and were driven back through Birchircara on their ships. But Brother Nicholas Upton, though a gallant Knight, was very corpulent, and a day in the saddle under a tropical July sun combined with the weight of his armour was too much for him. As soon as the fighting was over, he completely collapsed and died a few hours later. He was not the only Englishman to distinguish himself in this Turkish raid, for after failing to take Notabile, the Turks turned upon Gozo, where such panic reigned that it surrendered almost at once. The Abbé Vertot tells us 'there was only a brave English cannoneer in the place, who levelling his cannon killed several Turks and hindered the rest from advancing up to the wall (i.e., of the castle). But the gallant Englishman being killed by a cannon ball from the Turkish batteries, not a man would take his post'.[1] That the name of this brave man should no longer be on record is deeply to be regretted.

In 1553 King Edward VI died and the Protestant Government fell from power. With the accession of Queen Mary it seemed as if the troubles of the Tongue of England were really at an end. A devout Catholic, it was her chief ambition to make her country once more a loyal daughter of the Church, and to place its religion in the same position that it had occupied at the time of her father's accession. One of her earliest acts was to send a certain Captain Ormond to Malta to open negotiations for the restoration of the Grand Priories of England and Ireland. The Grand Master John de Homèdes, now nearly 90 years of age, lay at the point of death, and was unable even to realize that the tragedy which had cast such a cloud over his mastership was really at an end. But the negotiations were continued with his successor, Claude de la Sengle, and in 1554 the first step was taken when he confirmed Brother

[1] Vertot, Book XI, p. 121.

Oswald Massingberd, now the only English Knight left in the Convent, in his appointment as Grand Prior of Ireland. In the following year Peter de Monserrat, Grand Conservator and Pillar of Aragon, was sent on a special mission to Rome, Spain, and England. He was given full powers to admit new English Knights and Chaplains to the Order and to appoint Commanders, and was informed that he could obtain full details respecting the estates of the Order from a certain priest named Parpaglia and from the Grand Prior of Ireland, who had just returned to England. As a result of these negotiations, letters patent were issued by the Crown on April 2nd, 1557, authorizing Cardinal Pole as papal legate to reinstate the Order in its old position, and handing back all those estates which had not yet been alienated.

Accordingly, on May 5th, the Cardinal Legate issued a decree recognizing the Grand Priory of England, with its ancient dignities and ten of its Commanderies. On the same date he issued a further decree recognizing the Grand Priory of Ireland, with Brother Oswald Massingberd as its Grand Prior. At the same time he issued instructions that the Archbishop of Dublin and two of the Irish Bishops should place the new Prior in possession of his Priory. The appointment of the new Commanders was confirmed on December 1st, when they were formally inducted to their Commanderies with all due ceremony in the great Hall of the Priory at Clerkenwell. Except for its Church, the Priory had suffered no damage, having been used since the dissolution partly as a storehouse and partly as a residence for the Princess Mary, but the Church had been almost completely destroyed, having been blown up by the Protector Somerset in 1549, to provide materials for his new palace of Somerset House. The chancel was practically all that remained, and Cardinal Pole restored this to use by building on the present west wall. In Ireland apparently no Commanders were appointed, the estates doubtless being retained in the hands of the Grand Prior, as in the days of Brother John Rawson. The state of

the reconstituted Tongue of England was therefore as follows :—

GRAND CROSSES

Turcopolier	Fr. Richard Shelley
Grand Prior of England	Fr. Thomas Tresham
Grand Prior of Ireland	Fr. Oswald Massingberd
Bailiff of Egle	Fr. Peter Felizes de la Nuça

COMMANDERS

Slebeche and Halston	The Turcopolier
Newland	Fr. Cuthbert Layton
Templebruer	Fr. Edward Brown
Willoughton	Fr. Thomas Thornehill
Yeveley and Barrow	Fr. Henry Gerard
South Baddesley	Fr. George Aylmer
Quenington	Fr. Oliver Starkey
Templecombe	Fr. James Shelley.

Of the Grand Crosses, neither Richard Shelley nor Thomas Tresham were professed Knights of the Order prior to their appointment, but exceptional circumstances necessitated exceptional measures, and both had rendered valuable services to the Crown in the stormy days that followed the death of Edward VI. The Bailiff of Egle was a professed Knight of the Tongue of Castile, who apparently had been of assistance in the negotiations that preceded the restoration ; to render him eligible for the Bailiwick he was made an English subject. As regards the Commanders, all except James Shelley and Oliver Starkey had been professed Knights prior to the dissolution by Henry VIII, and all were in receipt of pensions, except the veteran George Aylmer, who had fought in the Siege of Rhodes.

Shortly after the induction of the new Commanders, the Bailiff of Egle left for Malta, taking with him three of the Knights, Brothers Oliver Starkey, Commander of Quenington, James Shelley, Commander of Templecombe,

and George Dudley, who had been admitted to the Order in 1545. At Malta they found already there Brother Henry Gerard, Commander of Yeveley and Barrow, who was elected Lieutenant-Turcopolier, and a Scottish Knight, John James Sandilands. Together they re-established an English Auberge, in readiness for the reception of more Knights, who it was confidently expected would be sent out from England. The arrival of the Bailiff of Egle had created somewhat of a sensation. The Castilian Knights bitterly resented his promotion to the Grand Cross over the heads of Knights senior to him, even though it was into a different Tongue, as they feared that it would give him a claim to Commanderies in his native Tongue before his original seniority justified it. When they saw him land at Malta, actually wearing the Grand Cross, they were so enraged that it is said they scarcely refrained from killing him. The matter was referred to the Grand Master, the famous John de la Valette, who ruled that his seniority in the Tongue of Castile was not to be affected by his position in the Tongue of England.

The hopes with which the English Auberge had been re-established in Malta were doomed to disappointment, for in November, 1558, Queen Mary died, and with the accession of her sister, Queen Elizabeth, the policy of the Government was again completely changed. The Order of St. John in England, it is true, was not again suppressed as it had been by Henry VIII, but the final confiscation of its Commanderies had results not very dissimilar. In theory, no doubt, the 'Prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England' remained a body corporate with perpetual succession, as established by Queen Mary, but when the Commanderies on which its brethren depended for their existence had been confiscated, it speedily became dormant. The Grand Prior of England died on March 3rd, 1559, before the confiscation had taken place, and was buried with great state and ceremony at Rushton, where his monument is still to be seen. The Grand Prior of Ireland surrendered his Priory into the

hands of the Earl of Sussex in June, 1559, under circumstances that were not considered to redound to his honour. In Scotland, the Prior of that country, Brother James Sandilands of Calder, had become a convert to Protestantism in 1553. In consequence he was deprived of the Commandery of Torphichen in 1560, and Brother John James Sandilands was appointed Commander in his place. Although the new Commander was unable to obtain possession of his Commandery, none the less James Sandilands' position was very insecure, and in 1564 he surrendered the lands of the Order of St. John to the Crown, receiving a grant of them to himself and his descendants with the title of Lord Torphichen. Such was the end of the Venerable Tongue of England in those countries upon which it depended.

STATE OF THE ORDER IN 1540

The list of pensions granted at the dissolution in 1540 provides a nominal roll of the Tongue of England at that date, exclusive of any brethren in prison or exile for their religious beliefs,[1] and excluding the brethren belonging to the Priory of Scotland. The Grand Prior of Ireland appears to be the only Knight from that country. The ten brethren in the Convent at Malta at that time are marked with a star.

Grand Crosses

* Fr. Giles Russell, Turcopolier and Pillar of England
Fr. William Weston, Grand Prior of England
Fr. John Rawson, Senr., Grand Prior of Ireland
Fr. John Rawson, Junr., Bailiff of Egle

[1] It is not possible to give a list of brethren excluded from the list of pensioners, but amongst them are William Salisbury and John Forest, known to have been in prison, and also George Aylmer, who had served in the Siege of Rhodes, and at the restoration of Queen Mary was appointed Commander of South Baddesley.

Knights or Serving Brothers

Fr. Philip Babington
Fr. Edward Bellingham
Commander of Dinmore
Fr. Richard Brooke
* Fr. Edward Brown
Fr. Ambrose Cave
Commander of Yeveley
Fr. Thomas Copledike
Commander of Carbroke
* Fr. Henry Gerard
Fr. David Gunstone
Fr. Edward Hussey
Commander of Templecombe
* Fr. James Hussey
* Fr. Nicholas Lambert
Fr. Cuthbert Layton
* Fr. Oswald Massingberd
* Fr. Dunstan Newdegate
Fr. Thomas Pemberton
Fr. Henry Pole
Fr. John Sutton
Commander of Beverley
* Fr. Thomas Thornehill
Fr. William Tyrrell
* Fr. Nicholas Upton
Commander of Ribstone

* Fr. Clement West

Chaplains

Fr. John Mablestone, Sub-Prior of the Church, and Assistant Treasurer
Fr. William Ermastede, Chancellor
Fr. Walter Lindsay
Fr. John Winter

NOTE.—There appear to have been only two Scottish Knights at this date, Fr. Walter Lindsay, Commander of Torphichen and Prior of Scotland, and Fr. Alexander Dundas; Fr. James Sandilands, of Calder, was only admitted at the end of the year.

CHAPTER X

THE SIEGE OF MALTA

WHEN the news of the confiscation of their Commanderies first reached the Convent in Malta it does not seen to have been realized that the possibility of reconstituting the Tongue of England on its ancient basis was ended for ever. In 1561 the Grand Master John de la Valette attempted to open negotiations with Queen Elizabeth, and sent the Grand Hospitaller, Peter de la Fontaine, on a special mission to London. But in the prevailing atmosphere of the English court no possibility of success existed. On the other hand, there was no feeling of hostility in England towards the Knights of Malta, but rather the reverse. During the great siege by the Turks in 1565 public prayers were offered up in the diocese of Salisbury for their deliverance, and when it was known that the siege had been raised a general thanksgiving was ordered throughout the province of Canterbury by Archbishop Parker. None the less, in the religious persecution that disfigured a part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, amongst those who suffered were certain Knights connected with the Order, probably as Knights of Honour and Devotion. John Noel died in exile for the faith in 1562, and so also did Richard Bell and James Bell. Sir Edward Waldegrave died in prison for the faith in 1563, as did Sir Thomas Mytton in 1583, whilst Edward Carmus died in exile in the same year, and two years later, on November 17th, 1585, Sir Marmaduke Bowes was hanged, drawn, and quartered at York, for giving shelter to Catholic priests.[1]

[1] For these martyrs, see Goussancourt's *Martyrology*, Vol. II, p. 548, and Boisgelin, Vol. II, p. 26.

Deprived of the hope of any longer finding a real career in the Order of St. John, the little group of English Knights constituting the Tongue of England gradually broke up and scattered. Those veteran Commanders George Aylmer, Edward Brown, Cuthbert Layton, Oswald Massingberd, and Thomas Thornehill, too old to begin life afresh in the Convent, presumably retired into secular life. Of the Knights still in the Convent, Brothers Henry Gerard, George Dudley, and James Shelley were sent to England in 1560 as a special commission to try to arrange for the installation of John James Sandilands as Commander of Torphichen. Henry Gerard and George Dudley never returned, whilst James Shelley did not do so until after the great siege. The Turcopolier Richard Shelley, according to custom, was elected Grand Prior of England in 1561,[1] in succession to Brother Thomas Tresham, but the Grand Master and Council decided not to fill the vacancy for Turcopolier, following the precedents of 1543 and 1551, and the Tongue of England was represented on the Council by Brother Oliver Starkey as Lieutenant-Turcopolier, the military duties of the office being again performed by the Grand Master's Seneschal. When the great Siege of Malta began in 1565 there were only two representatives of the English Tongue left in the Convent, Brother Oliver Starkey, Commander of Quenington, Lieutenant-Turcopolier and Latin Secretary to the Grand Master, and Brother Peter Felizes, Bailiff of Egle, for the Scottish Knight, John James Sandilands, an unworthy representative of his country, was already dead by the executioner's hands.[2] The Grand Prior of England as soon as he heard of the siege, hurried out to Malta, but to his annoyance found himself compelled to remain in Naples, unable to move, and did not reach the Convent until the following year.[3]

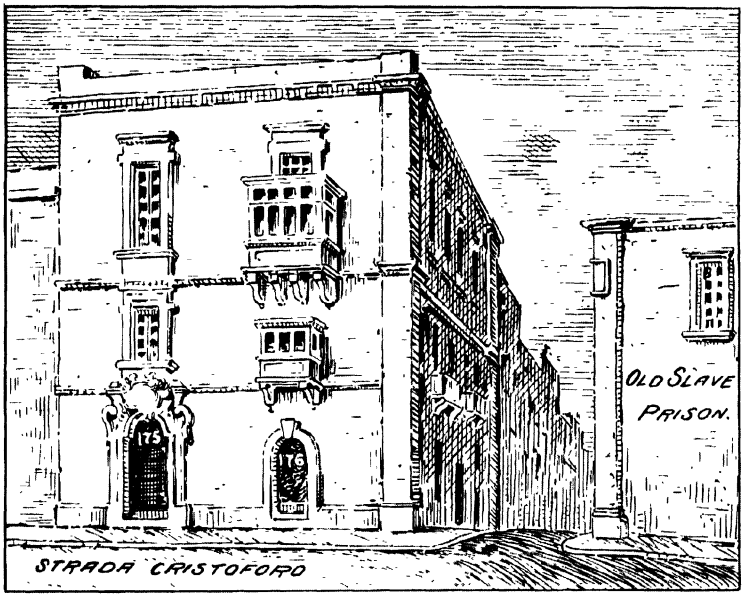
[1] The date 1566 is generally given, but the true date is September 20th, 1561. See Mifsud, p. 167.

[2] He had been guilty of stealing plate from a church. Mifsud, p. 174.

[3] See Mifsud, p. 116.

PORTRAIT MEDAL OF THE
GRAND PRIOR RICHARD SHELLEY, 1561–1590
In the Museum at St. John's Gate

Facing p.



THE MAISON ANGLAISE ET SHELLEY IN VALLETTA

From Mifsud's "English Knights Hospitallers"

The Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, who had driven the Hospitallers from Rhodes, still reigned over the Ottoman Empire, and he had bitter reason to regret the generous terms he had given to the Knights in 1522. At Malta they had resumed their ancient rôle as one of the chief bulwarks of Christendom, and were an effectual check upon the westward expansion of the Turks. Accordingly in 1565 he despatched a great expedition against Malta which should complete, once and for all, the work he had begun at Rhodes forty years before. On May 18th the Turkish armada came in sight, 130 galleys, 50 sailing ships, and a great fleet of transports under the famous Admiral Piali Pasha. The fleet had on board a landing force of 30,000 troops and a heavy siege train under the command of Mustapha Pasha, one of the Grand Seignior's most distinguished generals. To meet the attack the Grand Master John de la Valette, the last of the great heroes of the Order, had at his disposal 541 religious, 5000 Maltese militia, and 3000 miscellaneous troops, including 800 Spanish infantry, the finest soldiers of their day.

The Turks selected as their first objective the detached fort of St. Elmo, situated at the end of the promontory where Valetta now stands, and commanding the entrance to the Great Harbour on its right and to the Marsa Muscat on its left. Situated on the Great Harbour and opposite to the promontory of St. Elmo stood the city of the Knights, then known as the Borgo, and built on a narrow strip of land having the castle of St. Angelo at its extremity. Parallel with the Borgo, and separated from it by the Harbour of the Galleys, lay the new town of Senglea, protected on its landward side by Fort St. Michael. The Turks regarded the capture of St. Elmo as essential, because so long as it remained untaken they could not use the Marsa Muscat as an anchorage for their fleet. The fort was star-shaped, having four salients ; on the sea side rose a cavalier, separated by a ditch and dominating the entire work, and on the side of the Marsa Muscat was a small ravelin. The fort was so restricted in area

that not more than 300 to 400 men could be utilized in its defence.

In all the brilliant and romantic history of the Hospitallers there is nothing that stirs the imagination more deeply than the defence of this little fort. And in all that history there is no incident more dramatic and more tragic than the last desperate fight of that little knot of wounded men on the eve of the great festival of their Order. The Turkish bombardment opened on May 24th, and by the 29th their infantry were in occupation of the covered way. On June 3rd the ravelin was captured by surprise during the night, and the Turks were so emboldened by this success that the following day they made a determined effort to carry the fort by escalade. All their attacks were beaten off with terrific losses, and their casualties were estimated at 2000, but a third of the garrison lay dead, including twenty Knights. The conduct of the siege was now assumed by Dragut, one of the hardest fighting sailors in the Turkish navy, who had just arrived with reinforcements from Tripoli. He systematically pounded the fort to pieces with his siege guns, and then at dawn on the 16th delivered a general assault. For six hours the fight swayed backwards and forwards, until the intolerable heat rendered further effort impossible and the Turks broke off the attack. But three-quarters of the little garrison were killed or disabled and seventeen more Knights were dead.

So far communication across the harbour between St. Elmo and the Borgo had remained open after darkness, and each night the killed and wounded had been removed and reinforcements sent in to take their place. Dragut now determined that the investment must be made complete, and that regardless of the deadly fire from the guns of St. Angelo, a battery must be constructed capable of preventing any communication by water after dark. By the 19th the battery was finished, though at a heavy cost of life, and Dragut himself was mortally wounded, but the investment was now completed. For three days and nights the concentrated fire of thirty-six heavy guns was poured into

the doomed fort, and then at dawn on the 22nd the assault was delivered. Three times the Turks advanced to the attack, and three times they were hurled back from those blood-soaked ruins, until there was no more fight left in them. But two hundred of that little garrison were dead, few could have been still unwounded, and there was no more hope of reinforcements from the Borgo. The end was not far distant, and in the eloquent words of the Abbé Vertot :—

The besieged in the fort, being now out of all hopes of succour, thought of nothing but ending their lives like good Christians and true Religious. For which purpose they were all night long preparing themselves for it by receiving the sacraments of the Church. When this was over and that nothing remained but the giving up their souls to God, they embraced one another with tenderness and retired to their several posts, in order to die with their weapons in their hands and expire in the bed of honour. Such as were not able to walk by reason of their wounds had themselves carried in chairs to the side of the breach where, armed with swords which they held with both their hands, they waited with a heroic resolution until such time as their enemies, towards whom they were not able to advance, should come and attack them in their posts.[1]

On the morning of June 23rd, as soon as it was daylight, the Turks once more advanced to the attack, but that little band of heroes for four hours still held the enemy at bay. There was a pause in the fighting, during which the Turkish arquebusiers occupied the cavalier and other points of advantage, and began shooting down the sixty badly wounded men, all that were left of the garrison. And then at 10 a.m. came the end ; the commandant of the fort, the brave old Bailiff of Negropont, John d'Eguaras by name, badly wounded though he was, limped forward to meet the enemy with a half-pike in his hand. The second-in-command, Colonel le Mas, a Provençal Knight, waited for the end seated on a log, since his leg was fractured, brandishing a two-handed sword, 'a weapon he used to

[1] Vertot, Book XII, p. 218.

manage with singular skill'.[1] It is reported that in this position he slew several of the enemy before he was cut down. Of the garrison five soldiers alone escaped by jumping into the harbour and swimming across. In all 1500 Christians, including 130 Knights, fell in the defence of St. Elmo, whilst the Turks lost 8000 of their best troops. Well might Mustapha Pasha exclaim, as he surveyed the ruins: "What will not the father cost us when the son, who is so small, has cost the bravest of our soldiers?"[2]

The savage old Turkish general had the heads of the dead Knights cut off and placed on a line of stakes facing St. Angelo, their bodies he crucified and, gashing great crosses on their chests, launched them into the harbour at a point where the current would carry them across to the Borgo. The first sight that greeted the eyes of the Knights on the morning of St. John Baptist's day was the arrival of the mutilated bodies of their comrades. The Grand Master was moved to such fierce anger at the sight that by way of reprisals he ordered the whole of his prisoners to be beheaded and their heads to be fired from the guns into the Turkish camp. From that day onwards no quarter was ever given on either side, and with grim humour the Knights called it 'St. Elmo's pay'. But to his assembled brethren on that day the Grand Master uttered words of comfort and encouragement that should never be forgotten in the Order:—

What could a true Knight desire more ardently than to die in arms? And what could be a more fitting fate for a member of the Order of St. John than to lay down his life in defence of his faith? Both of these precious boons have been vouchsafed to our brethren; why then should we mourn for them? Rather should we rejoice at the prospect of the glorious futurity which they have earned. They have gained a martyr's crown and they will reap a martyr's reward. Why, too, should we be dismayed because the Moslem has at length succeeded in planting his accursed standard on the ruined battlements of

[1] Taaffe, Vol. IV, p. 76.

[2] Vertot, Book XII, p. 219

St. Elmo? Have we not taught him a lesson which must strike dismay throughout his whole army? If poor, weak, insignificant St. Elmo were able to withstand his most powerful efforts for upwards of a month, how can he expect to succeed against the stronger works and the more numerous garrison of the Borgo? With us must be the victory. Let us then, on this sacred day, before the altar of God, once more renew those vows of constancy which our slaughtered brethren have so nobly accomplished.[1]

Whilst the Turks were engaged in transporting their guns and opening their siege-works before the Borgo and Senglea, the garrison was greatly encouraged by the arrival of a small reinforcement. During a heavy mist four Spanish galleys successfully ran the blockade and landed 80 Knights and gentlemen and 650 soldiers, under Colonel Melchior de Robles, a Spanish officer of great distinction. During the night of June 29th these men were brought into the Borgo by water, and Colonel Robles at his special request was placed in command of Fort St. Michael, the point of greatest danger. This reinforcement is known to history as 'the little succour'. It included two English gentlemen adventurers, by name John Smith and Edward Stanley, a welcome addition to the Post of England. The historian Taaffe suggests that there were probably a few other Englishmen present, whose names were lost. What authority if any he has for the suggestion is not clear, but Brother Oliver Starkey, the Lieutenant-Turcopolier, had to draw upon soldiers and sailors of the galleys to man the Post of England, which lay upon the sea side of the Borgo, between the Bastion of Castile and the Hospital.

On July 5th the Turkish bombardment began from nine batteries mounting seventy guns, their fire being chiefly directed upon Fort St. Michael and the Spur Bastion at the seaward end of Senglea, the two points selected for attack. The bombardment continued for ten days, and then on the morning of July 15th the first assault was delivered. Hassan, the Begler Beg of Algiers, who had recently arrived with strong reinforcements, was entrusted

[1] Porter, Vol. II, p. 113.

with the attack on St. Michael, whilst his lieutenant, Candalissa, a Greek renegade, assailed the Spur Bastion by water. The latter lost heavily in crossing, several boat-loads of troops being sunk by gun-fire, but he was successful in effecting a lodgement in the Spur Bastion, mainly owing to the confusion caused amongst the defenders by the explosion of a barrel of gun-powder. The Admiral Peter del Monte, who commanded in Senglea, led a counter-attack in person, but was unable to drive out the enemy. So serious was the situation that heavy reinforcements had to be sent across the pontoon bridge from the Borgo under the Commander de Giou, and it was only at the end of five hours' savage fighting that Candalissa was finally driven back. It is said that out of 4000 troops engaged in this attack only 500 were left at the end of the day.

Meanwhile Hassan had been delivering a series of fierce assaults on the land front of Senglea, and his Algerians in the first rush succeeded in planting their standards along the crest of the breach in the southern Bastion. Here Colonel Robles commanded, 'a person of celebrated valour, and yet more so for his experience in war',[1] and drove back the enemy by well-directed gun-fire and musketry. Repulsed at this point, Hassan delivered a second assault at the other end of the land front on the Bastion held by Brother Carlos Rufo, but after heavy hand-to-hand fighting was at last driven out by the arrival of the troops that had just defeated Candalissa. Withdrawing his exhausted Algerians, Hassan replaced them by a strong force of Janissaries, and delivered yet a third assault. For a moment the result wavered in the balance, but a brilliant charge led by the Italian Knight, de Simiane, finally drove the enemy out of the work and brought the fighting of July 15th to an end. But the Hospitallers had paid a heavy price for victory, and on this day lost 140 Knights and gentlemen and five times as many of their soldiers.

Mustapha Pasha now decided upon a redistribution of

[1] Vertot, Book XIII, p. 13.

his forces, and to develop a simultaneous attack upon the Borgo, in order to prevent its garrison in future from coming to the assistance of Senglea. Whilst he retained in his own hands the attack upon Fort St. Michael, which he still regarded as his chief objective, he called up the Admiral Piali Pasha to take charge of the attack upon the Borgo, and placed Candalissa in command of the blockading squadron of galleys. On August 2nd another attack was delivered on Senglea, which was only beaten back after six hours' heavy fighting, and on the 7th came the great assault, in which victory seemed at last to be within the grasp of the Turks. For the attack on Fort St. Michael 8000 men were detailed by Mustapha Pasha, whilst 3000 men under Piali Pasha were to deliver a subsidiary attack on the Bastion of Castile, in order to keep the garrison of the Borgo fully occupied. The rush of the Turks carried all before them, and the crests of the breaches were occupied in such force that not all the efforts of the Knights could dislodge them. The fighting had lasted four hours, and 'the Grand Master was in some pain about the success of it'.[1] It seemed as if Senglea must fall, when to the equal astonishment of both sides Mustapha Pasha, with victory at last in his hands, suddenly sounded the retreat. The Governor of Notabile, a Portuguese Knight named Mesquita, seeing that an unusually heavy attack was taking place on Fort St. Michael, had sent out all the mounted troops at his disposal with orders to try to create a diversion by raiding the Turkish hospitals. The troops who should have been guarding the hospitals had withdrawn to watch the fighting, and in the confusion which followed exaggerated reports reached Mustapha Pasha that a relieving army from Sicily had landed in the island, and was advancing to attack him in rear. For the moment his judgement failed him, and sounding the retreat, he reorganized his troops and marched out to meet the relief force, only to find a little handful of cavalry, who speedily withdrew to Notabile. Amongst those who were slain in the defence of Fort

[1] Vertot, Book XIII, p. 19.

St. Michael was that naturalized Englishman, Brother Peter Felizes, Bailiff of Egle, who most worthily maintained the honour of his adopted Tongue. Three days later, on August 11th, the gallant Colonel Robles was killed whilst making a personal reconnaissance.[1]

After the failure of two general assaults, delivered with the full weight of his arms, Mustapha Pasha decided to change his tactics and to wear down the garrison by the unrelenting pressure of a continuous series of local attacks. Day and night the fighting practically never ceased, the garrison continually growing smaller and smaller, until on August 18th the Turks delivered another general assault. On this occasion the main attack was delivered by Piali Pasha on the Bastion of Castile. In order to deceive the garrison he made no sign of movement when Mustapha Pasha advanced against Fort St. Michael, hoping that the Grand Master would detach troops to its assistance from the Borgo. It was not until fighting had been in progress for some considerable time that he suddenly sprang a mine under the Bastion of Castile and launched his troops to the assault. For the moment it seemed as if all was lost, but the Grand Master without even waiting to put on his cuirass placed himself at the head of the Knights of his household and delivered such a furious counter-attack that after much hard fighting the Turks were compelled to fall back. Amongst the Knights of the Grand Master's household was Brother Oliver Starkey, Commander of Quenington, whose career of devoted service to the Order he loved sheds such lustre over the declining years of the Venerable Tongue of England.

The Turkish Pashas, who well knew that a relief force had already assembled in Sicily and might sail at any moment, now became desperate, and day after day hurled their troops to the assault. So feeble had the garrison become that on August 21st the Grand Master was compelled to issue orders that all wounded men in hospital still able to stand up must help man the breaches. But

[1] Boyssat, Vol. I, p. 549.

the morale of the Turkish army began to suffer, and after a fresh attack had failed on September 1st, the fatal saying began to pass through their ranks that it was evidently not the will of Allah that they should conquer Malta. There was but little fighting spirit left in the Turkish army, when on the morning of September 7th the Viceroy of Sicily landed 8500 men in the Bay of Melleha under Ascanio della Corna. With this force came 300 brethren of the Order, including an unknown English Knight, perhaps the Brother Claude Jobelin, whom the Grand Master afterwards appointed Chaplain of his new church of Our Lady of Victory, the very first building to be erected in his new city of Valetta.[1] No sooner was the landing known to Mustapha Pasha than he gave orders for raising the siege. All through that night the Turks were engaged in removing guns and stores, and at daylight on the 8th the embarkation of the troops began. The Grand Master at once occupied the ruins of St. Elmo and so forced the galleys to leave the Marsa Muscat. But Mustapha Pasha, now hearing that the relief force was so small, landed 9000 men in St. Paul's Bay, and advanced to attack it. No battle, however, was destined to take place, for the dispirited Turks no sooner met the enemy than they broke and fled to their ships. Their fleet was far too powerful for the Viceroy of Sicily to attempt to intercept it, and the remnants of the shattered army arrived safely in Constantinople. They are estimated to have lost 30,000 men in the siege. Suleiman the Magnificent, astounded at the failure of his army, bitterly exclaimed as he thought of his own conquest of Rhodes, 'It is only in my own hand that my sword is invincible'.[2]

It is difficult to find words to express the admiration that the noble story of the defence of Malta must always evoke. It remains for all time one of the greatest feats of arms of which history has record. What the garrison had suffered and endured is best shown by the fact that

[1] See Mifsud, p. 120.

[2] Taaffe, IV, p. 109.

when the first of the relief force entered the Borgo, to which the glorious name of Vittoriosa has ever since been given, there were left only 600 men still capable of bearing arms. They had reached the very limits of human endurance when relief at last came. But of that little band of heroes there is one whose name will ever stand supreme, the Grand Master John de la Valette. No man had ever devoted his life more unreservedly to the Order in whose service he had grown grey, for he was seventy-one years of age when the siege began. Since his reception he had never left the Convent except on military service. What his personal influence had meant during the siege is best summed up in the words of the French historian: 'We may justly affirm, and indeed all the knights of that time agreed, that the main strength of the island lay in the virtue, the courage, the resolution, and the foresight of La Valette, and that the safety of Malta depended entirely upon his preservation.'[1] He is the last but not the least of the great heroes of the Order: Blessed Raymond du Puy, who made the brethren of the Hospital into the greatest order of chivalry the world has ever known; Cardinal D'Aubusson, who successfully defied the mighty power of Mohammed the Great; L'Isle Adam, whose strength of character preserved the Order from the ruin that the loss of Rhodes might so easily have entailed. But the name of La Valette will ever be the best known of the four, from the new city which he founded on the peninsula where St. Elmo stands, a city to which he in simple and humble piety gave the name of Humilissima, but which to the world is known as Valetta.

[1] Vertot, Book XIII, p. 16.

CHAPTER XI

THE TITULAR GRAND PRIORS

DURING the period immediately following the Siege of Malta the small remnant of the Venerable Tongue of England gradually passed away. Brother Oliver Starkey, Commander of Quenington, who had succeeded Peter Felizes de la Nuça as Bailiff of Egle in 1569, died in 1588. Amongst all the distinguished holders of that Bailiwick few have been held in greater esteem in the Order than Oliver Starkey. He stood high in the confidence of the great and famous La Valette, to whom he acted as Latin Secretary, and at his death composed the epitaph placed over his tomb.[1] When he himself died he was laid to rest close by the noble chieftain he had loved and served so well, in the vault of the Grand Masters at Valetta. Brother James Shelley, Commander of Templecombe, had predeceased Oliver Starkey: he is chiefly remembered by the house that he bought at Valetta in 1577 to serve as the English Auberge. At his death he left it to the Conventual Chaplains on condition that if the Tongue of England should be reconstituted the house should then serve as its Auberge.[2] This house was still

[1] The epitaph reads as follows:—

D.O.M.S.

Ille Asiæ Lubiæq pavor Tutelaq quondam
Europæ Edomitis sacra per arma cetis
Primus in hac alma quam codidit urbe sepultq
Valetta eterno dignus honore jacet.

F. Oliverius Starcheius proturcopulerius
Carmen inscripsit.

[2] Porter and others have suggested incorrectly that the house called 'La Giornata', occupying the site on which the Theatre Royal now stands, was the Auberge of England. For this, see Mifsud, p. 104.

known in 1799 as the 'Maison Anglaise et Shelley'. Brother Richard Shelley, Grand Prior of England, died at Venice in 1590, and was succeeded by a French Knight, Frances Astorg de Segreville, nominated by the Grand Master. But there was in the Convent a certain Irish Knight from Waterford named Andrew Wise, who had been received in 1582 and appointed Bailiff of Egle in 1588. He at once appealed to the Court of Rome against the Frenchman's appointment on the grounds that he was ineligible by birth. He won his case and was himself appointed Grand Prior of England, a post which he held until his death in 1631, whilst the Frenchman was consoled with the Bailiwick of Egle.

With the extinction of the English Commanderies the reasons for reserving the great dignities of the Tongue exclusively for Englishmen had ceased to exist. They became merely titular like the Bailiwicks 'in partibus', and since they were no longer dependent upon English estates, they were open to the Order in general, regardless of nationality. The titles would of course have fallen into abeyance had they not carried with them the Grand Cross, a seat on the Council, and a certain precedence. They at once became the objects of intrigue, and the attempts to obtain by favour the important post of Turcopolier were so persistent and so difficult to check, that the office was definitely annexed to the Grand Mastership in 1582, and its military duties permanently vested in the Seneschal. The other dignities were placed beyond the reach of the intriguers in a similar manner, and the right to confer them was finally vested in the person of the Grand Master by a papal bull of 1612. From now onwards the Grand Priories of England and Ireland and the Bailiwick of Egle were conferred by grace of the Grand Master, and with a few exceptions always upon foreigners. One of these foreign dignitaries is particularly worthy of record. Brother Louis Mendes de Vasconcelos, a Portuguese Knight, was appointed Bailiff of Egle in 1612 and elected Grand Master ten years later. He had greatly distinguished himself in

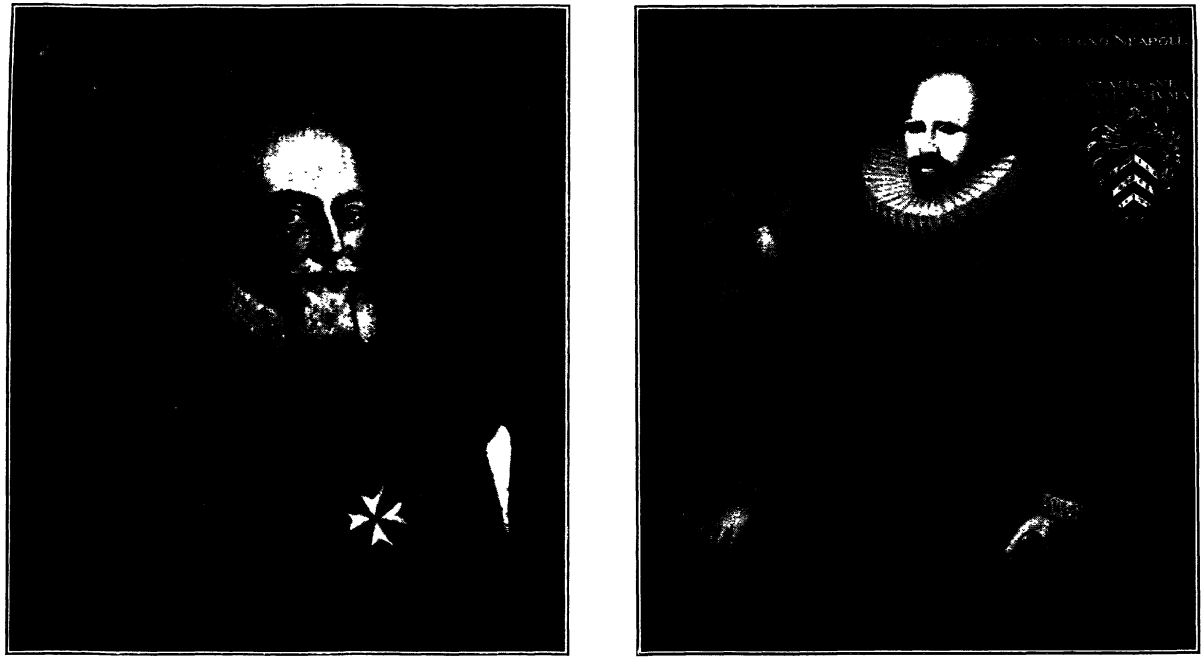
several expeditions against the Turks, and his dauntless bravery had gained for him the admiration of the whole Order. Thus the English Tongue can claim that even in its decline a Bailiff of Egle rose to the Grand Mastership.

But although nothing was now left of the former splendour of the Venerable Tongue of England except a few ancient and honourable titles, nevertheless the framework of the Tongue was carefully and deliberately preserved in the confident anticipation that the day would surely come when England would once more play a prominent part in the Order of St. John. With this object in view the senior Knight in residence, regardless of nationality, became for the time being the Pillar of England. It was his duty to keep Auberge for any brethren admitted to the Tongue, and as its Pillar he had a seat and vote in the Grand Master's Council. The duty was not entirely a sinecure, for during this period English brethren were occasionally admitted to the Order. For the same reason at the elections of the Grand Masters special arrangements were always made for the representation of the Tongue.

Although England was now definitely and finally a Protestant country, the possibility of restoring their Order on the old basis was still considered worthy of consideration by the Grand Master and Council. The mere journey of the Prince of Wales to Spain in 1625 caused the question to be discussed in Rome, and when Charles I married Princess Henrietta Maria of France, and a Catholic Queen once more shared the English throne, serious attention began to be directed to the subject. In 1639 Sir Nicholas Fortescue, with the Queen's approval, submitted to the Grand Master John Lascaris a complete scheme for the restoration of the Tongue of England, based on the return of the confiscated Commanderies. It was estimated that if it were not possible to recover the Commanderies a revenue of 12,000 scudi a year would be necessary for the proper maintenance of the English brethren, including the four Grand Crosses. To assist in the prosecution of this scheme, Sir Nicholas Fortescue was received as a Knight

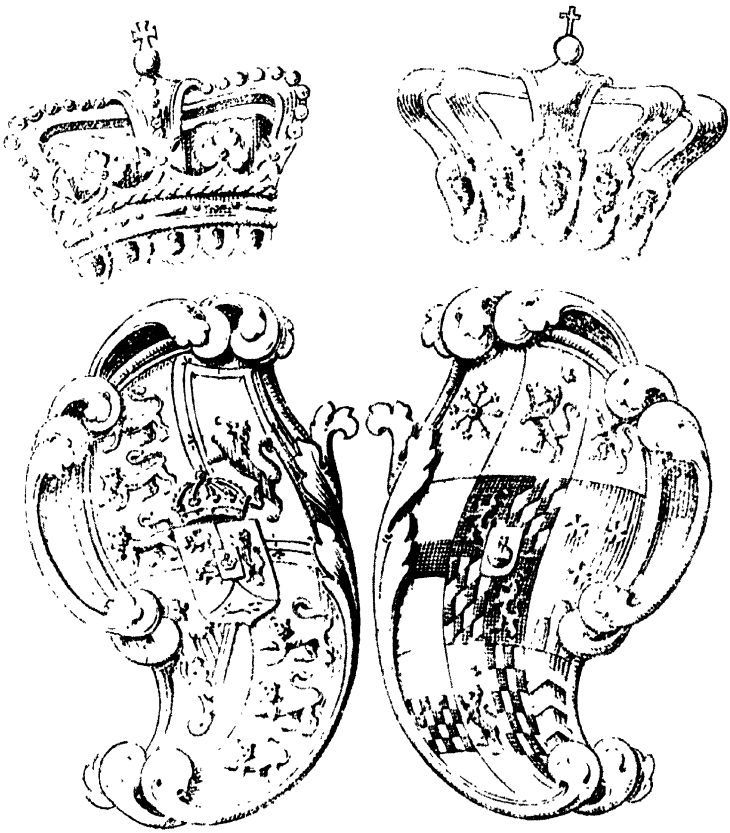
of Justice in the Tongue of England, but nothing came of it, and he was killed in action in 1644. Then a body of Irishmen gained the support of Don Prospero Colonna, Grand Prior of Ireland, for certain proposals of their own, but again without result. Yet a third scheme was put forward by John Somerset, son of the Marquis of Worcester, when he visited Malta in 1653 on his way back from the Holy Land. The idea of recovering the confiscated Commanderies was definitely abandoned, and instead it was proposed to invest sufficient capital abroad to produce an annual revenue of 20,000 scudi. It was estimated that this would be sufficient to enable the Tongue to maintain as many brethren as there were in the list of those pensioned at the dissolution of 1540, namely twenty-nine. Under this scheme the Grand Prior of England was to receive 5000 scudi a year, the Grand Prior of Ireland and the Bailiff of Egle 2500 scudi each, and there were to be seven Commanderies for military brethren, three at 2000 and four at 1000 scudi each. But these proposals came to nothing, doubtless owing to the financial problem they involved. At last when a Catholic king once more reigned over England, the long-hoped-for restoration seemed capable of being realized. The famous Grand Master Nicholas Cotoner, the builder of the Cotonera Lines covering the Great Harbour, had died in 1680. The magnificent ebony cabinet, which Dom Pedro, the Prince Regent of Portugal, presented to him ten years earlier, was purchased for the Order by some of its members in 1924.[1] In 1685 his successor, the Grand Master Gregory Carafa, sent a special mission to London to congratulate James II on his accession to the throne and to ascertain his views on the possibility of reconstituting the Venerable Tongue of England. A series of negotiations followed, and in 1687 a special commission of four Conventual Bailiffs was appointed to consider the conditions under which a complete restoration of the Tongue to its ancient

[1] The donors were the Viscount Lascelles, the Earl of Iveagh, Mr. Ho Kom Tong, and others.



PORTRAITS OF THE GRAND PRIOR ANDREW WISE, 1503-1631
In the Chapter Hall at St John's Gate

Facing p. 130



ARMS OF THE ANGLO-BAVARIAN TONGUE

From Mifsud's "English Knights Hospitallers"

position should be feasible. The commission reported that the essential condition was either the restoration of the confiscated Commanderies or some alternative endowment. As always, the financial questions involved were the most serious difficulty, and the restoration of the confiscated Commanderies being obviously now impossible, some alternative means of providing the necessary revenue had to be devised. The serious interest taken in the question by James II was shown in the winter of 1687 by the visit to Malta of Henry Fitz James, his second son by Arabella Churchill. The Grand Master conferred upon his distinguished visitor the Cross of the Order in brilliants, and in 1689, at the special request of his royal father, appointed him Grand Prior of England. But all the hopes of the Order were shattered in 1690 when James II was defeated at the Battle of the Boyne and driven into exile.

Brother Henry Fitz James, titular Duke of Albemarle, resigned the Grand Priory of England in 1701 and was succeeded by two Italians, Brothers Giulio Bovio and Francesco Maria Ferretti. But the House of Stuart, even in exile, always retained a deep interest in the Order of St. John, and that Prince who styled himself James III of England protested vigorously against the title of Grand Prior of England being bestowed upon foreigners. He insisted that this dignity ought always to be reserved for Englishmen, and out of deference to his protests Francesco Ferretti was translated to the Bailiwick of Cremona in 1726, and a certain Irish Knight, Sir Nicholas Gerardin, was appointed Grand Prior in his place. But he was appointed only with certain reservations: he was to take precedence below the Grand Crosses of Justice and to rank only as a Grand Cross of Grace until the Tongue of England should again be restored to its ancient position. In 1733 Nicholas Gerardin was succeeded as Grand Prior by Lord Peter Fitz James, son of the second Duke of Berwick, and he was succeeded in the following year by his younger brother, Lord Anthony Bonaventure Fitz James, who held the title until his marriage in 1755, when

he ceased to be a professed Knight of the Order, but remained attached to it as a Knight of Honour and Devotion. So ended the connection of the House of Stuart with the Grand Priory of England, which now passed first to an Italian and then to the new Anglo-Bavarian Tongue.

So far the Order of St. John had only considered reviving the Tongue of England in its old form, with such modifications as changed circumstances had rendered necessary, but now a fresh policy was to be adopted, that of infusing new blood into the old organization. The Elector of Bavaria had long desired to see the Order established in his dominions, and was prepared to endow it with Commanderies formed from the estates of the Jesuits, who had been recently suppressed. It would have been only natural to add the Bavarians to the Tongue of Germany, but the brethren of that venerable society were so rigid and unyielding in their objection to the slightest change in its composition that the Grand Master Emmanuel de Rohan, decided to incorporate the Bavarians in the dormant Tongue of England, which was henceforth to take the name of the Anglo-Bavarian Tongue. But before any change could be made definite, it was necessary to have the consent of the Pope as first superior of the Order, and of the King of England as sovereign of the country principally concerned, even though the English Tongue had no more than a nominal existence. The papal sanction was obtained in 1782, and in the following year King George III expressed his approval of the proposal.

The Anglo-Bavarian Tongue consisted of the Grand Priory of Ebersburg and the Bailiwick of Neuberg, together with, in theory, the Grand Priories of England and Ireland and the Bailiwick of Egle. The Grand Priory of Poland was added to the Tongue in 1785, but on the final partition of that country in 1797 became known as the Grand Priory of Russia. The ancient office of Turcopolier was revived for the Pillar of the Anglo-Bavarian Tongue, and was held by Brother Johann Baptist von Flachslanden, whilst in 1790 the Bailiwick of Egle was conferred upon another

Bavarian, Brother Norbert von Torring. The Tongue purchased as its Auberge the Palace of Gaspard Carneiro, Bailiff of Acre, and was allotted for the use of its brethren the Chapel of St. Charles in the Conventual Church, since the chapel originally reserved for the Tongue of England had been annexed by that of Germany.[1] Over the centre of the Auberge floated the Standard of the Order, with that of the Grand Master on its left; over the right corner was hoisted the Standard of the Tongue, impaling the Royal Arms of England with those of Bavaria, and over the left corner was the Standard of Poland.

The Anglo-Bavarian Tongue was destined to have only a short existence, but before the French occupation of Malta in 1798 brought it to a premature end, it was to receive a curious and interesting addition. The young Czar of Russia, Paul I, who had always been an enthusiastic admirer of the Knights of Malta, desired a new Grand Priory of Russia for those who belonged to the Orthodox Church. His wishes could not be disregarded, and moreover the complimentary title of 'Protector of the Order of Malta' had only just been conferred upon him, with the crosses of the three heroes, D'Aubusson, L'Isle Adam, and La Valette.[2] The religious question naturally presented grave difficulties, but times had changed since the days of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth. The Order already contained a non-Catholic branch in the Protestant Bailiwick of Brandenburg, with which it had resumed communion in 1763, after a schism of more than two centuries. A special commission was appointed to investigate the question, and reported in favour of the establishment of the proposed Grand Priory, regarding it as 'an aggregation

[1] The chapel originally intended for England was the fourth to the right of the high altar. The Chapter-General of 1603 allowed the Tongue of Germany to occupy this chapel, on condition that it should revert to the Tongue of England, should it be reconstituted. See Mifsud, p. 117.

[2] Mifsud, p. 238, but it is said that he received the sword of D'Aubusson by Villeneuve-Bargemont in his *Monumens des Grands Maîtres*, Vol. II, p. 326.

for crosses of devotion, such as have been granted at all times to persons professing other religions'.[1] The new Grand Priory already sanctioned by the Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch, was accordingly established by the Czar, who had been elected Grand Master in 1798. This election of the Czar created many grave difficulties and met with the strong disapproval of the Pope. The Elector of Bavaria found himself involved in so many disputes that in 1808 he decided to abolish the Order of St. John in his dominions, and so brought to an end the short-lived union of the Tongue of England with Bavaria, although the Anglo-Bavarian Tongue continued a nominal existence for some years longer.[2]

[1] Mifsud, p. 237.

[2] The Grand Priory of Poland (Russia) was dissolved in 1810, but the Grand Priory for those of the Orthodox Church continued to exist as an independent national order.

CHAPTER XII

THE RESTORATION OF THE GRAND PRIORY OF ENGLAND

THE French Revolution created for the Hospitallers the third great crisis in their history. The first blow fell in 1792, when the Commanderies of the three Tongues of Provence, Auvergne, and France were confiscated and the Order declared to be dissolved in that country. Six years later, in the summer of 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte, on his way to Egypt, seized Malta, meeting with no serious resistance. There were at the time 332 Religious in the Convent, of whom 200 were French, with 3300 troops at their disposal, besides 3000 Maltese militia, and their fortress was universally regarded as the most powerful in Europe. But the ancient spirit of loyalty to the Order and confidence in its mission had weakened under the misfortunes of recent years. Some of the French Knights had been corrupted by the intrigues of their fellow countrymen, and many of the native Maltese had become infected with the prevailing spirit of republican equality. Had there been a Grand Master of the type of Cardinal d'Aubusson, or John de la Vallette, the fortress could undoubtedly have been held successfully until the arrival of Nelson and the British fleet. But the Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch unhappily was quite unfitted for the troubled times under which he had been called to rule over his Order. A man of highly estimable character, he lacked energy and decision at a time when both were so urgently needed, and proved himself to be entirely devoid of personality and the power of command. When the main French fleet anchored off Malta on June

9th there had been no adequate preparations for defence, though ample warning had been received; confusion reigned supreme, and treason was allowed to raise its head unchecked. One French Knight, La Guérivière, conducted an active defence from Fort Rohan, an isolated post on the Marsa Scirocco, until lack of food compelled him to surrender;[1] there was a feeble show of resistance at one or two other points, and then on June 12th the Grand Master tamely capitulated, so bringing upon his Order such shame and humiliation as it had never known in all its long and glorious history.

Ferdinand von Hompesch retired to Trieste, taking with him the three most revered relics of the Order, the fragment of the True Cross, and the sacred icon of Our Lady of Philermo, both of which the Hospitallers had brought with them to Cyprus after the fall of Acre, and the right hand of St. John Baptist. He eventually retired to Montpellier, where he died in poverty and obscurity in 1805. The Knights of St. John, completely ruined by the loss of Malta, dispersed for the most part to the countries of their origin. But many of the Knights, taking with them the three sacred relics,[2] fled to Russia, where they received a cordial welcome from the Czar Paul, the Protector of the Order. In gratitude for this kindness, and seeing in their powerful Protector the only hope for the future, the refugees in a most irregular manner elected him Grand Master without waiting for the resignation of Ferdinand von Hompesch, which was not received until the following year. On the death of the Czar Paul in 1801, his successor

[1] See Porter, Vol. II, p. 449.

[2] These relics were regarded as the personal property of the Russian Imperial family, and were usually kept in the Winter Palace in Petrograd, but were taken every year for a certain period to Gatchina. They were there in 1919, and were taken to Reval by Father Bogoyavlenski, when General Youdenitch retired into Esthonia. Father Bogoyavlenski handed them over to General Count Alexei Ignatiev, for delivery to the Dowager Czarina Marie in Copenhagen. In 1931 His Majesty King George of Greece informed the author that they had been placed in charge of the King of Yugo-Slavia under a special deed of trust, and were kept in his private chapel in Belgrade.

Alexander I assumed the title of ' Protector of the Order ', but left the Grand Mastership to the decision of the Pope, who nominated the Bailiff John Tommasi di Cortona to fill the vacancy. He proclaimed himself Grand Master in the Priory Church at Messina, subsequently transferring the Convent to Catania, where he died in 1805. He was the last Grand Master for over seventy years, the Popes as first superiors of the Order nominating a series of Lieutenant-Masters during that period.

The great problem that had to be solved during this long lieutenancy was how to adapt the ancient military religious Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem to the requirements of the nineteenth century. It was obvious that it could only expect to survive by finding some means of justifying its existence. The first hopes of the Order naturally centred upon the recovery of Malta and the resumption of their ancient rôle as the protectors of Europe against the Barbary corsairs. When the British occupation of Malta rendered its recovery impossible they looked for compensation elsewhere. But the bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth in 1816, and the French occupation of that town in 1830, put an end to the Barbary corsairs, and the Mediterranean coasts no longer needed the protection of the Hospitallers. Their ceaseless warfare against the infidel was ended for ever.

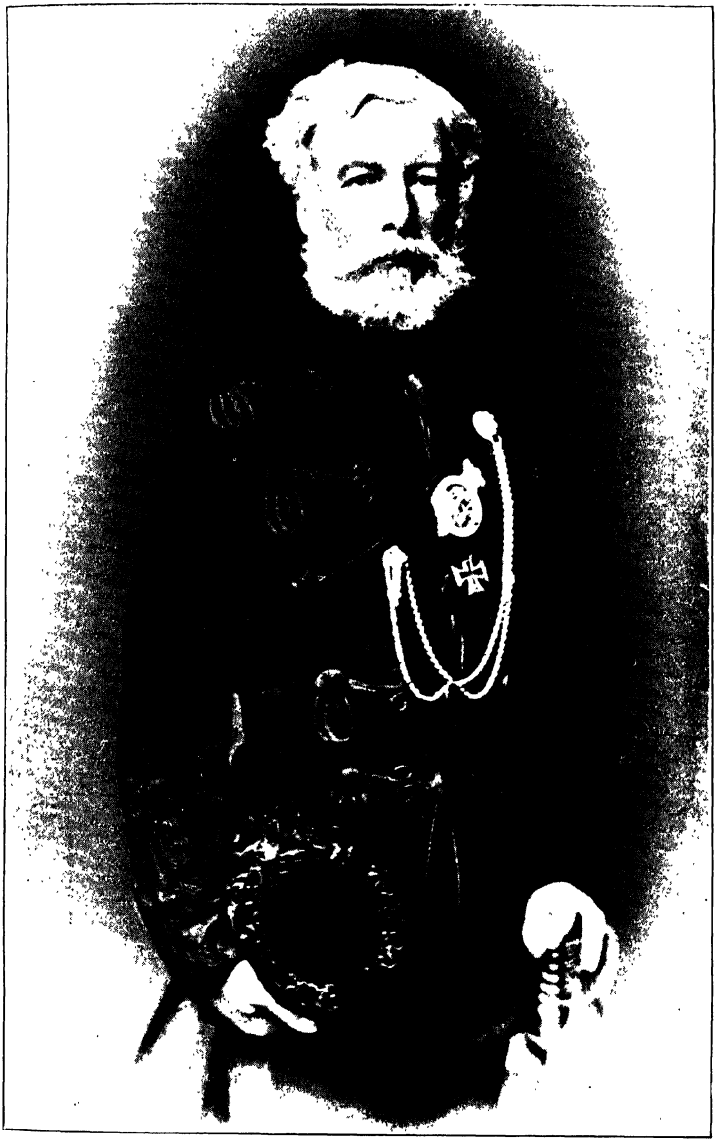
For a moment in 1850 military duties of another kind were under consideration, and there was a suggestion that they should undertake the guardianship of the Papal States and the protection of the Pope, a suggestion that was without result.

But the Knights had always had a dual rôle to perform; they were not only engaged ' in the defence of the Catholic Faith ', but also ' in the service of the poor '. Throughout their long history their great and famous Hospital, from which the name and origin of the Order is derived, had always been one of their first considerations, and it became increasingly evident that in the development of that side of their duties the future of the Order lay. The Convent

had moved from Catania in Sicily to Ferrara in the Papal States in 1826, and in 1834 to Rome, where it has ever since remained. There in the Eternal City the Knights of St. John, remembering their ancient rule that they should 'adorn their Knighthood with a true charity, the mother and solid foundation of all virtues', devoted themselves to the service of the poor and the relief of human suffering with the same selfless zeal that they had shown in the past to the age-long fight for Christianity against Islam. There in the Eternal City their work and influence in the world became gradually more and more important, their shattered organization was slowly restored and reconstructed to meet the requirements of a new age, until at last the long lieutenancy drew to a close. The sovereign military religious Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the oldest Order of chivalry in the world, by its hospitals, its manifold charities, and its ambulance work in war, had regained the esteem and admiration of Christendom, and in 1879 Pope Leo XIII restored the Grand Mastership in the person of Count John Baptist Ceschi di Santa Croce, then Lieutenant-Master. The new Grand Master ruled from his palace at Rome over an Order greatly changed in outward form, but it still retained the Grand Priories of Rome, the Two Sicilies, and Bohemia-Austria, to which the Emperor Ferdinand, in 1841 had added the restored Grand Priory of Lombardo-Venetia, whilst in other countries the ancient Tongues were represented by Associations of Knights. The Grand Master died in 1905, and was succeeded in his high office by Prince Galeas von Thun-Hohenstein, Commander of Maidelberg,[1] who was succeeded on his death in 1931, by the present Grand Master, Prince Ludovico Chigi della Rovere Albani.

Meanwhile, on the downfall of the French Empire and the restoration of the House of Bourbon, the remnants of

[1] He was born at Trento, in Austria, on September 24th, 1850; received as a Knight of Justice in the Grand Priory of Bohemia and Austria on June 8th, 1875; appointed Commander of Maidelburg, May 1st, 1892; and was elected Grand Master on March 8th, 1905.



SIR WILLIAM DROGO 7TH DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P.
GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1861–1888
From a photograph at St. John's Gate

Facing p 138

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA

SOVEREIGN HEAD AND PATRON OF THE ORDER

From a painting by Dudley Heath in the Council Chamber

the three dormant Tongues of Provence, Auvergne, and France suddenly sprang into activity. In 1814 the French Knights held a Chapter-General in Paris under the presidency of Prince Camille de Rohan, Grand Prior of Aquitaine, to consider the future of the Order, and elected a permanent Capitular Commission with full powers not only to deal with the internal affairs of the French Tongues, but also to regulate the political, civil, and financial affairs of the Order as a whole. The action taken was in theory highly irregular, since nominally all legitimate authority was vested in the Lieutenant-Master and Council at Catania. But in practice it was the only possible course to take if the interests of the Order were to be effectively represented at the Congress of Vienna. The German and Anglo-Bavarian Tongues had practically disappeared during the period of chaos that followed the loss of Malta, the Tongues of Aragon and Castile-Portugal had been annexed to the crowns of Spain and Portugal, whilst the little body of Italian Knights constituting the Convent was entirely devoid of influence in the councils of Europe. The French Capitular Commission was in reality the only body capable of taking any effective action. This was so evident that the proceedings of the French Knights were regularized by a papal bull of August 10th, 1814, in which the Lieutenant-Master Andrew di Giovanni concurred two months later.

With its authority thus confirmed and strengthened, the Capitular Commission was able to lay down the policy to be pursued by the Order and to carry on negotiations in its name. At the Congress of Vienna in 1814 it was engaged in pressing the claims of the Order to the cession of an island in the Mediterranean as compensation for the loss of Malta, and again in 1822 at the Congress of Verona. But all these efforts to obtain compensation met only with disappointment and failure. Meanwhile the Greek War of Independence had broken out in 1821, and the successes of the Greeks, and above all their naval victories, began to inspire certain Knights with the hope of recovering their

old home in Rhodes. Accordingly, in 1823, the Capitular Commission concluded a treaty with the insurgent Greeks, by which the islands of Sapienza and Cabrera on the western coast of the Morea, were ceded to the Order as a first step towards the reconquest of Rhodes, whilst attempts were made to float a loan in England for this purpose. The treaty did not meet with the approval of the great Powers, and fell to the ground, but it had this important result, that in the desire to obtain English support for their schemes the Capitular Commission decided upon the revival of the Venerable Tongue of England.

The recent proceedings of the Capitular Commission had not, however, met with the approval of the Convent at Catania. The Lieutenant-Master Andrew di Giovanni was now dead, and in 1824 his successor, Anthony Busca, Bailiff of Armenia, revoked the powers granted by his predecessor and peremptorily ordered the immediate dissolution of the Commission. But that body still remained the only part of the Order with any real influence in affairs, and it was not prepared to surrender the wide powers that had been granted to it ten years before. The three French Tongues, now under the protection of Louis XVIII, regarded themselves as the only body of Knights who could any longer seriously claim to be really representative of the Order of St. John. Their policy, which had at first been directed by the Abbé Césarini, had now been for some time controlled by the Grand Chancellor, the Marquis de St. Croix Molay. He was, Count de Chastelain states,[1] a man of great ability, and energy, who never ceased working with untiring zeal for the restoration of the Order, to which his death was a great loss. The Grand Chancellor had embarked upon a clearly defined well-thought-out policy that he believed would result in the restoration of the Order to something like its old position in Europe, and he was not prepared to see his plans brought to nought by the intervention of a Lieutenant-Master, whose authority was at that time little more than nominal. Accordingly the

[1] In a letter to Sir Edmund Lechmere dated February 25th, 1872.

Capitular Commission declined to admit the right of the Lieutenant-Master to withdraw their powers, which they claimed were constituted in accordance with the Statutes and under the spiritual authority of the Pope by virtue of the papal bull of August 10th, 1814, and the Marquis de St. Croix Molay proceeded with his plans, of which one of the most essential parts was the revival of the Tongue of England, to whose future support and assistance the three French Tongues attached the highest importance.

Any question of reviving the Order of St. John in England was of course accompanied from the first by one very serious difficulty, that of religion. But it was obvious that if the revival of the Order was to be a success the fact would have to be faced that the country was predominantly Protestant. There were, however, two precedents for the existence of non-Catholic bodies within the Order—namely, the Protestant Bailiwick of Brandenburg and the Orthodox Grand Priory of Russia. Accordingly in his detailed letter of instructions of September 14th, 1827, for the revival of the Tongue of England, the Grand Chancellor laid down that candidates might be admitted and received according to the mode and form used by the Bailiwick of the reformed religion, but that the Catholic Brothers of the Grand Priory of Ireland would be required to follow the Statutes in their entirety. In this same letter the Chevalier Philip de Chastelain was confirmed as Delegate of the Mastership on the Provincial Council of the Tongue. It was not until the autumn of 1830 that a Committee was finally formed for giving effect to these instructions, and on January 29th, 1831, in the presence of the French delegate, Philip de Chastelain, and of the Agent-General of the French Tongue, the Rev. Sir Robert Peat was elected Prior *ad interim* of the Venerable Tongue of England, ' which office he accepted, and was accordingly with due formality inaugurated into the office of Prior and invested with its high and eminent functions '. Three years later, on February 24, 1834, and in the hope of reviving the Charter of Queen Mary, Sir Robert Peat

took the oath 'de fideli administratione' in the Court of King's Bench before the Lord Chief Justice of England. Sir Robert Peat died in 1837, and in the following year Sir Henry Dymoke was elected Grand Prior of England in his place.

In the very year that Sir Robert Peat died difficulties began to manifest themselves ominous for the future. In 1837 the diplomas of brethren received into the Tongue of England were transmitted to Paris for ratification, and the reply came back that diplomas or bulls of the Grand Mastery could only be accorded to Protestants by virtue of a special dispensation for each candidate. It had always been distinctly understood that receptions in the Tongue of England would receive the same treatment as those in the Protestant Bailiwick of Brandenburg and the Orthodox Grand Priory of Russia had formerly received. But circumstances had now completely changed, the moving spirit in the revival of the English Tongue, the Marquis de St. Croix Molay, was dead, the French Capitular Commission had been abolished, and the Tongues of Provence, Auvergne, and France had returned to their obedience. The significance of the new attitude could not be mistaken. Whilst the delicate question of the legitimacy of the French action in reviving the Tongue of England was left in abeyance, it was clear that the possibility of another non-Catholic branch of the Order was not viewed with sympathy. For some years indirect negotiations on the subject continued, until in 1843 the Lieutenant-Master Charles Candida laid down that the Statutes would prevent him from admitting to the Order any but Roman Catholics, and negotiations then dropped. The question could scarcely have been left in a more unsatisfactory condition, and in 1858 it was decided to bring matters definitely to a head. But circumstances were now more unfavourable than ever; the downfall of the French Monarchy in 1848 had resulted in the virtual extinction of the Tongues of Provence, Auvergne, and France, which had always preserved the most cordial relations with their

offspring, the revived Tongue of England, and the Lieutenant-Master Philip de Colloredo, finally refused to recognize the legitimacy of the French action in reviving the English Tongue.

The year 1858 is the turning-point in the history of the modern Order in England, and must always remain one of its great historic landmarks. Until then it had regarded the Lieutenant-Master at Rome as its immediate superior, it had been without any national policy of its own, seeking only to conform to the general policy of the Sovereign Order of Malta, as it is now more generally called. From this time onwards it becomes a purely national Order, having a distinct policy of its own, and looking up to its own Sovereign as its natural head. The nature and position of the Order in England had already been defined in the famous Nine Declaratory Resolutions published on St. John's Day, 1841, which became the corner-stone of its constitution, and it now proclaimed itself an independent body, appointed a Capitular Commission to manage its affairs, and assumed the title of 'The Sovereign and Illustrious Order of St. John of Jerusalem: Anglia'. Following the example of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, which had been restored in 1853, it stated that its head was the Master of the Order in the British Empire, but no such appointment was ever made. These arrangements were, however, purely provisional, and the new constitution assumed its final form in 1871, differing very little from that of the present day. The Order now styled itself simply 'The Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England', and declared the Prior,[1] no longer styled Grand Prior, to be its head. The Capitular Commission was abolished, and so also were the purely titular dignities of Grand Prior of Ireland and Prior of Scotland. An interesting change was also made in the insignia: up to this time the badge had been the white Maltese cross

[1] In 1875 the Prior was given the title of Lord Prior, and the number of Honorary Bailiffs was fixed at eight, and the number of Honorary Commanders at fifteen.

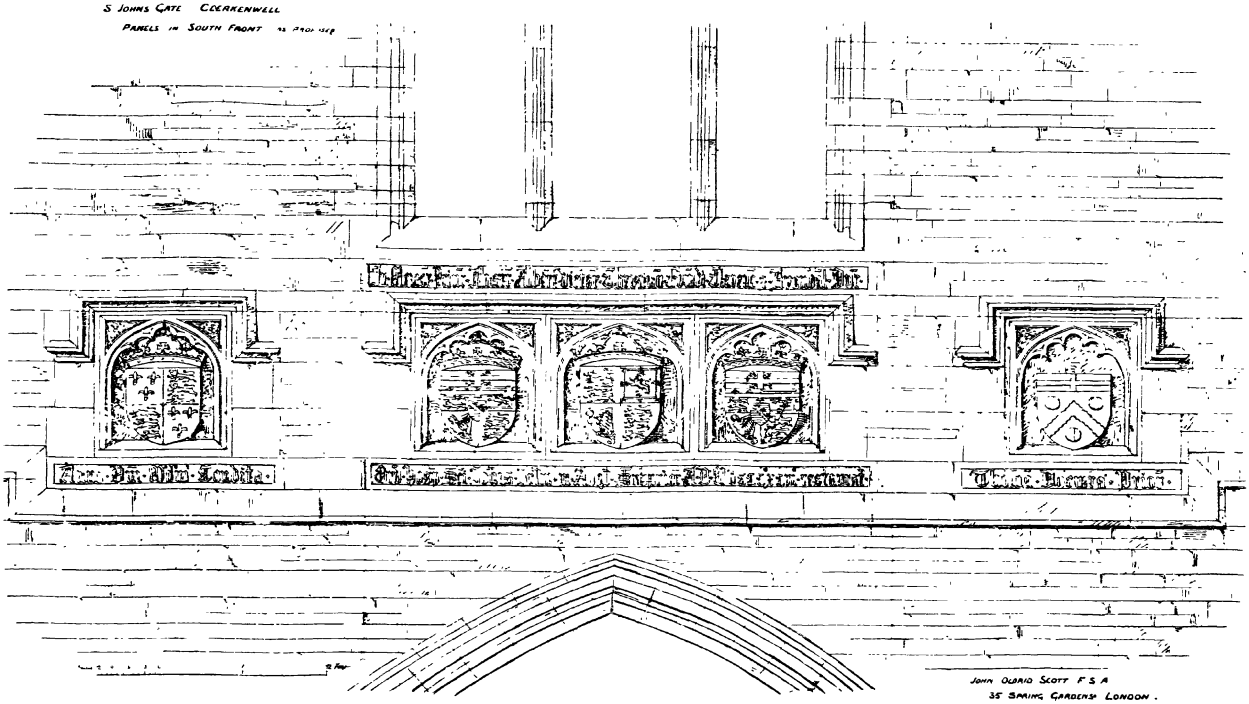
surmounted by a sovereign crown and embellished with lions and unicorns, whilst the star had been without the embellishment. In 1871 the embellishment was removed from the badge also.[1]

So far the Order of St. John had succeeded in re-establishing itself in England and in reviving certain of its ancient dignities. It had shown that its guiding principle was that spirit of charity which was to be the inspiration of all its future work. But as yet it had done little to establish itself as one of the great national institutions. It was not at first clear how best to give practical expression to the ideals with which the Order was inspired, or to discover the channels in which its zeal and energy could best be utilized for the benefit of suffering humanity. The work of adapting it to the requirements of the age, and of establishing it firmly as one of the greatest institutions in the land, was accomplished during the long period of office of the Duke of Manchester. Elected Grand Prior of England in 1861, he continued to direct the destinies of the Order for no fewer than twenty-seven years, during which period he was so ably assisted by Sir Edmund Lechmere, who for twenty-two years was Secretary-General. The entire period was one of rapid advancement and progress, during which almost the whole of the modern activities of the Order were originated and moulded into shape. Besides its work in time of war and those countless minor activities which can scarcely be enumerated, the Life Saving Medal was instituted in 1874, the St. John Ambulance Association was formed in 1878, out of which sprang the St. John Ambulance Brigade ten years later, and the Hospital in Jerusalem was established in 1882.

To this same period belonged the acquisition of nearly all that was left of the old Priory at Clerkenwell, the

[1] Four years later, in 1875, the Sovereign Order of Malta formed the Association of English Knights of that Order, of which the late Lord North was President for so many years, an office held since his death in 1932 by Viscount FitzAlan of Derwent. This Association maintains the Hospital of St. John and St. Elizabeth at Hampstead.

H.R.H. ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES,
GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1888–1901



MEMORIAL TO H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALE

S^r B-PRIOR OF THE ORDER. 1888–1892

possession of which has been such a veritable inspiration to the modern Order. After its confiscation by Queen Elizabeth in 1559 the Priory had become the headquarters of the drama, Edmund Tylney, the Master of the Revels, residing there. It afterwards passed to Lord Burleigh, descending by marriage to Lord Aylesbury. By the beginning of the eighteenth century most of the Priory buildings had disappeared except the Chancel of the Church and the Gate House. The Church had been blown up by the Protector Somerset in 1549, but the Chancel had remained, ultimately becoming the Parish Church. The gift of the living was obtained by the Order, which uses the Chapel in the Crypt dedicated to St. John Almoner as its Communion Chapel, and there places its memorial tablets to deceased brethren. In the Crypt is the beautiful monumental effigy in white alabaster of the Castilian Knight, Don Juan Ruyz de Vergara, which stood originally in a chapel, no longer existing, of the Cathedral of Valladolid.[1] In 1931 the Parish of St. John was absorbed into that of St. James, Clerkenwell, and the Priory Church once more passed into the hands of its original owners after a lapse of nearly four hundred years. There the banners of the Bailiffs Grand Cross are now always displayed. The Gate House was used as a printing office in the eighteenth century, then as the Parish Watch House, afterwards becoming an inn known as ' The Old Jerusalem Tavern ', where the Chapter-General met for the first time in 1858. The freehold was purchased by Sir Edmund Lechmere in 1874 and was afterwards transferred to the Order, which began to use the Western Tower in that year, but it was not until 1887 that it was able to enter into complete possession, and the Chapter Hall and adjacent buildings were only erected in 1903.

[1] This monument was presented by Sir Guy Laking, Knight of Grace, in 1914. The Vergara family is famous in the Basque Provinces of Spain, and the career of Don Juan can be traced between the years 1556 and 1574, when he finally left Malta. See *Report of Chapter-General*, 1915, pp. 38, 39.

Re-established in all that was left of their ancient home, and universally respected and esteemed for their charitable and beneficent activities, the Knights of St. John were at last to receive their recognition and reward in the Royal Charter granted by Queen Victoria. Their charitable labours had first attracted Royal attention in the year 1876, when H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, afterwards H.M. Queen Alexandra, was graciously pleased to become a Lady of Justice of the Order. From that date it received the support and countenance of almost every member of the Royal Family, several of whom were formally received into its ranks. At last, in the year 1888, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who had been a Bailiff Grand Cross of the Sovereign Order of Malta since 1881, on behalf of the Prior and brethren of the Order, presented to H.M. Queen Victoria their humble petition that she would be graciously pleased to grant them her Royal Charter of Incorporation, and on May 14th in that year the Charter received the royal assent.[1] Under its terms the Order was given its ancient style and title of ' The Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England ', the Queen became its Sovereign Head and Patron, and the Prince of Wales its Grand Prior.

The installation of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales as Grand Prior of England took place at St. John's Gate in August, 1888, and at the same time his eldest son, H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, entered upon office as Sub-Prior of the Order. In this same year H.R.H. Prince Albert of Prussia, Grand Master of the Johanniterorden and Bailiff of Brandenburg was appointed an Honorary Knight of Justice. The Grand Priory of England from the earliest days of its restoration had modelled itself upon the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, as the only other Protestant branch of

[1] This second great landmark in the history of the modern Order was commemorated by a change in the insignia. The national embellishment abolished in 1871 was now restored both to the badge and star, and from the former the sovereign crown was removed, but the badge of the Grand Prior was surmounted by the Imperial Crown, that of the Sub-Prior by a Coronet, and those of Bishops by Mitres.

the Order of St. John, and until the unhappy events of the Great War, the relations between the two bodies were always of the most cordial and friendly nature. The Prussian Knights maintained an Evangelical Hospice in Jerusalem, and had rebuilt the old Church of St. Maria Major, to which they had given the name of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, and had restored the cloisters and refectory of the mediæval Benedictine convent for women. In 1898 on the occasion of the famous visit to Jerusalem of the Emperor William II, accompanied by the Empress, this church was consecrated in their august presence. The Grand Priory of England was invited to send representatives; a special delegation proceeded to the Holy Land, and there were present at that historic ceremony three Knights of Justice, Viscount Templetown, Colonel Wyndham Murray, and Mr. A. F. G. Leveson-Gower, and Mr. J. M. Cook, Knight of Grace.

In the year 1892 there occurred the much lamented death of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence, Sub-Prior of the Order, and he was succeeded in that office by his brother, H.R.H. the Duke of York. The loss that the Order had sustained by the decease of its Sub-Prior was commemorated by a tablet of arms placed upon the city face of the archway at St. John's Gate. On the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 the Sub-Prior, now Prince of Wales, became Grand Prior of England, and in 1910 he was succeeded in that high office by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, who had been received in the Order as Knight of Justice in 1881, had been one of the signatories of the petition for the Charter, and had been Bailiff of Egle since 1894. Four years later came the outbreak of the European War, which brought with it in 1917 the recovery of Jerusalem by Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, himself a Knight of St. John, after a Moslem occupation that had lasted 673 years, and on January 11th, 1918, a great thanksgiving service was held in the Priory Church for the restoration of the Holy City to Christian hands.

CHAPTER XIII

THE POLICY OF IMPERIAL EXPANSION

THE history of the restored Grand Priory of England under the administration of its three Royal Grand Priors, had been one of steady progress, and ever increasing influence, until it had become firmly established as one of the greatest and most beneficent institutions in our native land. By the end of the 19th century it had attained a position of dignity and of utility to mankind in every way worthy of its ancient historic past, and of that venerable order of Hospitallers, founded by the Blessed Gerard in Jerusalem eight hundred years before, from which it has ever been so proud to trace its origin. The twentieth century was to witness the expansion of the Order throughout the British Empire, until by the widespread extension of their organization and their institutions the Knights of St. John were to become one of the firmest links in that sacred chain of loyalty which binds together the Dominions and Colonies in affectionate and devoted service to their King-Emperor.

Already during the latter years of the nineteenth century, the Order of St. John had begun to extend its influence into the Dominions of the Empire through its Ambulance Association and its Ambulance Brigade. In 1892 the first division of the Brigade to be established beyond the seas was raised at Dunedin in New Zealand. A year later a division was raised in South Africa at Cape Town, and yet another division at Auckland in New Zealand. By 1905 there were no fewer than 50 divisions of the St. John Ambulance Brigade beyond the seas, 21 in New Zealand, 15 in Australia, 11 in South Africa, and 3 in India, and within a few years divisions of the Brigade had been raised

in Canada, Malta, Newfoundland, Ceylon, Hong-Kong, and Gibraltar.

The time was fast approaching when it would be necessary for the Knights of St. John to consider the question of decentralization, and the establishment of subordinate self-governing bodies of their Order to supervise its local interests and work. The first step was taken in 1907 by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Grand Prior of England, when on his petition His Majesty King Edward VII, himself for so many years Grand Prior, granted to the Order of St. John a Supplemental Charter, empowering the Grand Prior to establish Priories throughout the Empire, which should be under his supreme jurisdiction and control. These powers were first used by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, the present Grand Prior, when in 1918 he established the Priory for Wales, with H.R.H. the Prince of Wales as its first Prior, and its headquarters at Cardiff. Historically it might be regarded as a revival of the old Welsh Commandery of Slebeche, the only ancient establishment of the Order in Wales. Had it been considered desirable to follow more closely historic precedent, and to link it definitely with the past, it would have been known as the Priory of Slebeche in Wales, just as in the northern kingdom the establishment of the Order was known as the Priory of Torphichen in Scotland.

For some years the new policy remained in abeyance, but by 1924 the strength of the St. John Ambulance Brigade beyond the seas had risen to 252 Ambulance and Nursing Divisions, with a total personnel of 5900 of all ranks. In that year the British Empire Exhibition was held at Wembley, and the occasion was utilized for a conference of representatives from the Dominions and Colonies. To mark the importance of the occasion His Majesty the King was graciously pleased to hold an investiture of the Order on St. John's Day in the Ball Room at Buckingham Palace, the first Royal investiture to be held in the history of the restored Grand Priory. On this occasion 142 members and associates of the Order at home and overseas were

invested with its insignia by His Majesty, and amongst the Knights and Dames so invested were H.R.H. the Duchess of York, as a Dame of Justice, and the Viscount Lascelles, husband of H.R.H. the Princess Mary, as a Knight of Grace.

By the year 1926 the policy to be adopted in the future expansion of the Order had been definitely decided, and in that year His Majesty the King was graciously pleased to grant to the Order a new Royal Charter, consolidating, amending, and superseding the Royal Charters of 1888 and 1907. Under the terms of this Charter the ancient style and title of the Grand Priory of England, was changed to that of the Grand Priory in the British Realm, and what had been until then a national English Order became a great Imperial Order, whilst as the outward sign of its ancient origin it was at the same time granted the honourable prefix of 'Venerable', corresponding to those honourable titles that precede the names of the other British Orders of Chivalry. An imperial organization was now given to the Order, under which in every state or province of the British Empire, a Commandery of the Order could be established, which might in course of time be raised to the dignity of a Priory, with Commanderies under it in its constituent states or provinces, and power was granted for such Priories to be ultimately linked together into Bailiwicks, corresponding to the greater Dominions of the Empire. By the same charter the classification of the members of the Order was brought more closely into line with the other British Orders, and corresponding modifications were made in the Diploma and the Insignia.

The grant of this new charter, which has so greatly enhanced the dignity and the importance of the Order of St. John throughout the Empire, was rendered even more impressive by the gracious action of His Majesty the King-Emperor, who was pleased at this time to grant to the Order as a sign of His Royal favour, the high honour and privilege of bearing a representation of His Royal Crest in the first quarter of its Arms, 'Gules a cross argent', and

From a painting by E. Caruana Dingli

FIELD-MARSHAL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT, K.G.
GRAND PRIOR OF THE ORDER

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.
PRIOR OF WALES
From a photograph by Vandyk at St. John's Gate

a Grant of Armorial Bearings was thereupon issued by the Kings of Arms to give effect to His Majesty's Royal License and Authority.[1] Furthermore, in the following year His Majesty granted to the Order yet another mark of His Royal favour, in personally investing in the Throne Room at Buckingham Palace the twenty-four new Grand Crosses created under the terms of the recent charter. His Majesty, wearing the robes of the Order, and the broad black riband of a Bailiff Grand Cross, was accompanied by Her Majesty the Queen, wearing the riband of a Dame Grand Cross. Amongst those invested on this occasion were Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Connaught, and Prince Arthur of Connaught as Bailiffs Grand Cross, and Their Royal Highnesses Princess Mary Viscountess Lascelles, the Duchess of York, Princess Louise Duchess of Argyll, Princess Beatrice, and Princess Arthur of Connaught Duchess of Fife, as Dames Grand Cross. His Majesty had that morning privately invested H.R.H. Princess Alice Countess of Athlone previous to her departure to join her husband, His Excellency the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, and His Majesty was graciously pleased to dispense with investiture, and to send his insignia privately to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

The year 1926 will always be famous in the history of the Grand Priory in the British Realm not only for the new charter granted in that year, but also for the impressive Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and to those places rendered for ever sacred to the Knights of St. John by the blood of the Hospitallers of old, shed so generously in battle for the Christian Faith. The Pilgrims, forty Knights and Dames of Justice and of Grace, with sixty-two representatives of other grades and their relatives and friends, under the leadership of the Sub-Prior, Major-General the Earl of

[1] Since the grant of its first Royal Charter in 1888, the Order had until now always used as its Arms, the Arms of the Sovereign Order of Malta, 'Gules a cross argent,' differenced by placing in the angles of the cross the lions and unicorns used as an embellishment to the badge. The ancient supporters of the shield are two angels, as in the arms of all the religious orders.

Scarbrough, supported by three of the Executive Officers, the Secretary-General, Major-General Sir Percival Wilkinson, the Librarian, Colonel E. J. King, and the Registrar, Lieut-Colonel Woolrych Perowne, landed at Jaffa on March 13th. Immediately on landing on holy soil the Sub-Prior and the Executive Officers dropped to their knees and recited the Lord's Prayer, and on reaching Jerusalem they proceeded at once on foot to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and there offered up prayer for the prosperity of the Order at the Tomb of Our Saviour. In Jerusalem the pilgrims attended Holy Communion in the ancient church of the Convent of the Hospitallers, now known as Mar Hanna,[1] and on the 15th they were formally received by His Excellency the High Commissioner, Field-Marshal the Viscount Plumer, himself a Knight of Grace, at Government House, where the Sub-Prior invested with their insignia twenty-two members of the Order, including the Anglican Bishop, Dr. Rennie MacInnes, and five Knights and Dames of Grace. In the Holy Land the Pilgrims visited the fountain of Cresson near Cana of Galilee, where the Anglo-Norman Master, Roger des Moulins, fell in battle against El-Afdal, Saladin's son, and the battlefield of Hattin, and that sacred spot where the 230 Templars and Hospitallers suffered martyrdom rather than renounce the Christian Faith.

From Acre, where the Templars and Hospitallers made their last desperate stand against the victorious hordes of the Moslem, the pilgrims proceeded to Cyprus, and were there received officially by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Malcolm Stevenson, who gave a reception and garden-party in their honour. On March 22nd the pilgrims

1 A tablet commemorative of the Pilgrimage was afterwards placed in the entrance porch of the Church of Mar Hanna; beneath three shields, bearing the Arms of the Order flanked by those of H.R.H. the Grand Prior and of the Sub-Prior, is the following inscription: 'This tablet commemorates the Pilgrimage of the Order of St. John of Jerusalen in England under the Leadership of its Sub-Prior the Earl of Scarbrough, when the Pilgrims received the Holy Sacrament in this Church 14 March, 1926.'

reached Rhodes, where His Excellency the Governor of the Aegean Islands, Signor Mario Lago, paid the Sub-Prior and Executive Officers of the Order the signal honour of receiving them in person on the quay. An investiture was held in the great hall of the ancient hospital of the Knights, when the Sub-Prior invested His Excellency as a Knight of Grace of the Order, and his Secretary-General, Signor Giorgio Ghigi, and the Mayor of Rhodes, Signor Alfredo Biliotti, as Honorary Associates. This followed the precedent of 1922, when on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the last Siege of Rhodes, the previous Governor, His Excellency Lieut.-General Vittorio Elia, had been appointed a Knight of Grace of the Order, and two of his officials, Colonel A. Boyance and Professor Maiuri, Honorary Associates.[1] His Excellency gave a state luncheon in honour of the Order to all the pilgrims, and after they had visited the ancient Auberge of England, and the Bastion of England, so gallantly defended by the Turcopolier John Buck, they attended a reception in their honour at the Residency. Before leaving Rhodes the Sub-Prior despatched a telegram of humble salutation, and appreciation of their welcome, to His Majesty the King of Italy.

The pilgrims arrived at Malta on March 25th, when representatives of His Excellency the Governor, and of the Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean Fleet, at once came on board their ship to welcome them. In the evening His Excellency General Sir Walter Congreve entertained the senior Knights and Dames of the Order at a state banquet, after which an investiture was held in the Throne Room of the Grand Masters, the Sub-Prior investing the Governor as a Knight of Grace, and twelve other members of the Order with the insignia of their respective grades.

[1] The Italian Government had invited representatives of the Grand Priory of England to the official celebrations of the Siege of Rhodes, but they had to be abandoned owing to the strained political situation in the Near East. The representatives selected to go were Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate and Colonel F. W. Pixley, Knights of Justice, and Lieut.-Colonel V. Gabriel, Knight of Grace. See *Report of Chapter-General*, 1923, pp. 26, 27.

On the following evening the senior Knights and Dames were entertained to dinner by the Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean Fleet, Admiral Sir Roger Keyes. During the visit to Malta there was a most hospitable reception by the Maltese in the Casino Maltese, and on returning to England the Sub-Prior was able to report to H.R.H. the Grand Prior in the following terms :—

The Pilgrimage has been from every point of view a complete success, and everywhere our Order has been received officially and with all due ceremony, in a manner befitting its dignity and status as an Order of Chivalry.[1]

His Majesty the King as Sovereign Head of the Order was graciously pleased to signify his royal approval of the pilgrimage in the following message to H.R.H. the Grand Prior :—

As Sovereign of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, I have great pleasure in congratulating you, the Grand Prior, and the members of the Grand Priory, upon the completion of their very successful Pilgrimage to those places especially connected with the history of the Order. This undertaking creates a new incident in its traditions, and will increase the interest taken in its general welfare and activities.

Whilst the Pilgrimage to the Holy Land was taking place, the Chancellor of the Order, Lieut.-General Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston, was finishing a tour through South Africa, and on his return reported that the time had arrived when it was desirable to establish a Commandery of the Order in that Dominion under the terms of the new charter. A formal application from His Excellency the Governor-General, Major-General the Earl of Athlone, followed, and on the petition of H.R.H. the Grand Prior,

[1] To commemorate the new Charter and the Pilgrimage a special medal, designed by Mr. E. Caruana Dingli, was struck in gold, silver, and bronze, and the armorial bearings in stained glass of the sixty senior Bailiffs Grand Cross and Knights of Justice, who desired to avail themselves of the privilege, were inserted in the windows of the Chapter Hall at St. John's Gate.

His Majesty the King was graciously pleased to grant his royal sanction to the formation of the new establishment. The Commandery in Southern Africa, the first-fruits of the new charter, came into existence on St. John's Day, 1927, with Major-General the Earl of Athlone as its first Commander, in which office he was succeeded in 1931 by His Excellency the Earl of Clarendon.

The establishment of the new Commandery, and the changes instituted by the new Royal Charter, were formally announced by H.R.H. the Grand Prior to the Swedish Commandery of the Johanniterorden,[1] with which the Grand Priory has maintained such cordial relations ever since the Swedish Commander, Count Wachtmeister, so courteously announced its formation in 1920 as an independent national order.[2] Prior to that year the Swedish Knights had been members of the Prussian Bailiwick of Brandenburg, with which the British Order had always been on the most friendly and intimate terms, until the unhappy estrangement caused by the events of the Great War.

In the year following the formation of the Commandery in Southern Africa, a notable extension of the Order's charitable work took place, when it became identified with the British Humane Association, a body formed by Mr. Campbell Johnson for philanthropic purposes, of which the principal activity is what is now known as the St. John's Clinic and Institute of Physical Medicine, in Pimlico. On the death of the founder in 1928 the control of the British Humane Association and of the Clinic passed into the hands of the Order, and with it an endowment fund left by the founder for the purpose of maintaining the Clinic as a pioneer institution for the practice and development of medical science for the benefit of humanity.

Meanwhile the policy of imperial expansion was continuing to make steady progress, and in the autumn of 1928

[1] In a letter dated November 18th, 1929.

[2] Besides the Commandery in Sweden, there is a Commandery in Holland, and there are also Commanderies in Poland and Hungary, all sprung from the Bailiwick of Brandenburg.

a delegation of the Order, under the leadership of Sir John Hewett, Bailiff of Egle,[1] proceeded to Australia and New Zealand to investigate and report upon the position and work of the Order in those Dominions. On the return of the delegation Sir John Hewett reported that conditions in New Zealand now justified the establishment of a Commandery. In 1929 a formal application was received from the Dominion Executive of the Ambulance Association and Brigade, and on the petition of H.R.H. the Grand Prior in the following year His Majesty the King extended his gracious sanction to the formation of the new establishment. The Commandery in New Zealand actually came into existence on St. John's Day, 1931, with Colonel the Hon. Sir Heaton Rhodes as its first Commander.

The immense progress made by the Order in every direction during these eventful years, and the universal esteem in which it is now held in the Empire, must be largely attributed to the inspired leadership, under H.R.H. the Grand Prior, of Major-General the Earl of Scarbrough, who had been Sub-Prior since 1923. To his wise guidance of its policy, and to his devoted labours, the Order of St. John owes more than can easily be expressed. In recognition of his services to the state he was created a Knight of the Garter in 1929, and the Knights of St. John in commemoration of the honour thus conferred upon their Order, and as a sign of their grateful appreciation of his services, presented to the Sub-Prior that beautiful portrait by Mr. Philip Laszlo de Lombos which now hangs in the Chapter Hall at St. John's Gate. The ancient House of Lumley has long been connected with the Order of St. John, and as far back as the fifteenth century we find Marmaduke Lumley, so badly wounded in the First Siege of Rhodes, Grand Prior of Ireland.

With the year 1931 the centenary of the restoration of the Grand Priory of England had arrived and was celebrated

[1] The other members of the delegation were Major Colin MacRae of Feoirlinn, Knight of Justice, Lady Margaret MacRae, Dame of Justice, and Mrs. Atkinson, Dame of Grace.

Scarbrough

MAJOR-GENERAL THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH, K.G
SUB-PRIOR OF THE ORDER
From a painting by P. Laszlo de Lombos in the Chapter Hall

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE NEW CHARTER AND PILGRIMAGE

Designed by E. Carmana Dingli

by a series of stately ceremonies, lasting an entire week, worthy of the exalted position to which the Order had then attained, and which can never be forgotten in its history. The celebrations opened on June 22nd with a banquet in St. James's Palace, over which H.R.H. the Grand Prior presided, and after the banquet His Royal Highness held a reception in the Tapestry Room, at which over 900 guests were present, amongst whom were H.R.H. Princess Helena Victoria, the Lady Patricia Ramsay, and numerous representatives from all parts of the Empire. On the following day the Investiture was held in the Ball Room of Buckingham Palace, the most brilliant ceremony that the Order of St. John has ever witnessed. His Majesty the King, in the uniform of a field-marshal, and over it the mantle of the Order, was accompanied by Her Majesty the Queen, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and all the members of the Royal Family, and in a semi-circle behind were grouped the Chapter-General of the Order, in levée dress, wearing their mantles. First H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester and H.R.H. Prince George were invested as Bailiffs Grand Cross, and then 158 members of the Order from all parts of the Empire were invested with the insignia of their various grades.

On St. John's Day the Commemoration service of the Order took place in Westminster Abbey amidst all the pomp and circumstance of a great state ceremony. The Nursing Divisions of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, including a large contingent from the Dominions, were led into the Abbey through the Great West Door by H.R.H. the Duchess of York, their Commandant-in-Chief since 1928. Then the Grand Prior's procession, the Chapter-General wearing levée dress beneath their mantles, moving from the Chapter House, entered the Abbey by the West Cloister Door, the Guard of Honour being furnished by the Westminster School Officers' Training Corps. The centenary sermon was preached by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Prelate of the Order, to a

congregation of over 1500 people, and was broadcast throughout the world. The service was followed by the General Assembly of the Order in the Great Hall of Westminster School, where messages of greeting and congratulations were read from the Swedish Commandery of the Johanniterorden, and from the representatives of the Order in Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and India. In tendering the grateful thanks of the Order to H.R.H. the Grand Prior for the gracious manner in which he had presided over its destinies for so many years, and for the constant encouragement that he had given to all those who are working for it, the Sub-Prior said, ' More than ever are we indebted to His Royal Highness for presiding on this occasion, for it is entirely due to his wholehearted support that these Centenary Celebrations have been brought to a successful achievement in this historic week '.

On the next day, June 25th, H.R.H. the Grand Prior gave an afternoon party at St. James's Palace, which was attended by H.R.H. Princess Mary Viscountess Lascelles, H.R.H. Princess Arthur of Connaught Duchess of Fife, the Lady Patricia Ramsay, and 1100 members of the Order of St. John, and of its Ambulance Association and Brigade, both at home and beyond the seas. On the 26th there were competitions in First Aid work, teams had entered from all parts of the Empire, and the prizes were presented by H.R.H. Princess Alice Countess of Athlone. The centenary celebrations terminated by a great Review of the St. John Ambulance Brigade in Hyde Park, when 4000 of all ranks were on parade, the Inspecting Officer being H.R.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught.

To commemorate these historic ceremonies it was decided to erect at St. John's Gate, when circumstances should render it possible, those new buildings, so urgently required with the great extension of the Order's work that has taken place in recent years. For this purpose a special Centenary Building Fund was opened to which the first to subscribe were His Majesty the King, Her Majesty

the Queen, and Their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Duchess of York, and the Duke of Connaught.

Scarcely were the Centenary Celebrations over, than the question of the establishment of a Commandery of the Order in Canada was ready for consideration. In the autumn of 1933 the Bailiff of Egle, Sir John Hewett, again accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Atkinson, Dame of Justice, proceeded on a tour of inspection through Canada. On his return to England he reported that the state of the Order in that Dominion was such as to justify the creation of the new Commandery. Early in 1934 a formal application was received from the General Council of the Canadian Branch of the St. John Ambulance Association, and on the petition of H.R.H. the Grand Prior, His Majesty the King was graciously pleased to signify his approval of the proposed action. On St. John's Day, 1934, the Commandery in Canada came into existence, and its first Commander is His Excellency the Earl of Bessborough, Governor-General of that Dominion. With its three Commanderies in South Africa, New Zealand, and Canada now firmly established, it remains only to create similar bodies in the states of the Commonwealth of Australia, to complete the great Imperial organization of the Order of St. John.

In terminating this history of the English branch of the Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the oldest and greatest, the most famous and most beneficent of all the Orders of Chivalry that the world has ever known, we can claim that our Order has not been unworthy of its glorious past, and that our modern Knights of St. John are continuing to follow in the footsteps of their brethren of old, never forgetting the solemn words of the ancient Rule and Custom of their Order—

That the Knights who should make their profession in it should adorn their Knighthood with a true Charity, the mother and solid foundation of all virtues, with hospital service, and a sincere attachment to the Faith, and being employed in these

various functions, might only seek to distinguish themselves by a course of virtue. Soldiers of Jesus Christ are designed only to fight for His glory, to maintain His worship, to love reverence and preserve justice, to favour, support and defend such as are oppressed, without neglecting the duties of holy hospital service. There is no greater charity can be shown than by sacrificing one's life for our friends. This is their duty, their vocation, the manner of life that they have embraced, their justification and their sanctification, that when they end the pilgrimage of this mortal life they may enjoy that eternal reward for which God created them.

PART II

THE FOUNDATIONS AND WORK OF THE ORDER

CHAPTER XIV

THE HOSPITAL IN JERUSALEM

FROM the days when the Order of St. John was first re-established in England the eyes of its brethren were constantly directed towards Jerusalem, in the hope that they might find some practical means of definitely associating the restored Grand Priory with the Holy City, the original home of their Venerable Order. Their pious hopes first took definite shape in 1876, when Sir Edmund Lechmere, then Secretary-General, made a formal request to the British Minister in Constantinople on behalf of the Order, asking that the Turkish Government would grant a site in Jerusalem for the erection of a Hospital. Much delay was caused owing to the site originally desired not being available, and eventually the deep longing of the Order to establish itself in Jerusalem was brought to the notice of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. He at once expressed a wish to aid in promoting its success, and conveyed through the Turkish Ambassador his personal request that a site might be granted. In consequence, a memorandum explaining the wishes of the Order was transmitted to Musurus Pasha. A year later, on April 24th, 1882, the Sultan's Firman was published, addressed to Raouf Pasha, Governor of Jerusalem, directing him to provide the necessary site on the same conditions as those under which a similar grant had been made to the Bailiwick of Brandenburg.[1] The property thus acquired by the Order was

[1] In 1869 the Sultan had granted the eastern half of the Muristan to the Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor Frederick. Here the Germans rebuilt the old Latin church of St. Maria Major in the convent for women pilgrims, incorporating in it the beautiful north

situated on the Bethlehem Road, not far from the Jaffa Gate, overlooking the Valley of Hinnom.

The Knights of St. John had already decided that their hospital should be devoted to ophthalmia and those other diseases of the eye which infest the countries of the East, and it was well known that Jerusalem had great need of such an institution. But since their own funds unaided were insufficient for such a work, it was resolved to appeal to their countrymen for support, now that the necessary grant of land had been obtained. Accordingly, on July 7th, 1882, a meeting was held in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey under the presidency of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and there the proposals of the Order were cordially approved and recommended to the support of the public. As a result of the sympathy and help evoked by this meeting, and the generosity of Lady Lechmere, it was possible to begin the work. In November, 1882, Dr. J. C. Waddell, who had been selected as Medical Officer, left for Jerusalem with a supply of medical stores, and at once opened a temporary hospital until such time as the permanent buildings should be ready. Within six months he was able to report that the number of patients had been 1952, that the total number of those who had received advice and medicine was 6138, and that on many days no fewer than 140 patients were in attendance. So much was the work appreciated by the Turkish authorities that the hospital was granted the privilege of importing medical stores free of duty, a privilege which it still retains.

Regulations for the management of the Hospital were drawn up by the Order in 1883, and it was laid down that the immediate control should be entrusted to a local committee, but that the general management of its affairs should be directed by a committee, meeting at St. John's Gate. As the institution was intended only for the poor,

doorway of the mediæval church and calling it the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer; it was consecrated in 1898. They divided their half of the Muristan from that of the Greek Convent of St. John Baptist by a new road known as Prince Frederick William Street.

it was also laid down that patients in a position to contribute to its funds should be required to do so, at the discretion of the medical officer and local committee. Meanwhile, Dr. Waddell, after six months' work, had broken down badly in health and was compelled to return to England. He was succeeded by Mr. J. H. Ogilvie, who at the end of three and a half years was able to report that 10,000 patients had been treated and that the consultations had been nearly 58,000 in number. In November, 1886, Sir Edmund and Lady Lechmere paid a visit of inspection to the Hospital, and there they received ceremonial visits from Raouf Pasha the Governor, the Orthodox Patriarch, the Armenian Patriarch and the Chief Rabbi, to express their appreciation and gratitude for the good work that was being done. The visitors were much impressed by the extraordinary distances that patients had travelled in order to obtain the advice of the Hospital. It was evident that the institution was now firmly established, and in terminating the report on his visit Sir Edmund Lechmere used words that may well be placed on record :—

> And may not we of the Order of St. John venture to hope that as the work of our original founders commenced with a Hospital in Jerusalem, and became in time one of the greatest institutions in Christendom, so the Langue of England, which has once more resumed its connection with the earliest home of the Order, may receive an additional blessing from its philanthropic labours.[1]

Mr. J. H. Ogilvie was succeeded in 1889 by Dr. W. E. Cant, who for nearly twenty-three years remained in charge of the Hospital. The devoted work that he did during that period cannot be over-estimated, and is best described in the words of one who was closely acquainted with it: 'To his skill and labours, coupled with the almost incredible energy of Mrs. Cant, the Hospital owes more than can be conveyed by mere words'.[2]

[1] Bedford and Holbeche, pp. 157, 158.

[2] The late Mr. W. R. Edwards, O.B.E., Knight of Grace and Secretary of the Order.

The patients were drawn for the most part from two classes, Jews chiefly from Jerusalem itself, and Arabs and Fellaheen from the towns and villages of Palestine. But many other races, too, were represented, for Jerusalem is filled with pilgrims from the uttermost parts of the earth, and every year representatives of twenty or thirty different nationalities passed through the Hospital. Year by year the number of patients was continually increasing and the fame of the institution spread far and wide, until, in the hope of being saved from the horrors of blindness, men were journeying to it on foot from the furthermost parts of Syria and Persia. So great were the number of applicants for relief that even in 1890 the doors had to be closed soon after daybreak each day, and sometimes many hundreds were turned away owing to lack of accommodation and surgical assistance. In that year two nurses were sent out from England, and three years later an Assistant Surgeon was appointed to deal with the overwhelming pressure of work, whilst a new out-patient block was built in memory of General Gordon, generously helped by Miss Wilson, Sir Edmund Lechmere, and Mr. John M. Cook. But ever the number of applicants for relief grew greater and greater. By 1897 the custom was definitely adopted on out-patient days of opening the doors early in the morning and then closing them for the day as soon as sufficient patients had been admitted to keep the staff fully occupied. As soon as this was realized the crowds of suffering humanity began to assemble earlier and earlier in the morning, until they were collected outside the doors of the Hospital long before night was over, in the hope of gaining admission.

Such was the work that the Knights of St. John were able to accomplish in the Holy City, the first home of their Order. They had shown that the same spirit was with them that had inspired those Knights of old who, when they were receiving a new brother into their Order, used the formula, 'We own you for a servant of the gentlemen that are poor and sick'. So impressed was Her Majesty

Queen Victoria, the Sovereign Head and Patron of the Order, with the work that it was accomplishing, that in the year 1897, in token of her appreciation, she was graciously pleased to present her portrait to the Hospital. Only a few years later the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem in a letter written in 1901 stated: 'It is doing excellent work, and it is known and trusted throughout the country, and even to Moab and the trans-Jordan country. It is known far and wide as the work of charity and philanthropy by men who do the work for the sake of Christ'.[1] And in speaking of Dr. Cant, the Bishop says, 'his name is one of note here'. For ten more years Dr. Cant remained in charge at Jerusalem until his retirement in April, 1911, after nearly a quarter of a century of devoted work. He was succeeded by Mr. W. Ward, who died shortly after, and thereupon Dr. Cant once more returned to his old post until he was finally relieved in October of that year by Mr. D. Heron, who remained in charge until the Hospital was closed on September 25th, 1914, owing to the hostile attitude of the Turks, then about to join in the Great War. The real value of the work that had been done by the Order in Jerusalem during the previous thirty-two years is very clearly shown by the following statistics:—

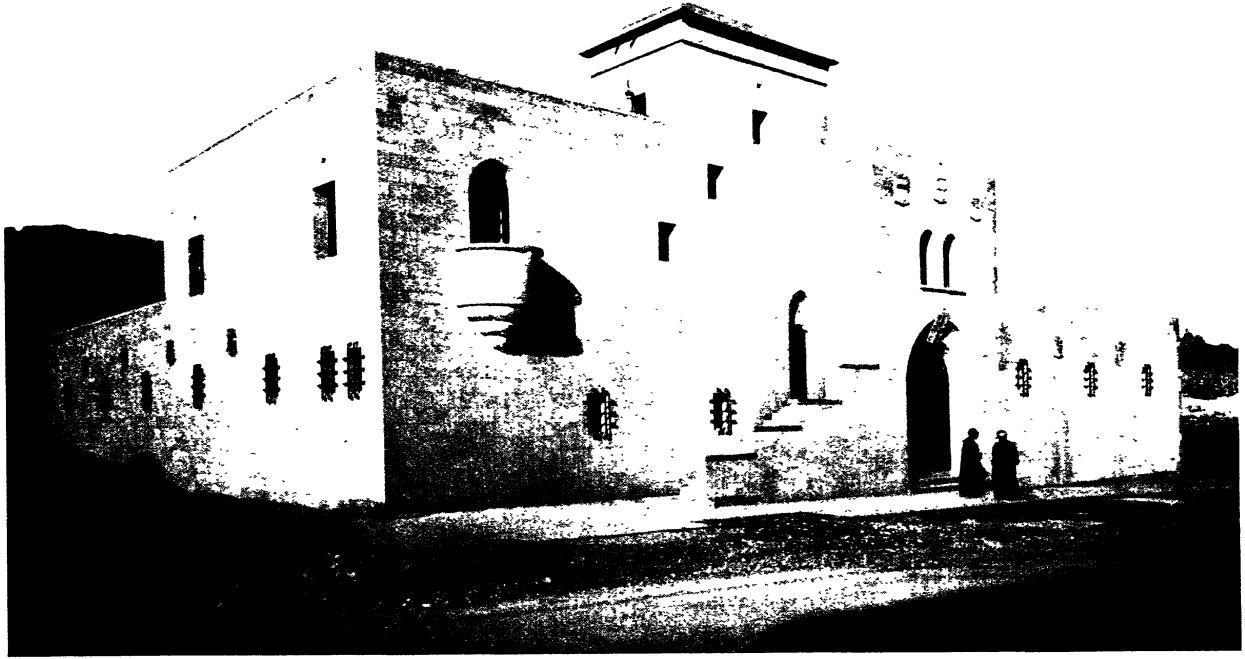
COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

Year	*In-patients*	*Out-patients*	*Consultations*	*Operations*
1886	121	3,238	13,426	231
1890	286	3,305	9,178	494
1900	630	5,422	19,329	1,256
1910	1,053	10,832	42,593	1,879
1913	1,262	9,604	31,967	2,542
1883–1914	19,151	179,900	633,211	36,156

The years shown are typical and not abnormal.

The Hospital was not left unmolested for long, and in December, 1914, was taken over by the Turks, in spite of

[1] See Bedford and Holbeche, p. 161.



THE ANNEXE TO THE HOSPITAL

From a photograph by Colonel Woodcock Pitman.

Grace of the Order. The following telegram was then read by the Chairman amid great enthusiasm: 'I rejoice at the re-opening of our Hospital in Jerusalem, and I trust it will be able in the future to continue the good work it has done in the past.—CONNAUGHT'.

To commemorate this re-opening a tablet was afterwards affixed to the wall in the small entrance court, facing the main door, and was formally unveiled on August 20th, 1923, by Mrs. Storrs, wife of the Governor of Jerusalem, in the presence of a large gathering, including the Acting High Commissioner and Lady Clayton.[1]

The Hospital had been open to out-patients since November 11th, 1918, and on June 30th, 1919, it was able to receive the first in-patients, who came under the care of Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Strathearn, O.B.E., recently appointed Surgeon-in-Charge. Previous to this appointment the Hospital had been in the care of surgeons lent by the medical administration—first Captain Gowans, and after his departure Captain Findlater. By the end of 1919 it was possible to say that very nearly as much work was being done as before the war. But there was a considerable falling off in the number of out-patients, partly owing to the disturbed state of the country and partly owing to the fact that the Order's Hospital was no longer the only eye hospital in Jerusalem. During 1920 the staff was completed by the appointment of Captain R. Eyre as Assistant Surgeon, and the work was increasing so rapidly that it was evident that before long additional accommodation would be required. Major-General Sir Thomas Yarr, Inspector of Medical Services and a Knight of Grace of the Order, who visited the Hospital on August 30th, reported:—

I was very much impressed with the cleanliness and good order and efficiency of our Hospital, but to maintain its efficiency funds must be largely increased. If the Hospital is to be in the future what it was in the past, the best staffed and the best equipped Eye Hospital in the East, this question of cost must

[1] The inscription on this tablet is given in an appendix to this chapter.

be resolutely faced. I was particularly struck by the splendid work done in the Out-patients Department.[1]

During the year His Majesty the King, to the great satisfaction of the staff and patients of the Hospital, was graciously pleased to present a signed portrait of himself, together with portraits of their late Majesties Queen Victoria and King Edward VII, to replace those destroyed by the Turks.

In the year 1921 it was decided by Chapter-General that the Christian staff of the Hospital, so long as they continued to act in that capacity, should be members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the grade of Serving Brothers and Serving Sisters. It was also decided that the Superintendent of the Hospital should in future be known as the Warden, the second surgeon as the Sub-Warden, and the third as the Registrar. This change in status was made the occasion of a public ceremony on June 26th, 1922, when Lieut.-Colonel J. T. Woolrych Perowne, a Knight of Grace of the Order and Hon. Secretary of the Hospital Committee, acting under commission from H.R.H. the Grand Prior, first of all admitted the British staff as Serving Brothers and Sisters, and two of the Syrian staff as honorary of that grade, and then proceeded to invest the Warden and Sub-Warden with the insignia mantle and cap of their newly-created offices.

Two years later, in 1924, there was a notable extension of the work of the Order in the Holy Land, when it undertook at the request of the Government to co-operate further with it in the fight against the ravages caused by ophthalmia and the other diseases of the eyes so prevalent in that country. Six clinics were established at Beersheba, Gaza, Ramleh, Tulkaram, Nablus, and Acre, and it was ultimately arranged that the Order should train in its Hospital the two nurses required for each of them, and should supervise and inspect their work. The inspections are carried out quarterly by the Warden or one of his staff.

[1] *Report of Chapter-General*, December 31st, 1920, p. 19.

In 1932 the number of clinics was increased to seven by the addition of the one at Jaffa, and in 1933 to ten, by the addition of three more at Hebron, Majdal, and Safed. At the same time in 1932 the Order undertook the responsibility of founding and maintaining an Arab School in Jerusalem, where Arab girls should be trained by voluntary teachers, under the direction of an English lady, in the elementary rules of First Aid, Hygiene, Home Nursing, and Sanitation, in the hope that with increasing knowledge preventible blindness might thus be gradually eliminated in the native villages.

During these years the Hospital had the honour to receive many distinguished visitors. In January, 1924, H.R.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught made a close inspection of the buildings, and of the work being done, and afterwards presented his signed portrait in memory of his visit. On March 16th, 1926, the Hospital Staff held a reception in honour of the visit of the Sub-Prior of the Order, Major-General the Earl of Scarbrough, and nearly 100 members of the Order, then on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. As a result of their visit to the Hospital, the Ladies of the Order founded the Linen Guild, for the purpose of supplying its needs, of which Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to become the President. It was in this same year that Lady Watson presented her house and garden within the city walls of Jerusalem, to be dedicated to the Order in memory of her late husband, Colonel Sir Charles Watson, Chairman of the Hospital, 1912–16, and a tablet commemorative of the fact has been erected in the courtyard. In April, 1928, the Hospital had the honour to receive H.R.H. the Princess Mary Viscountess Lascelles, who was greatly interested in all that she saw there, and made a most thorough inspection. And then on April 17th, 1931, came a visit from His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the first of the Archbishops to visit the Holy Land since 1190, when Archbishop Baldwin perished at the Siege of Acre. In a letter describing his visit he says :—

I heard many testimonies from many quarters of the benefits which the Hospital confers upon all classes and races in Palestine, and as a Prelate of the Order of St. John, I felt proud that a work of mercy so well conceived, and carried on with so much devotion, was associated with the Order.

In 1930 the Knights of St. John acquired possession of a portion of the Muristan, at its south-east corner, adjoining the vegetable market in David Street. It is supposed that the residence of the Master of the Hospital occupied this area, and it is hoped in the future to erect a hospice here for the benefit of members of the Order.

Whilst the Order of St. John was assuming new responsibilities in the Holy Land, the work of its Hospital had been increasing enormously, as the following statistics reveal :—

Year	*In-patients*	*Out-patients*	*Consultations*	*Operations*
1920	1,248	8,898	26,001	2,538
1925	1,527	16,640	81,495	4,407
1930	1,018	19,457	82,295	3,267
1933	1,179	20,535	89,895	3,630

The question of additional accommodation was rapidly becoming a serious problem, more especially for dealing with cases of acute conjunctivitis requiring a long period of careful treatment. In 1921 the Patriarch Damianos had presented the Order with a site for building an annexe to the Hospital, and in 1925 with a further plot of land for this purpose. In 1927 the Hospital was so seriously damaged by the severe earthquake of July 11th that from then until the following October the out-patient work had to be carried on in tents. When H.R.H. the Grand Prior appealed for funds for the restoration of the Hospital, it was decided to appeal for such a sum of money as would also enable the long-needed annexe to be built.

The work began in 1929, and by June 19th in the following year the annexe was able to receive patients, but the subway linking it up with the Hospital on the opposite side of the road was not completed until 1932. On April 7th, 1933,

the new building was formally opened by His Excellency the High Commissioner, Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wauchope, who also unveiled the Hunter-Weston Memorial,[1] erected by Lady Hunter-Weston in memory of the Grand Prior William Weston, who died in 1540, and to commemorate the long period during which her husband, Lieut.-General Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston, has been Chancellor of the Order, to which high office he was appointed by H.R.H. the Grand Prior in 1924. At this ceremony the Chancellor on behalf of the Order, presented to the Warden of the Hospital, Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Strathearn, a gold watch bearing the arms of the Order and suitably inscribed, as a token of appreciation of the devoted services that he had rendered to it, ever since his appointment as Warden in 1919, and to replace the gold watch that he had lost when he fell among brigands on the road to Jericho in 1931. To complete the Hospital it now remains only to build the new South Block for paying patients, so urgently needed, and when that is done the Order of St. John will possess a Hospital in Jerusalem scarcely inferior to the great Hospital built by the Blessed Raymond du Puy in the twelfth century.

[1] Over the Great Gate of the annexe are the Arms of the Order on the keystone, and above the arch are the shields of His Majesty the King, H.R.H. the Grand Prior, and the Sub-Prior the Earl of Scarbrough. In the courtyard is the Hunter-Weston Memorial facing the entrance, and between the arches are the shields of twelve of the principal donors to the building fund, namely: Colonel Perowne, Colonel Gabriel, the Earl of Iveagh, Lord Wakefield, Sir Charles Hyde, Mrs. Cordes, Lord Marshall, Lord Louis Mountbatten, Sir Henry Samuelson, Lord Brocket, Mr. C. E. Heath, and Mr. W. H. Ambrose. On the north wall outside are the shields of Sir Hugh Reid, Mr. Samuel Samuel, and Sir Edward Stern, and on the south side the shields of the Nizam of Hyderabad and Sir W. Mitchell Cotts.

APPENDIX

A.—The Sultan's Firman

To Raouf Pasha, my Noble Governor of the Sandjak of Jerusalem, bearer of my Imperial Orders of the Medjidie of the Second Class and of the Osmanieh of the Fourth Class.

On the arrival of my Imperial Emblem be it known to you that the British Embassy has reported and requested as follows :

The Prince of Wales, son of the Queen of England, manifested the wish that my Imperial Government should be pleased to concede as a gift a piece of ground of ten thousand square zirae approximately, for the establishment by the English members of the Society of St. John at Jerusalem of a Hospice and a place for tending gratuitously poor invalids.

Such an establishment being one of public utility, it was decided in my council of Ministers that a piece of ground of the extent required should be granted in the same manner and under the same conditions as the one which was previously granted to the Prince of Prussia for the foundation of a similar establishment by the German branch of the same Society, and at a place free of all local objections ; upon this my Imperial sanction having been besought, I was pleased to grant it and to convey it through this my noble Firman emanating from my Imperial Divan, and delivered to whom it may concern.

You, therefore, who are the above-mentioned Governor, have to provide for the required piece of ground of ten thousand zirae approximately, and one which may not give rise to local objections, and to show and offer the said ground to the aforesaid English Society, while taking care that it should be employed in the manner and under conditions identical to those under which the grant of such a piece of ground to the German branch of the Society was previously made.

1299 Djemazil Lakhir 5 (24th April, 1882).

B.—The Memorial Tablet

The Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England to commemorate the restoration and complete re-equipment of this Hospital after its partial destruction by the retreating Turkish army in December 1917 caused this tablet to be erected which also records the names of the following pious benefactors who prior to the war had helped to endow the Hospital with the means necessary to carry on the work of the Order in the Holy Land :

Sir Edmund Lechmere Baronet and Dame Katherine his wife ; William Baron Amherst of Hackney ; Charles William Bartholomew ; John M. Cook ; Esther du Bois ; Emily du Pre ; William Allen Jamieson, M.D. ; John Martineau and Jane Wilson.

The Hospital which was closed in September A.D. 1914, was re-opened by Field-Marshal the Viscount Allenby, G.C.B., a Knight of Grace of the Order on February 26th, A.D. 1919. Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., Grand Prior, Colonel Sir Courtauld Thomson, K.B.E., Chairman of the Committee, Lt.-Col. J. T. Woolrych Perowne, V.D., Hon. Secretary, A.D. 1923.

CHAPTER XV

THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE BRIGADE

THE object for which the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was originally founded was the relief of human suffering, and throughout its long history that object has never been forgotten, however prominent its military duties may have become. And now that it is no longer necessary for the Knights of St. John to fight in defence of the Christian Faith, the relief of human suffering has become once more their sole object. In no direction have the efforts of the Knights of St. John in England to fulfil their duties been more conspicuous to the general public than in the work of their Ambulance Department, acting through the St. John Ambulance Association and its offshoot, the St. John Ambulance Brigade. In 1869 the Order of St. John had been represented at the International Conference of Red Cross Societies held in Berlin, and during the Franco-Prussian War, which broke out in the following year, many members of the Order enrolled themselves in the newly formed British National Aid (or Red Cross) Society, and served throughout the campaign. The experience of the war proved that Red Cross Societies could only hope to perform their duties with real efficiency if they were properly trained and organized in time of peace, an opinion that was confirmed by the further experience gained in the War in the East in 1876.

The more the question was considered of how best to develop an organization fitted to render efficient aid to the

sick and wounded in war, the more clearly it was realized that there was equal need for such an organization capable of dealing with the accidents of civil life. It was also no less clear that if an efficient organization existed for the normal requirements of civil life, there would be no serious difficulty in adapting it to the needs of war. As early as 1872 the Order of St. John was working to establish an ambulance service in the mining and pottery districts, where accidents were frequent and no organization existed for dealing with them. In 1874 Surgeon-General Laymon, C.B., gave an address to the General Assembly of the Order on the best methods of dealing with the accidents and mutilations occurring in mines and in establishments where many workpeople are employed. Three years later the St. John Ambulance Association came into existence, having as its object the dissemination of knowledge as to the preliminary treatment of sick and injured persons, and thus to lessen the needless suffering so frequently caused by ignorance. The first centre of instruction was formed at Woolwich, and was quickly followed by a Metropolitan centre and the establishment of centres at Sevenoaks, Maidstone, Worcester, Malvern, and Southampton. In 1878 the St. John Ambulance Association was organized under the Ambulance Department of the Order, and rapid progress took place, especially amongst the Derbyshire and Nottingham miners and the Metropolitan Police. From the enthusiastic support that the Association received in every quarter, it was evident that it was engaged in work the need for which was widely felt; amongst its warmest supporters were the great Railway Companies, and at the present day it is providing instruction for the miners, transport workers, fisher folk, and civil and military police. By the year 1881 there were no fewer than 381 classes under instruction, including 15,240 members, and within a few more years the Association had extended its influence into every part of England, until at the present day the whole country is covered with a network of its instructional centres. In recent years a similar extension of its influence

has taken place throughout the Dominions and the majority of the Crown Colonies.

The course of instruction in First Aid generally given consisted of five lectures, followed by an examination, and certificates were awarded to those who satisfied the examiners. But although the doctors giving the lectures usually extended them beyond the specified number, there was such a demand for further instruction that the formation of advanced classes became general, at the end of which a second examination was held and a superior certificate given. It was, however, soon realized that a large proportion of those receiving instruction quickly forgot all that they had learnt from want of practice, so it was resolved to provide facilities for the holders of certificates to be re-examined twelve months after their first examination. In order to encourage them to maintain their efficiency it was afterwards decided that those who had undergone re-examination, at intervals of not less than twelve months, should be eligible to receive a medallion. The immense value of the work done in the country by the St. John Ambulance Association is clearly revealed by the fact that down to 1933 inclusive, no fewer than 2,569,566 certificates had been issued and 364,559 medallions.

The fame of the work done by the Ambulance Department of the Order of St. John soon spread far and wide, and it was not long before centres of instruction in First Aid were formed on the English model in India and most of the Dominions and Colonies. But it was not only in the British Empire that the influence of the English Knights of St. John was felt, but even Germany, with her great organizing ability, was glad to take their work as her model. In 1881 Professor Von Esmarch, an Honorary Associate of the Order, formed a committee in Germany for the purpose of establishing an Ambulance Association in that country similar to that established by the Knights of St. John in England. Mr. John Furley, Knight of Justice of the Order and Director of its Ambulance Department, to whose devoted work its success had been largely due, was

specially invited to attend the meeting of the provisional committee at Kiel. As a result of that meeting the German Association, called the 'Deutscher Samariter-Verein', came into existence under the patronage of the Empress, and soon extended its operations all over Germany. Similar associations were formed in Russia, the United States, and many other countries, based almost entirely upon the English model.

The plans of the Ambulance Department of the Order had been carried out with such brilliant success, and had received such enthusiastic support, that it soon became quite impossible to restrain them to the channel originally designed for them. The desire to utilize in some practical form the knowledge gained resulted in the gradual development of new organizations not originally contemplated. It was early found necessary to establish a depot at St. John's Gate, where all articles required for the First Aid lectures, such as handbooks, anatomical diagrams, bandages, splints, tourniquets, and stretchers could be supplied. The importance of this depot was continually increasing, until it eventually became the present Stores Department, capable of furnishing anything required from a bandage to an ambulance. The first permanent organization for giving practical effect to the instruction given by the Ambulance Association was the Invalid Transport Corps. It was formed at St. John's Gate in 1883 for the purpose of transporting sick and injured patients, primarily of the poorer classes, and is now removing about 2500 cases a year. Similar Transport Corps have since been formed in many districts for local requirements, and the value of their work can scarcely be exaggerated. Then came the establishment of Ambulance Stations at the great exhibitions and at other places where large crowds were likely to assemble. These stations were composed entirely of voluntary workers, who gave their services freely in the cause of humanity without the slightest prospect of reward. In 1898 a permanent Ambulance Station, open day and night, was established in the churchyard of St. Clement

Danes. It was known as the Duncan Memorial Station, in memory of Colonel Francis Duncan, Knight of Justice of the Order, whose devoted services in the initiation and establishment of the St. John Ambulance Association will ever be remembered with gratitude. This station was removed in 1901 to the West India Docks, and in 1917 was handed over to the Acton Division of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, and is now on the main road to Uxbridge. A similar station was established at the expense of Dr. Edwin Freshfield, Knight of Justice, under the steps of the west end of St. Paul's Cathedral, by permission of the Dean and Chapter. This station deals with about 1000 cases a year.

The result of the work done by the St. John Ambulance Association was that the more enthusiastic of those who passed its examinations began to band themselves together into Ambulance Corps all over the country. It was these Corps which furnished the Ambulance Stations now rapidly becoming a regular feature on all those occasions where great crowds of people gathered together. The experience of the great ceremonies in connection with Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887 showed the absolute necessity for an ambulance organization in connection with the Metropolitan Police, and the Commissioner gave the greatest encouragement to the efforts made by the newly established Ambulance Corps. In the same year the Ambulance Department of the Order of St. John, taking these Corps as a nucleus, formed that great institution, the St. John Ambulance Brigade. The record of the Brigade ever since its formation has been one of continual progress, and it was felt as a great encouragement by all ranks when in May, 1892, Queen Victoria, as a mark of her royal appreciation of the work that was being done, was graciously pleased to review an Ambulance Corps of the Derbyshire and Nottingham miners, numbering 414 of all ranks.

In 1900 the strength of the St. John Ambulance Brigade was 10,500 of all ranks, and ten years later it had increased to a total of 20,140. At the Royal Review of 1912, when

Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary personally inspected the Brigade in Windsor Great Park, there were present on parade 13,109 of all ranks, including 2538 Nursing Sisters and a representative detachment of 50 of all ranks from the Dominions beyond the seas. On the outbreak of the European War the numbers were 25,560, and during the war they rose to a total of 65,390. In the year 1933 the total strength was 61,570 of all ranks, of whom two-thirds are men and one-third women. When it is considered that the St. John Ambulance Brigade is composed entirely of men and women who give their services freely and without hope of reward, its strength is truly remarkable.

The chief objects for which the Brigade exists are the provision of a properly trained body of men and women to render First Aid to the sick and injured on public occasions, and in time of national emergency to reinforce the medical services of the Naval, Military, and Air Forces of the Crown. No one is eligible for enrolment in the Brigade unless already in possession of a First Aid certificate, and in the Nursing Divisions an additional certificate in Home Nursing is also required. The St. John Ambulance Brigade therefore consists exclusively of trained and efficient men and women, and its members include no non-effectives. The Brigade is commanded by the Chief Commissioner, with headquarters at St. John's Gate, assisted by the Surgeon-in-Chief and the Lady Superintendent-in-Chief. It is organized in fourteen districts, each consisting of three or more counties, and commanded by a Commissioner, assisted by a District Surgeon and a Lady District Superintendent, the counties being under Assistant Commissioners. The organization will ultimately be on a County basis, each County being under its own County Commissioner. No. 1 District, comprising the Metropolitan Police Area, has the additional title of 'Prince of Wales', and its members have the privilege of wearing the Prince of Wales' feathers as their collar badge, and No. 8 District (Kent, Surrey, Sussex) has the additional title of the 'Duke of

Connaught's'. The unit in the Brigade is the Ambulance Division of not less than 16 privates and a Divisional Surgeon, with a Divisional Superintendent-in-Charge, or a Nursing Division of not less than 12 Ambulance Sisters and a Divisional Surgeon with a Lady Superintendent-in-Charge. Many of these Divisions are organized in Ambulance Corps, consisting of not less than three units, of which one may be a Nursing Division, and with a minimum strength of 100 privates, towards which in a mixed Corps not more than 25 Ambulance Sisters may count. In addition to the Ambulance and Nursing Divisions, Cadet Divisions were started in 1922, and in 1933 had a total strength of 10,526 boys and girls between the ages of eleven and eighteen.

Just as the work of the St. John Ambulance Association at home resulted in the formation of the Ambulance Brigade to give practical effect to its teaching, so also in the Dominions and Colonies beyond the seas similar causes were to produce similar results. New Zealand led the way in the formation of units of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, and the Dunedin Ambulance Corps was formed in 1892, followed by a Nursing Corps in 1895. In India the St. John Ambulance Association was established on a permanent basis in 1901 owing to the efforts of Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate, a Knight of Justice of the Order, and in 1933 the St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas, which is administered by a Chief Commissioner of its own, had a total strength of 14,444 of all ranks, besides 2533 Cadets. The numbers in the various parts of the Empire in that year were as follows:—

	S.J.A.B.	*Cadets*		*S.J.A.B.*	*Cadets*
South Africa	3378	164	Hong Kong	520	25
New Zealand	2445	1590	Malta	110	—
Canada	1107	15	Kenya	108	—
Australia	3098	473	Bermuda	23	5
India	2044	261	Zanzibar	19	—
Ceylon	1579	—	Uganda	13	—

In 1923 there were also Ambulance Divisions in Newfoundland and Gibraltar, but they have since ceased to exist.

The value of the services rendered to the community by the St. John Ambulance Brigade in normal times is of course self-evident, whilst their value in times of national peril has now been proved in two great wars. During the South African War, 1899–1902, the authorities only made use of the Ambulance Divisions of the Brigade, and they were called upon to supply men for two purposes : either as auxiliaries to the Royal Army Medical Corps, serving directly under the War Office, or else for service in private hospitals equipped under the auspices of the Central British Red Cross Committee. Until the last year of the war all these men were serving under a civil contract as members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. In all 2046 men of the Brigade served in South Africa, representing 20 per cent of its strength. Of this number one man received the Distinguished Conduct Medal and eight were mentioned in despatches. The casualties amounted to 62 men, who died of disease contracted in the performance of their duty.

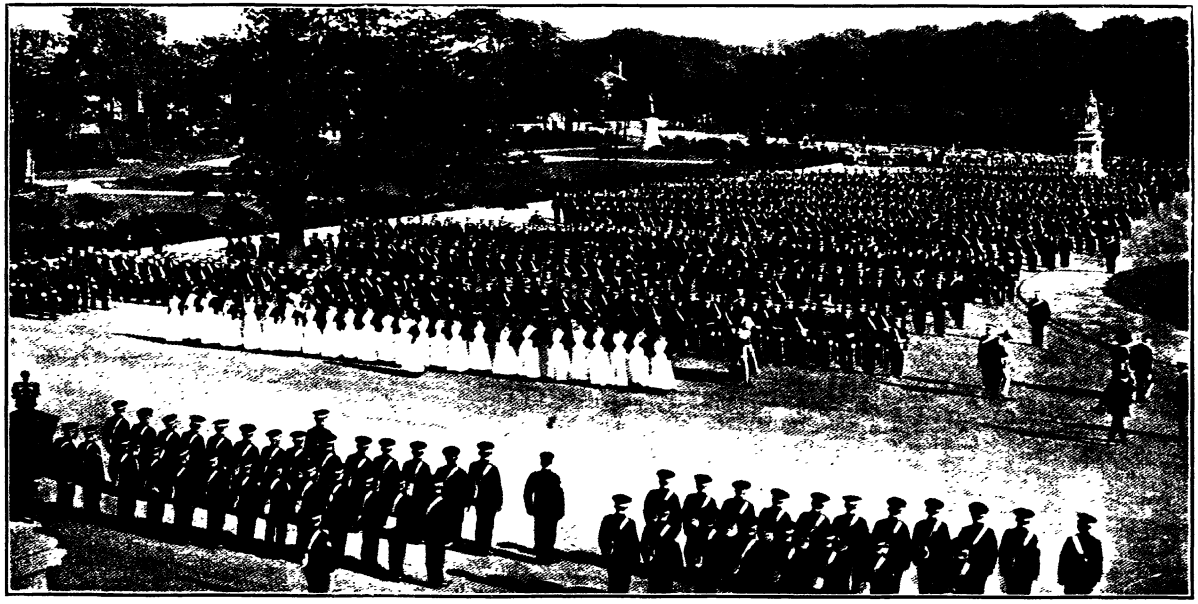
To their memory a beautiful alabaster monument was erected in the Priory Church at Clerkenwell, and was formally unveiled by His Royal Highness the Grand Prior on June 11th, 1902. His Majesty King Edward VII, as a mark of his royal appreciation of the services rendered by the Brigade, on May 31st, 1902, personally presented the war medal in the Throne Room at Buckingham Palace to a strong representative detachment. A special South African War Medal struck in bronze was issued by the Order of St. John to the active service detachments who proceeded to South Africa, and for services rendered in connection with their mobilization, and the despatch of ambulance material and medical comforts for the sick and wounded at the seat of war.

The experience of the South African War had caused the authorities to realize what a valuable reserve of highly

trained men was contained in the ranks of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. Accordingly, in the years that followed the war definite arrangements were made for the enrolment of members of the Brigade in the Medical Reserves of the forces of the Crown. The Admiralty were the first to make use of the services of the Brigade, whose men were enrolled in the Royal Naval Auxiliary Sick Berth Reserve in 1903 up to an establishment of 1200. Then in 1907 the War Office began to enrol Ambulance men in the Military Home Hospitals Reserve up to an establishment of 2000, whilst eight Brigade Bearer Companies were also formed who were required on mobilization to enlist in the Royal Army Medical Corps for one year, or for such a period as the company remained mobilized. Since the Great War the Brigade Bearer Companies have been abolished, and the Order of St. John is now required to furnish 1250 men for the Royal Naval Auxiliary Sick Berth Reserve, and 1800 men for the Military Hospital Reserve, liable to serve wherever required on mobilization.

On the evening of August 1st, 1914, orders were received for the mobilization of the Royal Naval Auxiliary Sick Berth Reserves, and within forty-eight hours the men had reported for duty at their respective depots at Chatham, Devonport, and Portsmouth. Then on the 5th orders arrived from the War Office to mobilize the Military Home Hospitals Reserve, and two days later came a further demand for 450 trained men to proceed at once to join the Expeditionary Force R.A.M.C. From the time of mobilization the enrolment of Ambulance men in the Naval and Military Reserves never ceased, and by December 31st, 1915, the St. John Ambulance Brigade had supplied the Naval and Military authorities and private hospitals and ships with rather more than 20,000 men.

Royal Naval Auxiliary Sick Berth Reserve .	2,164
Royal Naval Division (Medical Unit) . .	1,248
Total Naval Authorities . . .	3,412



AN INSPECTION OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE BRIGADE

From a photograph taken at Crystal Palace in 1912

ST. JOHN'S GATE FROM THE SOUTH

From an etching by W. Monk in "Gleanings from Old Churches," 1851.

Military Home Hospitals Reserve . .	14,397
Royal Army Medical Corps (Expeditionary Force)	1,429
St. John Ambulance Brigade Hospital, Etaples .	169
	15,995
Joint Committee of the Order of St. John and the Red Cross Society in France . .	323
For private hospitals at home . . .	170
For private hospitals abroad . . .	158
	651

Up to the introduction of the Military Service Acts the St. John Ambulance Brigade had furnished to the Naval and Military authorities 25,000 men, and it is estimated that at least another 25,000 had enlisted direct in the Navy and Army without being mobilized through one of the Brigade Reserves. Such was the part played by the Ambulance Divisions, but the Nursing Divisions of the Brigade were in no way behind them, and the value of the services that they rendered to the State were no less important. They furnished for service in the military hospitals at home and abroad 308 detachments, with a strength of 9428 officers and nurses. The St. John Ambulance Brigade, however, had not only the duty of supplementing the medical services of the Naval and Military forces of the Crown, it had also to provide for the normal requirements of the civil population at home. This work was carried out by those members of the Brigade who were over age or otherwise unfit for military service, and they were specially organized for immediate use in the case of air raids. To them also fell the duty of meeting convoys of wounded at the large London Stations and conveying the patients to the General and Auxiliary Hospitals, and their subsequent transfer from one hospital to another. Most of these men and women were serving in a purely voluntary capacity, without the slightest hope of recognition or reward, and day and night throughout

the long war they held themselves in constant readiness to meet the calls that were made upon them. By their selfless devotion to duty they proved themselves worthy of the highest traditions of that noble organization to which they were so proud to belong.

Besides the provision of trained reserves for the regular Naval and Military forces, the St. John Ambulance Brigade on the institution of the Voluntary Aid Scheme in 1909 was called upon by the War Office to provide detachments for service with the Territorial Force at home on mobilization. On the outbreak of war there was no general mobilization of Voluntary Aid Detachments, but throughout the country a certain number were called upon for local service. As the war dragged on, so the Brigade was called upon to raise more and more of these detachments, until by its close the St. John Ambulance Brigade had provided 265 men's detachments, with a strength of 14,472, and 705 women's detachments, with a strength of 27,800. Of these over 4000 women were permanently employed in the Military Hospitals, some giving full-time service and others part-time only. The men's detachments were chiefly utilized for the transport of sick and wounded from stations to hospitals, and as orderlies in various local hospitals. In 1923 the Voluntary Aid Detachments were re-organized in accordance with a new scheme, under which they were divided into "immobile" members, available only for service at home, and "mobile" members, available wherever required on mobilization. Under this scheme the Order of St. John is expected to provide "mobile" personnel up to 7000 women and 3000 men.

In recognition of the services rendered by the St. John Ambulance Brigade during the war, 365 of its members received decorations, many of them for personal gallantry under fire. In addition a large number were mentioned in despatches, and the names of several hundreds were brought to the notice of the Secretary of State for War. The total casualties of the Brigade on active service were 915 men and women killed in action or died of disease

contracted in the course of their duty. Their names are recorded for all time in the beautifully illuminated Book of Remembrance[1] which was formally presented to H.R.H. the Grand Prior at the General Assembly on St. John's Day, 1928, by the Sub-Prior, the Earl of Scarbrough. In accepting the Book of Remembrance, which he then placed in its cabinet of ebony and silver, His Royal Highness said :—

My Lord Sub-Prior, I receive this record of faithful service, which on behalf of Chapter-General you have placed in my hands. I ordain that it shall be preserved in this Chapter Hall where all may see it. May it always be held in honoured remembrance of duty nobly done, and as an inspiration to all of our Order in this and future generations faithfully to uphold that spirit of service to humanity, which is the foundation and guiding principle of all our activities.

With the end of the war all ranks of the St. John Ambulance Brigade were able once more to resume their normal functions of providing First Aid for the sick and injured on those occasions when great crowds of people are gathered together. Their work is never sensational or conspicuous, but its value is fully realized by those who have passed through their hands, and their reward is in the knowledge that they have done their duty and have helped to make the world a little happier for their services. The members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade are enlisted under the ancient banner of St. John in the service of the poor and the suffering. They have proved themselves worthy successors of those who in a past age enlisted under the same banner to fight for the Christian Faith in the East. The Knights of St. John are proud of these modern soldiers of their Venerable Order, who work in

[1] The book is bound in red morocco, specially brought from the Niger on the Sub-Prior's instructions. The colophon reads: 'This record was written and illuminated by A. L. Reeve, and bound by Douglas Cockerill, his son Sydney, and his daughter Catherine, who made the silver mounts. The bosses were engraved by G. I. Friend.' The cabinet in which it is displayed was designed by John Williams, Principal of the Hammersmith School of Art.

the sacred cause of humanity with the same zeal and patience as their ancestors fought under the Knights of old in defence of the Christian Faith, and the members of the Brigade are proud to serve under the venerable banner of the most ancient order of chivalry in the world, an Order which exists for one purpose only, the relief of human suffering.

APPENDIX

The Thanks of the Admiralty and Army Council

The Medical Department,
Admiralty,

March 14th, 1919.

Sir,—I have the honour to thank you, the Officers concerned and the members of the Brigade, for the way in which they have worked to make the R.N.A.S.B.R. such a success during the War. The work of preparation for active service during peace time needed much self-denial, and the results attained by the Sick Berth Reserve Staff reflects the greatest credit on all concerned in that preparation. I sincerely trust that there will be the same loyal co-operation in the future as in the past, so that in case of any further National emergency we may be ready to mobilize an even greater number of Reserve ratings than at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W. H. Norman.
Medical Director-General.

The Chief Commissioner,
St. John Ambulance Brigade.

WAR OFFICE, LONDON,
March 25th, 1919.

SIR,—I am commanded by the Army Council to acquaint you that they desire to place on record their appreciation of the very valuable services which have been rendered by the St. John Ambulance Brigade and the St. John Ambulance Association throughout the War.

Owing to the formation of the Home Hospital Reserve previous to the War, and by reason of its rapid mobilization in August, 1914, large numbers of the personnel of the Royal Army Medical Corps were set free and were thus enabled to proceed without delay with the original Expeditionary Force to France.

Through their patriotic action in undergoing Training in time of peace, the members of your Association were able to at once take up their duties in the Hospitals of the United Kingdom, and it has been in great measure due to the efficiency with which they have performed these duties, which have been both arduous and continuous, that these Institutions have been successfully carried on.

I am to ask that you will be so good as to convey the thanks of the Council to the members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade and Association for the very valuable services they have rendered.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
B. B. CUBITT.

The Chief Commissioner,
St. John Ambulance Association

CHAPTER XVI

THE WORK OF THE ORDER IN WAR

THERE is no form of charity to which the Knights of St. John have at all times devoted themselves with greater zeal than to the relief of the suffering and misery caused by war. For at no time are the sick and the poor more helpless in the hands of fate than during those great tragedies which periodically afflict the human race. From the earliest days of the revival of their Order in England the Knights of St. John have always studied with special zeal how best to mitigate those terrible sufferings which result from the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind. In 1869 the Order was represented at the International Congress of Red Cross Societies held in Berlin. During the Franco-Prussian War many of its members enrolled themselves in the British National Aid Society and were actively engaged in the war zone in those works of charity for which their Order exists. But it was during the War in the East, which broke out in 1876, that the Knights of St. John were first able to render assistance on a more extensive scale.

In the July of that year a private meeting of a provisional committee of the Order was held, at which the following resolution was passed: 'That there being no organization in existence for giving relief, irrespective of political aim or object, a committee should be formed of members of the Order and others for the purpose of affording such aid as possible to the sufferers in the conflict raging in the East'. At this meeting the 'Eastern War' Sick and Wounded Relief Fund was formed which was afterwards merged in the British National Society for Aid to Sick and Wounded

in War. In August, 1877, the Council of the latter Society appointed Mr. John Furley, Knight of Justice of the Order and then its Receiver-General, to be its Special Commissioner in Montenegro for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of the hospitals and their needs. He went out to Cettinge and afterwards visited Nichsichs, a fortress in which the Turks were at that time closely besieged. Mr. Furley than made a tour of inspection of all the hospitals, and was able to suggest many improvements in the system of transporting the sick and wounded, and to relieve some of their more urgent necessities. The experience he had thus gained enabled him on his return to England to see that the sums of money placed at his disposal by the National Aid Society were expended to the best possible advantage. He was warmly thanked for his services by Prince Nicholas of Montenegro and his ministers, as well as by the delegates of the Russian Red Cross Society. Meanwhile the Stafford House Committee had selected Mr. Kennett Barrington, a Knight of Grace of the Order, as their Commissioner in Turkey. He was responsible for the organization and administration of nine hospitals in European Turkey and Asia Minor, besides field ambulances, a sanitary service and railway transport. Excellent service was also rendered by Dr. Michael Laseron, an Honorary Associate of the Order, who in 1876 was placed in charge of the English Hospital at Belgrade. He afterwards organized a large hospital at Wardin, and another at Rustchuk.

But of all the good work done by members of the Order of St. John during this period, none was more conspicuous than that of Viscountess Strangford. She had been received in the Order as a Lady of Justice in 1873, and took so deep an interest in hospital nursing that she went through a course of training in one of the chief London hospitals. The historians of the modern English Order say of her that 'there was hardly a single Hospitaller object of importance to which she had not devoted her experiences and her energy, making herself the very pattern

of a Dame Chevalière'.[1] In 1877 she went out to Turkey with a staff of nurses and opened her hospital at the front in the midst of actual personal danger, and in spite of the privations and difficulties which had to be faced. When the Russians captured Sofia she was taken prisoner for a time and suffered hardships from which she never fully recovered. Finally she found it necessary to give up her hospital and to send her nurses home. She herself, however, went to Constantinople and afterwards to Scutari, where she re-opened her hospital in two houses given her by the Sultan. Here she tended the sick and wounded of the Turkish army with devoted care, and when Nouri Pasha, the Surgeon-General, inspected her hospital he declared it to be a model for all to follow. But her works of charity were not restricted to the army. The state of the unhappy refugees, who were living under the most miserable conditions excited her compassion. Deeply moved by the sufferings of their children, who were dying in large numbers of starvation and typhoid fever, she opened a special home for these poor victims of the war. The devoted work that was done by Lady Strangford will ever be remembered with pride in the Order of St. John, and as an incentive to future generations.

When the war in Egypt broke out in 1882 the Knights of St. John were once more to the front with measures in relief of the suffering that it entailed. At the special request of the Order, Lady Strangford went out to Cairo and there established the Victoria Hospital for the sick and wounded. No distinctions of race or creed were made, and Arab soldiers and British officers alike owed their lives to the tender care and skilful nursing obtained there. On Lady Strangford's return to England Queen Victoria conferred the Royal Red Cross upon her in recognition of her devoted services. Neither must the work of the Order in Malta during that war be overlooked. Immediately after the outbreak of the insurrection at Alexandria the island was inundated with refugees. It was the hottest

[1] Bedford and Holbeche, p. 144.

period of the year, and over 1200 families, averaging from four to six persons, had taken refuge there. Lady Houlton, a Lady of Justice of the Order, had just introduced its ambulance work in Malta. The ladies of the Order and their friends, assisted by the Mansion House Committee, provided the clothing, bedding and other necessary support for these unfortunate people, for which they received the thanks of the British Government. Five years after the Egyptian War, in March, 1887, Lady Strangford died when on a voyage to Port Said, specially undertaken in fulfilment of a promise, and, to use the words of the modern historians of the Order, ' thus closed a life in which everything—money, health and energy—had been freely lavished in the cause of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty, of which she was so striking an example '.[1]

Until the outbreak of the South African War, in 1899, the various Red Cross Societies had acted side by side with, but independently of, the military ambulance organization, a system which was always liable to result in overlapping and consequent waste of money and energy. In that year the Central British Red Cross Committee was created, under regulations approved by the Secretary of State for War. This was a course which had long been strenuously advocated by Sir John Furley, at one time Director of the Ambulance Department of the Order, who had devoted a lifetime to the promotion of the Red Cross movement and had served through so many campaigns as a Commissioner for the sick and wounded. In recognition of his services to humanity the honour of knighthood had at that time just been conferred upon him. The Central British Red Cross Committee consisted of representatives of the Order of St. John, acting through its Ambulance Association; of the National Aid Society for the sick and wounded in war, a Society which had been initiated by the Order; of the Army Nursing Reserve; and of the Secretary of State for War. On the outbreak of the war Lord Knutsford, then Director of its Ambulance

[1] Bedford and Holbeche, p. 145.

Department, and Sir John Furley, were appointed the representatives of the Order on the Red Cross Committee. By the regulations of that Committee two special branches of work were handed over to the Order of St. John—firstly, the collection and despatch to the seat of war of ambulance material, and, secondly, the organization of personnel. The latter forms a part of the history of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, and has been dealt with in the preceding chapter.

As regards the collection and despatch of ambulance material, a great firm was generous enough to place its warehouse at the disposal of the Order, and even the services of its staff. A member of the Order, Lieut.-Colonel R. Holbeche, conducted the correspondence and generally supervised the proceedings under the advice of Sir Herbert Perrott, Chief Secretary of the Ambulance Association. Vast quantities of material were sent out to South Africa for the use of the sick and wounded, and were distributed for a short time by Colonel Young, and afterwards by Sir John Furley, both of whom at different times acted as Commissioner in that country. The nature of the work done does not lend itself to lengthy or detailed description, but its immense value to the country during that critical period can scarcely be exaggerated. At the end of the war the services of those chiefly concerned received official recognition on July 14th, 1902, when His Royal Highness the Grand Prior at St. James's Palace presented them with the special medal of the Order, awarded for service in the war, and in the despatch of ambulance material and medical comforts for the sick and wounded. Of the work that was done during that period the earlier historians of the Order write :—

Foremost stands the name of the Chief Secretary, Sir Herbert Perrott, whose hereditary connection with the revived Order of St. John had throughout his long period of office induced him to promote its interests with able and unflagging devotion ; whatever scheme for the widening of its areas of usefulness has been evolved, it has invariably found in him

a strenuous supporter and ever vigilant guardian of the interests of the Order.[1]

With the outbreak of the great European War in 1914 the Knights of St. John were compelled to put forth efforts on a scale that had never before been contemplated. But the nature of their work was necessarily so varied, and their beneficent influence was exercised through so many different channels, that it can scarcely be related in one consecutive narrative. Roughly, their work falls into three main classes. Firstly, the provision of personnel to supplement the medical reserves of the Naval and Military forces of the Crown. This has already been dealt with in the preceding chapter, and forms a part of the history of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. Secondly, the Hospital at Etaples and other Hospitals dependent upon the Order. Thirdly, the work of its Committees and Departments at St. John's Gate, which it is more convenient to deal with first.

As soon as war was declared, Sir Herbert Perrott, as Secretary-General of the Order and Chief Secretary of its Ambulance Department, requested the authority of its Executive Officers to take the same measures as had been taken when the South African War broke out, and on August 10th an appeal for funds was made to the public. Meanwhile the War Office had already officially notified the Order that its Ambulance Department formed a part of the Red Cross organization of Great Britain, and was recognized by the British Government under the terms of the Geneva Convention as a Society to assist the Medical Services in time of War. It soon became evident that it was highly desirable for the Order of St. John and the British Red Cross Society to combine their efforts in order to avoid anything in the nature of competition. Accordingly in October, 1914, a Joint War Committee of the two Societies was formed for the purpose of dealing with the Government, for the delegation of work, appeals for funds, and the

[1] Bedford and Holbeche, p. 180.

publication of financial and other reports. But it was afterwards found more convenient not to delegate work, as had been done during the South African War, but to carry out jointly all work for the sick and wounded that had not been organized before the outbreak of hostilities. Under this arrangement the two Societies were able to work together in complete harmony throughout the war.

The work of this Joint War Committee was on so vast a scale that it is quite impossible to do more than summarize its varied activities. Their magnitude is best revealed by the fact that just before the Armistice the Committee had received since its formation funds to the extent of more than fifteen millions sterling. In the words of its own Report issued in 1915, it had been able 'to undertake and carry out activities of unprecedented range and volume, both abroad and at home, for the relief of our own wounded soldiers and sailors, and where necessary for those of our allies'.[1] In France it established its headquarters at Rouen, from which all its work on the Western Front was organized and directed. By the end of the first year of the war it was maintaining fourteen hospitals, with additional dressing stations and rest stations, twelve stores in various French towns, nine convoys of motor ambulances, three hospital trains, and a large inquiry department for the wounded and missing was actively employed at five different towns; and all this work was continually expanding and increasing as larger funds became available.

In the East the Joint War Committee was no less active, and there Sir Courtauld Thomson was appointed Chief Commissioner for Malta, Egypt, and the Near East. Great depôts of ambulance stores were established at Malta, Alexandria, and Salonika, from which at one time seventy-five hospitals, fifty hospital ships, and five hospital trains were being supplied, and during the Gallipoli operations the Committee was maintaining ten hospitals in the Near East. In Mesopotamia a complete convoy of motor ambulances was maintained, with a depot of ambulance

[1] See *Report of Chapter-General*, 1915, p. 15.

stores at Basra and motor ambulance boats on the Tigris. In East Africa, Italy, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, and Russia the efforts of the Joint War Committee were equally felt. At home it was engaged in the organization of the supply and distribution of ambulance stores and medical comforts for the sick and wounded; hospitals and convalescent homes were opened, of which the most famous was the King George Hospital at Lambeth; the transport of the sick and wounded from the railway stations to the hospitals was arranged; food and comforts were sent out to the prisoners of war; and the fate of the wounded and the missing was investigated. Such was the work of the Joint War Committee of the Knights of St. John and the British Red Cross Society, and so harmonious was the co-operation of these two bodies during the war, and so beneficial and successful were its results, that it was felt to be highly desirable that this co-operation should continue in peace time, and so with this object in view the Joint Council of these two Societies was formed in 1919.

There was also formed early in the War a Central Joint V.A.D. Committee, for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the Voluntary Aid Detachments founded by the Order of St. John, the Territorial Force Associations, and the British Red Cross Society. The control of all Voluntary Aid Detachments was vested by the War Office in this Committee for the duration of the War. By the beginning of 1917 as many as 110,000 men and women were working in these detachments.

Meanwhile immediately after the declaration of War a Committee of the Ladies of the Order of St. John was formed. Her Majesty the Queen most graciously consented to be the President, and appointed Adeline Duchess of Bedford to be its Chairman and Lady Perrott to be its Honorary Secretary. The two departments at once organized by this Committee were the Warehouse, for the reception and despatch of clothing and comforts for the wounded, and the Trained Nurses' Department. So great was Her Majesty's personal interest in the work of the

Order that on August 27th she paid a surprise visit to St. John's Gate, to make herself acquainted with the work of these two departments. On July 20th, 1915, Her Majesty Queen Alexandra visited St. John's Gate and inspected the various departments. The great kindness shown by Her Majesty in speaking to all the workers individually, and the keen interest shown by the Queen in the work, were a great incentive and encouragement to all those who had the honour of being presented to Her Majesty on that occasion.

The Warehouse was organized and administered during the first year by Lady Sloggett as Chairman, and afterwards by Lady Jekyll. Its work was greatly assisted by the West End Depôt, under the management of Lady Maxwell-Lyte, at 35, Park Lane, the ground floor of which had been most generously placed at the disposal of the Ladies' Committee by the Countess Grosvenor. At the end of 1916, as a result of Lady Perrott's visit to the Hospital at Etaples, it was decided to establish a special Supply Depôt for furnishing the enormous quantity of dressings and bandages required there. For this purpose Lord Beauchamp very generously gave up his house in Belgrave Square for the use of the Committee. This depôt was formally opened by His Royal Highness the Grand Prior on January 24th, 1917, and Lady Perrott acted as its Honorary Superintendent. It is quite impossible to relate in detail the devoted work that was done by the Ladies of the Order in these depôts, it can only be summed up in the words of the Annual Report for 1919, when the work of the Ladies' Committee was finished: 'The Chapter-General is deeply sensible of the very valuable work rendered by one and all of this Committee, and heartily congratulates them on the success of their efforts'.[1]

The Trained Nurses' Department proved to be of the greatest value, and eventually Miss Swift, late Matron of Guy's Hospital, was placed in charge as Matron-in-Chief, assisted by a strong selection committee. When the Joint War Committee of the Order of St. John and the British

[1] *Report of Chapter-General*, December 31st, 1919, p. 9.

Red Cross Society was formed, the selection of trained nurses of both Societies was left in the hands of this department, which remained for some time at St. John's Gate until its final removal to the joint headquarters in Pall Mall. The formation of this strong department of trained nurses was entirely due to the devoted efforts of the Ladies' Committee.

Amongst the greater activities of the Order of St. John was the inauguration of the Indian Soldiers' Fund, as the result of a meeting held at John's Gate on October 1st, 1914. Its Chairman was Sir John Hewett, with Colonel Sir Trevredyn Wynne as Vice-Chairman, both of them Knights of Grace of the Order. Amongst the objects served by this fund was the maintenance of the Lady Hardynge Hospital of 500 beds, established in Brockenhurst Park for the use of Indian troops. The fund also arranged for the supply of clothing and comforts for the Indian soldiers in the field as well as for those wounded or sick in hospitals abroad. A special depôt for the reception of comforts for Indian troops was established at 21, Park Lane, which was most generously lent for the purpose by Lady Scarbrough. The Lady Hardynge Hospital was taken over by the War Office in March, 1916, and in the following August the Indian Branch of the Joint War Committee of the Order of St. John and the British Red Cross Society was formed.

But of all the work that was done by the Knights of St. John during the great War, nothing appeals more closely to the sentiment and tradition of their Order than the direct relief that was given to the sick and wounded in their hospitals. The most important of these was the Hospital at Etaples, of which we are told that 'those who have inspected it are unstinted in their praise, and it is considered one of the best of its type in France'.[1] This hospital owed its inception to the St. John Ambulance Brigade, by whose name it was known; it was staffed by the Brigade and was commanded by their Chief Commissioner, Colonel

[1] *Report of Chapter-General*, December 31st, 1915, p. 32.

THE HOSPITAL AT ETAPLES AFTER THE GERMAN BOMBARDMENT

From a sketch by St. Ives Gore

understood. Presumably it was not due to sheer brutality, as was at one time supposed. In that case it must have formed part of a deliberate policy of reprisals for some imaginary or accidental injury, or else it must have been due to honest accident, owing to certain Army depôts being in that neighbourhood. But the latter is an explanation extremely difficult, if not impossible, to believe. Whatever the causes may have been, on the night of May 19th German aircraft arrived over the Hospital and dropped a few bombs, doing a certain amount of damage. But this was only a foretaste of the wrath to come, and eleven days later, on the night of May 31st, a most determined attack with bombs and machine-guns was made upon the buildings. One ward received a direct hit and was blown to pieces, six wards were reduced to ruins, and three others severely damaged. Sister Baines, four orderlies, and eleven patients were killed outright, whilst two doctors, five sisters, and many orderlies and patients were wounded.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the way in which the Hospital Staff carried out their duties during that terrible night; no more can be said than that it was worthy of the highest traditions of the Venerable Order of St. John of Jerusalem. In recognition of the gallantry of their conduct, His Royal Highness the Grand Prior conferred the gold medal of the Order for saving life upon Lieut.-Colonel C. J. Trimble, of whom it was said that during the bombardments 'he was constantly passing through the various departments and entrenchments of the Hospital, encouraging the patients and personnel and directing operations. It was largely due to the fact that he displayed such coolness and disregard for his personal safety that so many escaped injury and that no panic occurred'. The silver medal was conferred upon two of the medical officers, Captain Frederick Hall and Captain William Wilson, 'in recognition of their gallantry, devotion to duty and saving life on the occasion of air raids on the St. John Ambulance Brigade Hospital at Etaples'. The bronze medal was

conferred for the same reasons upon three medical officers, nine other ranks, and one patient.[1]

As a result of the air raids, the military authorities ordered the removal of the Hospital from Etaples to Trouville, or rather the heights above the village of Deauville. The demolition for the purpose of removal began in the middle of June, the cost being met out of a fund raised as the result of a special appeal by the Director of the Ambulance Department of the Order. Most valuable assistance was rendered during the removal by Mr. F. S. Phillips, a Donat of the Order. The newly erected Hospital received its first convoy of wounded on October 23rd, 1918, and on January 20th, 1919, it was demobilized. The memory of the work that was done by their Hospital during the Great War will always be recalled with pride by the Knights of St. John, whilst the manner in which their duties were carried out by the Hospital Staff is best recorded in the concluding words of Colonel Trimble's Farewell Order, 'You have, by your self-denial and zeal, individually and collectively fulfilled in no uncertain way the mottoes of the ancient Order of St. John, 'pro fide' and 'pro utilitate hominum'.[2]

To mention all the institutions in England connected with the Order would be quite impossible, but the most important of them was the St. John V.A.D. Hospital at Southport. It comprised 500 beds at 'The Woodlands' and 'The Grange', two houses kindly lent for the purpose. The former was opened on September 15th, 1915, and the latter on November 1st, 1915, the Medical Officer in Charge

[1] The names of those upon whom the bronze medal was conferred were :—

Captain J. Van S. Taylor	Pte. H. J. Brownbill
Captain W. E. Coe	Pte. F. Robbins
Captain A. D. Brunwin	Pte. A. Nickells
Sergt. J. Baron	Pte. W. Ellis
Corp. J. E. Johnson	Pte. H. N. Parker
Pte. F. H. Pike	Pte. H. Mould

Gunner Alfred Lee, a patient.

[2] See *Report of Chapter-General*, December 31st, 1918, p. 11.

being Dr. W. C. Bentall, an Honorary Associate of the Order. This Hospital finally closed at the end of February, 1919. Besides this there were, just before the Armistice, no fewer than 246 Auxiliary Hospitals organized under the auspices of the Order.

The last work to be done by the Knights of St. John arising out of the Great War was, appropriately enough, in the Holy Land, the original home of their Order. At the special request of Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, the Knights of St. John, acting in conjunction with the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, sent out to Syria in March, 1919, an organization known as the Syria Relief Unit, to deal with the suffering and lack of all medical provision that was afflicting that country. This Unit was in charge of Lord Lamington and afterwards of Dr. A. Banks as Commissioner. It began work in Damascus and organized a Hospital of seventy beds, a Convalescent Hospital for tubercular patients, dispensaries, and workshops. In view of the improved conditions of the country the Syria Relief Unit was recalled at the end of October, 1919.

Twelve years after the Great War had ended the Knights of St. John were once more in the field attempting to mitigate the suffering and misery caused by the unofficial war between China and Japan then raging in and around Shanghai. Relations between the Empire of Japan and the Chinese Republic had become strained to breaking-point, and in January, 1932, the Japanese fleet bombarded the Woosung Forts, and their marines landed at Shanghai, and occupied the Chinese suburb of Chapei. There was no official declaration of war, and the military and naval operations that followed were strictly localized, but in the densely populated Chinese suburbs of Shanghai, where so much heavy fighting took place, the misery and suffering of the civil population were almost beyond description.

During February the Japanese received strong reinforcements, and began offensive operations on a large scale, but the resistance of the Chinese troops was far more serious than had ever been anticipated, and it was evident

that the fighting was likely to be prolonged. In consequence it was decided to send a party of the St. John Ambulance Brigade from Hong-Kong to Shanghai, numbering eighty-two of all ranks. They left Hong-Kong on March 2nd, taking with them medical equipment and a motor ambulance, and on arrival at Shanghai assumed charge of a temporary hospital of 500 beds in the Ciccawei University, being afterwards transferred to No. 7 Red Cross Hospital. A great number of casualties were treated, and their kindly services were so much appreciated that the Shanghai Citizens' Association and other public bodies afterwards presented to the Hong-Kong District S.J.A.B. three silver trophies, with a medal for every man engaged. The detachment was visited at its work by Mr. Sidney Brown, the representative of the International Red Cross, Geneva, who expressed the warmest admiration for its smartness, and the high standard of efficiency of its members.

Meanwhile at the end of February the Chinese had been driven out of Kiangwan, and early in March the Woosung Forts were captured by the Japanese. On March 17th there was a cessation of hostilities, and negotiations for an armistice were opened. It was not, however, until April 27th that the combatants agreed to accept the British compromise formula for the withdrawal of the Japanese troops at Shanghai, and on that date the detachment of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, their work being finished, left for Hong-Kong. In recognition of their services a special badge was awarded by Chapter-General to each member, and the thanks of H.R.H. the Grand Prior and Chapter-General, engrossed upon vellum, were conveyed to Mr. Eu Tong Sen, Dr. C. C. Wu, Mr. Chan Lim Pak, Miss Alice Kwok, and Miss Ruth Kwok. Not content merely with its work at Shanghai, the Hong-Kong District also sent large quantities of ambulance stores and medical equipment to Peking, for the use of the wounded in the serious fighting in 1932 and 1933 along the line of the Great Wall of China, and so through their local representatives the Knights of St. John have been enabled to make

their beneficent influence felt even on the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

The modern Knights of St. John can claim with a clear conscience that in the 'Exercise of their Knighthood', both in peace and in war, they have been guided by the spirit of the Rule laid down by their first Master, the Blessed Raymond du Puy, in all that applies to the conditions of the present day.

APPENDIX

The Thanks of the Army Council

War Office, London,
August 19th, 1919.

Sir,—Now that so many hospitals formed under your Committee are closing and the Staff are being dispersed, I am commanded by the Army Council to convey to the Joint War Committee their appreciation of the inestimable service rendered by the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

I am to say that the Council recognize the high value of the work done by the Organizations and the hospitals formed under their auspices. The preparations made in time of peace and the energy and efficiency displayed when put to the test of war have greatly assisted in the restoration of life and health to the sick and wounded, and have contributed in no small measure to the achievement of victory.

I am to request that you will convey the thanks of the Army Council to the various branches of the two organizations whose members have so unstintingly devoted their resources to the service of the sick and wounded.

I am also to ask that you will convey to all concerned the appreciation of the Council of the most generous and loyal service which they have rendered to the national cause.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

B. B. Cubitt.

The Chairman,
Joint War Committee,
British Red Cross Society and
Order of St. John.

APPENDICES

A.—Documents relating to the Foundation of the Priory at Clerkenwell.

B.—Warrant of King Henry VIII for Dismantling the Priory Church.

C.—The Royal Licence and Authority to Use the Royal Crest.

D.—On the Seals of the Grand Priory.

E.—On the Classes or Grades of the Order.

F.—Medals Issued by the Grand Priory.

G.—The Objects of the Order.

H.—Roll of Knights of Justice since 1831.

APPENDIX A

Documents relating to the Foundation of the Priory at Clerkenwell

1.—*Jordan of Bricett's Grant to Robert the Chaplain.* [Date about 1144]

Be it known to all the faithful of Holy Church, both now and in the future, that I Jordan son of Ralph son of Brian have given to God and St. Mary and all the Saints, and to Robert the Chaplain, in alms for me and my wife, and for the souls of my father and my mother and my brother, and of all my relatives and friends, both the living and the dead, fourteen acres of land in the field adjoining the Clerken-well (Fons clericorum), free and quit of all things, that is to say so that the people of the Hospital can claim nothing therein, nor dispute anything, but entirely separate from the acre which I have given to the said Hospitallers in the same field, instead of the thirteen pence (denarii), which I had promised that I would give in alms every year to the Hospital of Jerusalem. I have also given to the said Robert the place and site in which to make a mill, saving and reserving to myself my own milling and the first use (locus) of the mill. These things I have granted to Robert to enable him to build upon the said acres a house of prayer, and that he may settle there such a religious order (religio), as he may think fit, for service and prayer to God.

These are the witnesses : The Canons Alan Bernard and Hugh.

2.—*Settlement of the Dispute with the Nuns of Clerkenwell.* [Date about 1148]

To all the sons of God's Holy Church, both great and small, alike now and in the future, I Walter the servant of the Hospital

of Jerusalem and Prior of the Brethren who are in England, send greeting.

Know ye that we have utterly disclaimed and renounced the dispute and controversy, which existed between our House and the Monastery of the Nuns (sanctimoniales) of the Clerken-well (Fons clericorum), concerning the ten acres. Therefore we have decreed and determined, and by witness of this present writing confirmed, that the aforesaid Monastery shall forever have and hold the aforementioned acres, free and quit of every claim and disturbance from the House of us and of our successors. And for the purpose of ending this dispute, Jordan the lord of the soil of both (houses), has given to our House five acres to hold forever.

This settlement has been made in the presence of: Ralph the Dean; William, Richard and Richard the Archdeacons; the Master Aubrey; Hugh; Robert de Auco; and of the other Canons, and of all the Chapter of the Church of St. Paul in London. Witnessed also by Jordan, the lord of the said soil.

Endorsed: Deed of Walter, Prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem, concerning ten acres, Clerkenwell.

3.—*Confirmation of the above Settlement by the Prior of St. Gilles*

[Date about 1148]

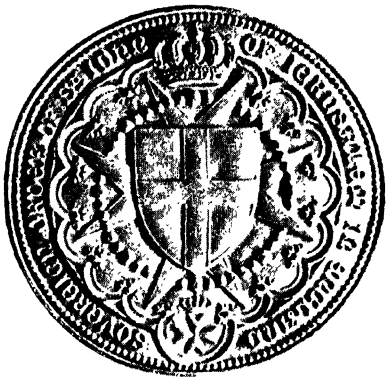
To all the sons of God's Holy Church, both great and small, alike now and in the future, I Arnold the servant of the Hospital of Jerusalem and Prior of St. Gilles, send greeting in the Lord.

Forasmuch as we have been informed that there has been a dispute and controversy concerning ten acres between our House and the Monastery of the Nuns (sanctimoniales) of the Clerken-well (Fons clericorum). And accordingly for the purpose of ending this dispute, Jordan the lord of the soil of both has given to our House in London five acres to hold forever. And whereas Walter, Prior of the Brethren who are in England, guided by the true spirit of religion and devotion, and with the advice of religious men and of the brethren and sisters, has utterly rejected and renounced this controversy. We therefore, having ratified this settlement and agreement, do decree and confirm it by the witness of this present writing, namely, that the aforesaid Monastery, and Nuns (sanctimoniales)

PLAN OF THE PRECINCTS OF THE PRIORY AT CLERKENWELL

From the Ordnance Survey Map

Facing p. 210



1871–1888

Since 1926

THE MODERN SEALS OF THE GRAND PRIORY
At St. John's Gate

there serving God, shall forever have and hold the aforenamed ten acres free and quit from all manner of claim and annoyance and disturbance from the House of us and of our successors of the Hospital of Jerusalem.

These are the witnesses, etc.
Endorsed: Grant of Arnold: Clerkenwell.

NOTE.—These three documents are published in Latin in the *Cartulaire-Général des Hospitaliers*, Vol. I, Nos. 2, 148, 149. According to an entry in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Jordan of Bricett founded the Hospital of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell in 1100, on ten acres of land purchased from the nuns there. The date is incorrect, since the Nunnery of St. Mary at Clerkenwell was only founded in 1144; moreover, the Hospitallers possessed only the five acres on which their Convent was built, not ten, and certainly did not purchase them from the nuns. We can date the two latter documents as approximately 1148, since in that year six out of the seven witnesses to the first of them are also found signing a St. Paul's Charter. See Round, *The Foundations of the Priories of St. Mary and St. John, Clerkenwell* (communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, 1899).

APPENDIX B

WARRANT OF KING HENRY VIII FOR DISMANTLING THE PRIORY CHURCH[1]

BY THE KING

(*Signed*) HENRY REX.

WE WILL and command that by virtue hereof ye permit and suffer our well beloved chaplain Thomas Canner, clerk surveyor of our works and buildings at our palace of Westminster, John Molton Nicholas Ellis and John Russell, our Masons and carpenter and the deputies of them to perceive and take for and to our use to be employed in and about our buildings at our palace, or elsewhere that we shall apoint, all such stone of all kinds, Timber Lead Iron Glass Marble, and all like things, being now in or upon the whole church Chapel Aisles Steeple and porches appertaining to the late House of St. John's Jerusalem, Edified and being within the suburbs of our City of London, and now dissolved. Any other commandment by us herebefore made to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided also that such stuff there to be taken down not meet to be occupied in and about our said buildings shall be sold by the said Thomas Canner John Molton Nicholas Ellis and John Russell and their deputies for our use in and towards the discharging of such charges as shall grow in taking down and carrying off the same unto our palace aforesaid or elsewhere, and the money growing of any such sales, to be made by bill indented betwixt the keeper or officer of the said manor of St. John's of the one part, and of the said Thomas Canner John Molton Nicholas Ellis and John Russell or two of them on the other part. And this bill signed with our hand shall be unto you a sufficient warrant and discharge at all times for the same. Given at our palace of Westminster the 12th day of May the 38th year of our Reign (i.e. 1546).

Endorsement: A warrant for the taking down of the lead stone timber cement and glass of the Church and Steeple at St. John's.

[1] The original warrant is preserved in the Library of the Order at St. John's Gate.

APPENDIX C

THE ROYAL LICENSE, AND AUTHORITY TO USE THE ROYAL CREST

(*Signed*) GEORGE R.I.

GEORGE THE FIFTH by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King Defender of the Faith To Our Right Trusty and Well beloved Cousin and Counsellor Edmund Bernard Viscount FitzAlan of Derwent Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order Companion of the Distinguished Service Order Deputy to Our Right Trusty and Right entirely Beloved Cousin Bernard Marmaduke Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal and Our Hereditary Marshal of England Greeting Whereas Our Royal Uncle His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter Grand Prior of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England hath by his Petition represented unto Us that the said Order is desirous that Armorial Bearings embodying a Device or charge to signify that We are the Sovereign Head of the Order and also to mark the extension of its activities throughout Our Realms might be fully established and recorded for the said Order The said Petitioner therefore prayed Our Royal License and Authority that the said Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England might bear and use on their Common Seal Shields Banners or otherwise according to the Laws of Arms the Armorial Bearings following videlicet A Cross in the first quarter a representation of Our Crest as in the drawing annexed to the said Petition—Know Ye that We of Our Princely Grace and Special Favour have given and granted and by these Presents do give and grant unto the said Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England Our Royal License and Authority to bear on their Common Seal Shields Banners or otherwise the Arms following namely :—' A Cross in the first quarter a representation of Our Royal Crest ' the whole as in the drawing hereunto annexed the same being first duly exemplified and recorded in Our College of Arms otherwise this our

License and Permission to be void and of none effect. Our Will and Pleasure therefore is that you the said Edmund Bernard Viscount FitzAlan of Derwent Deputy to Our said Earl Marshal to whom the cognizance of matters of this nature doth properly belong do require and command that this Our Concession and Especial Mark of Our Royal Favour be registered in Our College of Arms to the end that Our Officers of Arms and all others upon occasion may take full notice and have knowledge thereof.—And for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's this First day of February One thousand nine hundred and twenty-six in the Sixteenth year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
(*Signed*) W. JOYNSON HICKS.

Recorded in the College of Arms, pursuant to a Warrant from the Deputy to the Earl Marshal.

(*Signed*) ARTHUR COCHRANE.
CHESTER HERALD
(*Registrar*).

APPENDIX D

On the Seals of the Grand Priory[1]

1.—*The Ancient Seals*

The earliest seal of the Grand Priory of England is that of its first Prior Walter, and was attached to the deed of 1148 settling the dispute with the Nuns of Clerkenwell, printed in Appendix A. It is circular, two inches in diameter, and represents the Prior facing right, his hands clasped in prayer, kneeling in adoration before a patriarchal cross, to the right of which are the symbolic letters Ω (omega), A (alpha). The inscription surrounding the design reads :—

✠ S'WALTERI PRIORIS HOSPITAL IERL'M IN ANGLIA

His successor, Richard de Turk, the second Prior of England, used a vesica-shaped[2] seal, 2 inches by 1⅝. This seal represents the Prior facing right, his hands clasped in prayer, kneeling in adoration before an altar, on which is a patriarchal cross. Around it is the inscription, of which the termination is so blurred as to be doubtful :—

✠ SIGILLVM RICARDI PRIORIS HOSPITALIS IERL'M

Either the famous Garnier de Nablus, the fourth Prior of England, or his predecessor Ralph de Dynham, made considerable changes in the design of the seal, which ceases to bear the name of the Prior. The new seal, like the seal of Prior Walter, is circular, 2 inches in diameter; it represents the Prior facing left, his hands clasped in prayer, kneeling in

[1] For the seals of the Order, consult King's *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, published by Methuen & Co.

[2] Vesica-shape, a pointed oval, supposed to contain an allusion to the sacred Christian emblem, the ἰχθύς.

adoration before a patriarchal cross upon a dome-shaped pedestal. Divided by the cross are the following words in three lines :—

SAL VE
CRVX SCA
ARBOR DIGNA

The inscription surrounding the design reads :—

✠ SIGILL' : PRIORIS : FRATRVM : HOSPITAL' IERL'M IN ANGLIA

At the beginning of the thirteenth century a new seal was cut, for which a design already in use as counter-seal was adopted, and this was destined to remain the design of the seal of the Grand Priory of England for three hundred and fifty years (1200–1559), until its downfall at the Reformation. The exact date when this design was adopted is not certain ; the old seal was still in use under Prior Alan (1190–95), and we find the new seal in use under Prior Hugh Dawnay (1216–21). This new seal was circular, but only 1½ inches in diameter ; it bears the head of St. John Baptist, surrounded by a cordon of pellets, on the left of the head a star, on the right a crescent. The inscription surrounding the design is as follows :—

✠ S'PRIORIS : HOSPITAL' : IERL' : IN : ANGL' :

2.—The Modern Seals

When the Grand Priory of England was restored in 1831, we should have expected it to have adopted the ancient seal of the old Grand Priory, but it was unknown to the authorities of that day, and instead they adopted a somewhat fantastic design from the heading of the official paper of the Commission of the French Tongues, a shield bearing the arms of the Order surmounted by the Sovereign Crown, and supported by two knights in armour holding lances from which fly banners bearing the words ' Cyprus Tripoli Rhodes Jerusalem ' ; in the background are hills and towers. The seal was originally circular, 3½ inches in diameter, but in 1841 a new seal of similar design was cut, rectangular in shape, 1 inch by 1⅛, having below it the following unfortunate and inaccurate inscription :—

✠ ANG : VEL VI LIN : PRIOR : ORD : STI J : HIER ✠ INST : 1048

In 1858 the Lieutenant-Master Philip de Colloredo formally rejected the Grand Priory of England, and declared it to have no connection with the Sovereign Order of Malta. The Grand Priory thereupon declared itself to be the Sovereign Order in England, and in consequence a new seal was engraved. It was circular, 2¼ inches in diameter, the design being a shield bearing the arms of the Order, displayed upon the eight-pointed cross, encircled by the rosary with pendant badge, and surmounted by the Sovereign Crown. In the angles of the badge appear the lions and unicorns of England. It is surrounded by the following inscription :—

SOV . ORDER OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM, ANGLIA.

In 1871 a new constitution was adopted, and a new seal was engraved. Like its predecessor it is 2¼ inches in diameter, and of greatly improved design, the best of all the modern seals. It bears a spade-shaped shield of the arms of the Order, displayed upon the eight-pointed cross, encircled by the rosary with pendant badge, and surmounted by the Sovereign Crown. The badge is without the national emblems of lions and unicorns, since the Order regarded itself as being the Sovereign Order. The design is enclosed within a cusped border, with trefoil points, which is surrounded by the following inscription with a beaded border :—

SOVEREIGN ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN ENGLAND.

When the Order received its first Royal Charter in 1888, it was given the style and title of the old mediæval Grand Priory of England, and a new seal became necessary. This seal is 2 inches in diameter, and of very inferior design : a shield, almost square, bearing the arms of the Order, with the national emblems in the angles of the cross, is displayed upon the eight-pointed cross, on a diapered background, surrounded by the following inscription :—

✠ SIGILLUM MAGNI PRIORATUS ORDINIS HOSPITALIS SANCTI IOHANNIS IERUSALEM IN ANGLIA.

In 1926 a new Royal Charter was granted giving to the Order an Imperial constitution and changing its name to the Grand

Priory in the British Realm, preceded by the word ' Venerable ' as the outward sign of its ancient origin. As a special mark of Royal favour, the Order was given permission to bear in the first quarter of its arms a representation of His Majesty's Crest. This necessitated another new seal, which like its predecessor is 2 inches in diameter. The design is a shield bearing the Arms of the Order, displayed upon the eight-pointed cross, on a diapered background of chainwork and roses. The inscription is as follows :—

✠ SIG : MAG : PR : IN BRITT : OMN : ORD : HOSP : S : IOHIS : HIER :

APPENDIX E

On the Classes or Grades of the Order

THE Custom of the Order, as defined in Statutes II, 2, is as follows :—

There are three different sorts of Brothers, for some are Knights, others Priests, and the last are Serving Brothers. The Priests are divided into two classes, and are either Conventual Priests or Priests of Obedience. There are likewise two sorts of Serving Brothers, the first are Serving Brothers of Arms, received into the Convent, the second are Serving Brothers de stage or of office.

The Conventual Priests are, of course, those doing duty in the Convent at Rhodes or Malta ; the Priests of Obedience are those who, having taken the vows, were not obliged to serve in the Convent, but remained attached to some church of the Order, under the authority of a Grand Prior or Commander. The Serving Brothers of Arms, defined by the Abbé Vertot as ' demi-chevaliers ', were known in the earliest days as Serjeants-at-Arms. They no longer exist in the Sovereign Order of Malta, but the Donats of Justice, who take certain modified vows, occupy the same relative position. The Serving Brothers de stage or Donats wore the demi-cross [1] and held minor appointments in the Convent and Hospital, but they were not professed brethren, and they can scarcely be distinguished from the mediæval Confratres. In the Sovereign Order the Donats of Devotion, as those not taking the modified vows are called, are divided into three classes corresponding very closely to the Commanders, Officers and Serving Brothers of the British Order of St. John, but the Donats of Justice and the Donats of Devotion of the first class are required to be of noble origin.[2]

[1] Boisgelin. I. p. 212.

[2] See Pierredon's *L'Ordre Souverain des Hospitaliers*, p. 44, and Montagnac's *L'Ordonnance des Hospitaliers*, pp. 73, 104.

The special qualification originally required of a candidate desiring admission as a Knight is also laid down in Statutes II,2,

> If he has a mind to be a Knight, he must have received the Order of Knighthood from a Catholic Prince qualified to give it, before he can receive the habit, and make his profession; but if he has not, he must receive it from the person that takes his profession, or from some other Knight of the Order; and after this is done, he may be admitted to make his vows in the manner above specified.

This ancient custom of the Order was afterwards amplified and made more exclusive by a Statute of the Master Hugh Revel (1258–77), which states, 'Such as desire to be admitted Knights, must prove by authentic evidence that they are born of parents noble both by name and arms'.[1] Such has always been the qualification required of a candidate desiring admission as a Knight, throughout the entire history of the Order, and it was made even more stringent by a Statute of the Grand Master John d'Homèdes (1536–53) stating, 'The term Parent, in the proofs of the Brother Knights, takes in the father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother on both the father's and mother's side.'[2] But the different Tongues were permitted to make their own bye-laws interpreting the phrase 'parents noble both by name and Arms'. The English were always content with the phrase in its simple meaning, and even in the fifteenth century we find Brother Henry Fairfax protesting vigorously against the suggestion to make the qualification more stringent, as being contrary to the custom of his nation.[3] But the other nations by their interpretations rendered it more and more exclusive, the Germans and Bavarians requiring proof of sixteen quarterings, the French requiring eight, the Spanish and Portuguese four, and the Italians four, each of 200 years' standing.

Out of this exclusiveness arose the distinction between Knights of Justice and Knights of Grace, a distinction which begins to be of importance in the sixteenth century. The former are those whose nobility of origin, qualified them for admission to that degree, the latter are those who, having some defect in the nobility of their origin required a 'Grace', or exemption from rule, before it was possible for them to obtain admission.

[1] Statutes II, 17.

[2] Statutes XIX, 37.

[3] Taaffe III, 197, 198.

In the words of the Abbé Vertot in his essay on the Government of the Order :—

> Time, which is too frequently the author of abuses and irregularities, has introduced a practice of admitting other persons into the rank of Knights of Justice, who are not qualified like them, and who are called Knights of Grace; they being such as being descended of fathers of noble extraction, but of mothers of ignoble or plebeian birth, have endeavoured to throw a veil over this notorious defect by a papal dispensation.[1]

The same distinction has been most rigidly maintained at all times, and in all countries, by every branch of the Order of St. John. In the British Order, following the ancient English custom, the Knights of Justice are required to furnish proof that both parents had the right to bear arms, and those that cannot do so are Knights of Grace. In the Sovereign Order among the professed Knights taking the full vows, only Knights of Justice are admitted, and both they and the Knights of Honour and Devotion, as those not taking the vows are called, are required to produce proofs of nobility in accordance with their ancient national customs. In the Association of English Knights of the Sovereign Order, however, all ancient precedent and national custom appear to be entirely ignored, and their Knights of Honour and Devotion are required to produce such proofs of noble origin, as have never been customary in this country at any period of its history.

Once the distinction between Knights of Justice and Knights of Grace was recognized, it tended to become more and more clearly defined. It was only human nature for the former to look askance at the latter, and to resent their advancement to the dignities of the Order. At last by a Statute of the Grand Master John de la Cassière (1572–81) the Knights of Grace were forbidden to aspire to the Grand Cross, or to be included in the sixteen electors of the Grand Master, and were told to be satisfied with obtaining Commanderies.[2]

The Knights were divided into two classes, the Knights of the Little Cross, which included not only the simple Knights, but also those administering Commanderies, and Knights of the Grand Cross, who are the Bailiffs, the great dignitaries of the Order. These latter were known as Grand Crosses of

[1] A dissertation upon the ancient and modern government of the Religious and Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Article I.

[2] Statutes XIII, 4.

Justice, when they wore the Grand Cross by virtue of their Bailiwicks, and Grand Crosses of Grace, when appointed *per favorem et ad honores*. In the British Order of St. John there are five Grand Crosses of Justice, the Grand Prior, Sub-Prior, Prelate, Chancellor, and Bailiff of Egle, and there are eight Grand Crosses of Grace.

Amongst the Sisters of the Order the same distinctions have always prevailed as amongst the Brethren of the Order. A Statute of the Master Hugh Revel (1258–77), states: 'We allow the Priors and the Castellan of Amposta to admit ladies of good life, and born of noble parents in lawful wedlock, to the profession of our Order.'[1] To which the Grand Master Claude de la Sengle (1553–57) added: 'Provided they shut themselves up and live in monasteries.'[2] The Abbé Vertot tells us, 'Before they can be received, they are obliged to give the same proofs of their noble descent as the Knights of Justice.'[3] Boisgelin, speaking of the French Sisters, says: 'Those called Sisters of Justice must make their proofs in the same manner as the Knights. Those termed Serving Sisters of the Office only require the same proofs as the Serving Brothers of Arms; and the Lay Sisters were employed in the service of the Convent'.[4] Boisgelin also tells us that the Prioress wore the Grand Cross made of fine linen, sewn on the gown close to the breast, and the Sisters a small cross on the left side near the heart, with a large white cross on the cloak. He states that formerly they wore a red robe with a black mantle, but since the loss of Rhodes their habit had been entirely black as a token of mourning.[5]

In the Sovereign Order there are now no professed Sisters, but the Grand Cross and the Cross of Honour and Devotion are occasionally bestowed upon ladies. In the British Order the ladies are in five classes corresponding to the five classes of brethren.

[1] Statutes II, 26.

[2] Statutes II, 27.

[3] A dissertation on the Government. Article I.

[4] *Ancient and Modern Malta*, Appendix IX, pp. 221, 222.

[5] *Ancient and Modern Malta*, Appendix X, p. 229, also Helyot's *Ordres Monastiques*, III, p. 128, and Bosio in his *Life of St. Flore* also mentions this red robe.

APPENDIX F

Medals Issued by the Grand Priory

The Grand Priory in the British Realm has issued the following medals, which are officially authorized to be worn on all occasions on which other decorations and medals are worn.

Life Saving Medal.—Authorized by the Statutes of 1871, and actually instituted in 1874. The design was modified after the Charter of 1888. The medal, which is suspended from a black watered silk ribbon, is given for gallantry in saving life on land, and consists of a circular medallion in gold, silver, or bronze, on the obverse of which is the eight-pointed cross with the national embellishment surrounded by the inscription: 'For Service in the cause of Humanity', and on the reverse a sprig of the plant St. John's wort, with which are entwined scrolls bearing the names 'England' and 'Jerusalem', and surrounded by the inscription: 'Awarded by the Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England'.

The medal is only awarded to those who in a conspicuous act of gallantry have endangered their own lives: it is worn by men on the right breast, and by ladies in such manner as may be defined by the Regulations or Bye-laws.

Prior to the Charter of 1888, 34 silver medals, 18 bronze medals, and 2 certificates of honour had been awarded. Since the Charter, 95 silver medals, 259 bronze medals, and 312 certificates of honour have been awarded, whilst the following have received the gold medal:—

1906 Dr. Albert von Lecoq.
1915 Major Harold Edgar Priestley, C.M.G.
Captain Alan Cunliffe Vidal, D.S.O.
Captain James La Fayette Lauder, D.S.O.

1916 Major Philip Claude Tresilian Davy, C.M.G.
Captain Augustus Scott Williams, D.S.O.
Captain Arthur James Brown, D.S.O.
1918 Lieut.-Col. Charles Joseph Trimble, C.B., C.M.G.
1923 Mrs. Lilian Agnes Starr.
1927 Mr. Hubert Vicar.

SERVICE MEDAL.—Issued in 1898 in silver. It is awarded by the Grand Prior and Chapter-General for conspicuous services to the Order and its Departments, including those who have actively and efficiently served in the St. John Ambulance Brigade for not less than fifteen years. The medal is suspended from a black watered silk ribbon with two white stripes. The Regulations of 1912 authorized a clasp for each additional period of five years' service in the St. John Ambulance Brigade.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR MEDAL.—Issued in 1902 in bronze. Awarded for services during the South African War to members of the active service detachments of the St. John Ambulance Brigade who proceeded to South Africa, and for service in connection with their mobilization, and with the despatch of ambulance material and medical comforts for the sick and wounded troops at the seat of war. The obverse was designed by Mr. Emil Fuchs, M.V.O., by special command of King Edward VII. The medal is suspended from a ribbon of black watered silk with white edges.

APPENDIX G

The Objects of the Order

The Objects and purposes of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in the British Realm are as follows :—

1. The encouragement and promotion of all works of humanity and charity for the relief of persons in sickness, distress, suffering and danger, without distinction of race, class or creed, and the extension of the great principle of the Order, embodied in its motto '*pro utilitate hominum*'.

2. The rendering of aid to the sick and wounded in war and the promotion of such permanent organization during time of peace as may be at once available in time of emergency, including the provision of Technical Reserves for the Medical Services of the Forces of the Crown.

3. The award of medals, badges or certificates of honour for special services in the cause of humanity, especially for saving life at imminent personal risk.

4. The maintenance of the St. John Ophthalmic Hospital in Jerusalem.

5. The maintenance of the St. John Ambulance Association for instruction in First Aid, Home Nursing, Hygiene, and Sanitation, and for the formation of ambulance depots in or near mines, factories, and other centres of industry and traffic.

6. The organization and administration of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, both at Home and Overseas, and of the Invalid Transport Corps.

7. The formation of associations or organizations in furtherance of the general objects of the Order.

8. The maintenance at St. John's Gate of the Library and of the Museum, and the collection of works of art and objects of historical interest relating to the Order.

APPENDIX H

Roll of Knights of Justice since 1831

1893 HIS MAJESTY THE KING
1888 HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII

1916 Acland, Colonel Alfred Dyke, C.B.E.
1883 Albany, H.R.H. Leopold George Duncan Albert, Duke of, K.G., K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.
1832 Alexander, General Sir James Edward, C.B.
1925 Allenby, Field-Marshal Sir Edmund Henry Hynman, 1st Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
1890 Amherst, William Archer, 3rd Earl
1882 Amherst of Hackney, William Amhurst, 1st Baron
1863 Anderson, Colonel Thomas
1848 Antrim, Hugh Seymour, 4th Earl of
1855 Arbuthnot, Rear-Admiral Sir Alexander Dundas Young
1904 Athlone, Major-General Sir Alexander Augustus Frederick William, 1st Earl of, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., A.D.C., Bailiff Grand Cross
1930 Audland, William Edward, M.B.E.
1883 Barton, Sir Freeman
1922 Bath, Colonel Sir Thomas Henry Thynne, 5th Marquis of, K.G., C.B.
1890 Battenberg, H.R.H. Prince Henry Maurice of, K.G.
1917 Beauchamp, Sir William Lygon, 7th Earl, K.G., K.C.M.G.
1871 Beaumont, Sir George Howland, Baronet
1835 Beetham, William
1915 Belgians, Field-Marshal His Majesty Albert, King of the, K.G., Bailiff Grand Cross (Associate)
1837 Bell, William
1934 Bessborough, Sir Vere Brabazon Ponsonby, 9th Earl of, G.C.M.G.
1931 Beynon, Sir John Wyndham, 1st Baronet, C.B.E.
1835 Bigsby, Robert

1858 Bishopp, Major-General Cecil, C.B.
1898 Blake, Sir Henry Arthur, G.C.M.G.
1890 Boileau, Sir Francis George Manningham, 2nd Baronet
1857 Bonar, Ernest Augustus
1912 Boulton, Captain Sir Harold Edwin, 2nd Baronet, C.V.O., C.B.E.
1876 Bourne, Colonel Sir James, 1st Baronet, C.B.
1903 Bowdler, Colonel William Bowdler, C.B.
1890 Brassey, Sir Thomas, 1st Earl, G.C.B.
1919 Brassey, Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Allnutt, 2nd Earl
1901 Breadalbane, Colonel Sir Gavin Campbell, 1st Marquis of, K.G.
1857 Brett, Major Reginald Best
1832 Bromley, Stretch Cowley
1857 Broun, James
1835 Broun, Sir Richard, 8th Baronet
1832 Brownson, Lieut.-Colonel William Henry
1917 Browne-Synge-Hutchinson, Colonel Edward Douglas, V.C., C.B.
1846 Bruce, William Downing
1861 Bryans, James William
1849 Buckley, Major William
1848 Burges, Captain Somerville Waldemar
1857 Burlton, Colonel William, C.B.
1860 Burlton-Bennett, John Robert
1880 Burnaby, Major-General Edwyn Sherard
1862 Burnes, Adam
1857 Burnes, Fitzjames Holmes
1857 Burnes, George James Holmes
1837 Burnes, James, K.H.
1858 Burnes, Captain Sydney Holmes
1858 Burnes, Ward Holmes
1925 Butler, Sir Spencer Harcourt, G.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1889 Cambridge, Field-Marshal, H.R.H. George William Frederick Charles, 2nd Duke of, K.G.
1888 Cambridge, Colonel Sir Adolphus Charles Alexander, 1st Marquis of, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., C.M.G.
1863 Carter, Charles Pemberton
1913 Carisbrooke, Sir Alexander Albert Mountbatten, 1st Marquis of, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.
1902 Carter, Robert Brudenell

1886 Cecil, Colonel Lord William, C.V.O., Bailiff Grand Cross
1924 Charles, Major-General Sir Richard Havelock, 1st Baronet, G.C.V.O., K.C.S.I.
1916 Chelmsford, Sir Frederick John Napier Thesiger, 1st Viscount, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.
1842 Chermside, Sir Robert Alexander
1930 Chetwode, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Walhouse, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.
1926 Christopher, Captain Alfred Charles Seton
1832 Clanny, William Reid
1888 Clarence and Avondale, H.R.H. Albert Victor Christian Edward, Duke of, K.G.
1911 Clark, Colonel Sir James Richardson Andrew, 2nd Baronet, C.B., C.M.G., Bailiff Grand Cross
1881 Connaught, Field-Marshal, H.R.H. Arthur William Patrick Albert, Duke of, K.G., K.T., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., Bailiff Grand Cross
1905 Connaught, Major-General H.R.H. Prince Arthur of, K.G., K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., Bailiff Grand Cross
1870 Conyngham, Lieut.-General George Henry, 3rd Marquis
1883 Conyngham, Henry Francis, 4th Marquis
1930 Cottesloe, Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Francis Fremantle, 3rd Baron, C.B.
1837 Crawford, William
1878 Dallas, Rupert Caradoc Francis
1884 Dalton, Major-General James Cecil, Bailiff Grand Cross
1876 Daubeney, General Sir Henry Charles Barnston, G.C.B.
1871 Davies, Francis Robert
1882 Dawes, Colonel Bethel Martin
1933 Dawson of Penn, Major-General Sir Bertrand Dawson, 1st Baron, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.
1873 de Chastelain, Philip, Count (Hon.)
1883 de Hallwyl, Count Frederick (Hon.)
1837 de Pearsall, Robert Lucas
1840 de Pearsall, Robert Lucas, Jnr.
1916 Derby, Sir Edward George Villiers Stanley, 17th Earl of, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.V.O.
1833 de Tocqueville, Peter Victor, Count

1917 Devonshire, Sir Victor William Christian Cavendish, 9th Duke of, K.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.
1844 Dick-Cunyngham, Sir Robert Keith, 6th Baronet
1873 Dick-Lauder, Sir Thomas North, 9th Baronet
1917 Donoughmore, Sir Richard Walter John Hely-Hutchinson, 6th Earl of, K.P.
1832 Doyle, Major-General Sir John Milley, K.C.B.
1912 Duckworth, Sir Dyce, 1st Baronet
1874 Dudley, William, 1st Earl of
1830 Dunboyne, James, 13th Baron
1875 Duncan, Colonel Francis, C.B.
1835 Dunsany, Randall Edward, 15th Baron
1921 Durham, Sir John George Lambton, 3rd Earl of, K.G., G.C.V.O.
1838 Dymoke, The Hon. Sir Henry, 1st Baronet
1932 Ebblewhite, Ernest Arthur
1885 Egerton of Tatton, Wilbraham, 1st Earl
1908 Ellesmere, Francis Charles Granville, 3rd Earl of
1910 Ellesmere, Colonel John Francis Granville, 4th Earl of, M.V.O., A.D.C.
1913 Esher, Sir Reginald Baliol Brett, 2nd Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.
1928 Faire, Sir Arthur William, C.B.E.
1876 Ferrers, Sewallis Edward, 10th Earl
1890 Fife, Alexander William George, 1st Duke of, K.G., K.T., G.C.V.O.
1862 Fife, Sir John
1931 Forester, Lieut.-Colonel George Cecil Beaumont Weld-Forester, 6th Baron
1934 Forestier-Walker, Sir Charles Leolin, 1st Baronet, K.B.E.
1875 Fortescue, Major Edward Knottesford
1900 Fraser, Edmund, Bailiff Grand Cross
1857 Freestun, Colonel Sir William Lockyer
1877 Freshfield, Edwin
1910 Freshfield, Edwin Hanson
1864 Furley, Sir John, C.H., C.B.
1928 Gabriel, Colonel Edmund Vivian, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.V.O., C.B.E.
1921 Galway, Colonel George Edmund Milnes Monckton-Arundell, 7th Viscount, C.B.

1930 George, H.R.H. Prince, K.G., G.C.V.O., Bailiff Grand Cross
1858 Gibb, Surgeon-General Hugh
1857 Gibson, Lieut.-Colonel George Washington
1880 Gildea, Colonel Sir James, K.C.V.O., C.B.
1872 Glasgow, George Frederick, 6th Earl of
1930 Gloucester, H.R.H. Henry William Frederick Albert, Duke of, K.G., G.C.V.O., Bailiff Grand Cross
1857 Grant, John
1833 Grant, Captain Thomas
1931 Greece, His Majesty King George of, Bailiff Grand Cross (Associate)
1848 Griffiths, Major William Stuart
1929 Halifax, Sir Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, 3rd Viscount, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
1916 Hamilton, The Rt. Hon. The Lord Claud
1929 Harewood, Sir Henry George Charles Lascelles, 6th Earl of, K.G., D.S.O.
1911 Harvey, Sir Robert
1890 Henniker, Sir John Major, 5th Baron
1931 Hereford, Robert Charles Devereux, 17th Viscount
1917 Hewett, Sir John Prescott, G.C.S.I., K.B.E., C.I.E., Bailiff Grand Cross
1838 Hillary, Sir Augustus William, Baronet
1838 Hillary, Sir William, Baronet
1857 Hoare, Sir Edward, 4th Baronet
1860 Hoare, Major Sir Joseph Wallis O'Bryen, 5th Baronet
1857 Holland, Lieut.-Colonel Trevenen James, C.B.
1857 Holmes, General John, C.B.
1842 Hompesch von Wisbech, Theophilus Anton Wilhelm, Count von (Honorary)
1831 Hope, Vice-Admiral Sir William Johnstone, G.C.B.
1882 Houlton, Sir Edward Victor Lewis, G.C.M.G.
1901 Hughes-Hunter, Colonel Sir Charles, 1st Baronet
1870 Hunter-Weston, Lieut.-Colonel Gould
1884 Hunter-Weston of Hunterston, Lieut.-General Sir Aylmer Gould, K.C.B., D.S.O., Bailiff Grand Cross
1929 Hyde, Sir Charles, 1st Baronet, O.B.E.
1931 Ingledew, Hugh Murray
1911 Islington, Sir John Poynder Dickson-Poynder, 1st Baron, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., D.S.O.

1926 Iveagh, Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st Earl of, K.P., G.C.V.O.
1911 Jekyll, Colonel Sir Herbert, K.C.M.G., Bailiff Grand Cross
1898 Jephson, Captain Sir Alfred, R.N.
1857 Jones, Vice-Admiral The Hon. Alexander Montgomery
1871 Kay, Sir Brook, 4th Baronet
1916 Kekewich, Charles Granville
1926 King, Colonel Edwin James, C.M.G., A.D.C.
1910 Kitchener of Khartoum, Field-Marshal Sir Horatio Herbert, 1st Earl, K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
1895 Knutsford, Sir Henry Thurstan, 1st Viscount, G.C.M.G.
1916 Kylsant, Sir Owen Philipps, 1st Baron, G.C.M.G.
1848 Labanoff, H.H. Prince Alexander (Honorary)
1873 Lamb, Major Sir Archibald, 3rd Baronet
1848 Lamb, Charles James Saville Montgomery
1847 Lamb, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Charles Montolieu, 2nd Baronet
1897 Lambert, Colonel Frederick Arthur Heygate
1832 Langford, Hercules Langford, 2nd Baron
1888 Lathom, Sir Edward, 1st Earl of, G.C.B.
1899 Lathom, Edward George, 2nd Earl of
1831 Lawrence, Sir James
1865 Lechmere, Sir Edmund Anthony Harley, 3rd Baronet
1930 Lee of Fareham, Colonel Sir Arthur Hamilton Lee, 1st Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.B.E.
1857 Le Geyt, Philip William
1863 Leigh, William Henry, 2nd Baron
1857 Leith, John Farley
1933 Leverhulme, William Hulme Lever, 2nd Viscount
1897 Leveson-Gower, Arthur Francis Gresham
1890 Limerick, Sir William Hale John Charles, 3rd Earl of, K.P.
1932 Lindsay, Colonel Henry Edzell Morgan, C.B.
1906 Linlithgow, Sir John Adrian Louis, 1st Marquis of, K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.
1918 Liverpool, Sir Arthur William de Brito Savile Foljambe, 2nd Earl of, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.B.E., M.V.O.
1862 Loch, Sir Henry Brougham, 1st Baron, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
1880 Loftus, Henry John

1932 Luke, Sir Harry Charles, C.M.G.
1926 Lumsden, Sir John, K.B.E.
1933 Lytton, Sir Victor Alexander George Robert Lytton, 2nd Earl of, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
1848 McAlester, Lieut.-Colonel Charles Archibald, K.H.
1835 Mackenzie, Charles Fitzgerald
1895 MacLean, Robert MacLean
1924 McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arthur Henry, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
1842 MacNab, Colonel The Hon. Sir Alan Napier, Baronet
1834 Macpherson of Cluny, Ewen
1926 MacRae of Feoirlinn, Major Colin William, C.V.O., C.B.E.
1832 Maginn, William
1860 Manchester, Sir William Drogo, 7th Duke of, K.P.
1843 Mansel, Sir John Bell William, 9th Baronet
1840 Master, Captain Richard Thomas
1899 Meath, Sir Reginald Brabazon, 12th Earl of, K.P., G.C.V.O., G.B.E.
1864 Melano de Calina, Antoine Laurent, Count de (Honorary)
1837 Meredyth, Sir Joshua Colles, Baronet
1893 Milford-Haven, Admiral Sir Louis Alexander Mountbatten, 1st Marquis of, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G.
1907 Minto, Sir Gilbert John, 4th Earl of, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
1928 Milner, Sir Frederick George, 7th Baronet, G.C.V.O.
1882 Mitford, Percy
1916 Monson, Lieut.-Colonel Augustus Debonnaire John, 9th Baron
1914 Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Lieut.-Colonel Lord Herbert, C.M.G., D.S.O.
1901 Mostyn, Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lloyd-Mostyn, 3rd Baron
1934 Moynihan, Sir Berkeley George Andrew Moynihan, 1st Baron, K.C.M.G., C.B.
1840 Murray, Captain Arthur Stormont
1897 Murray, Colonel Sir Charles Wyndham, K.C.B., Bailiff Grand Cross
1846 Needham, The Hon. Francis Henry
1839 Newton, James
1914 Nicholson, Field-Marshal Sir William Gustavus, 1st Baron, G.C.B.

1916 Ninnis, Inspector-General Belgrave, C.V.O., R.N.
1904 Northcote, Sir Henry Stafford, 1st Baron, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., C.B.
1896 Norway, His Majesty Haakon VII, King of, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., Bailiff Grand Cross (Associate)
1832 O'Donnell, General Sir Charles Routledge
1922 Onslow, Colonel Richard William Alan Onslow, 5th Earl of, O.B.E., Bailiff Grand Cross
1894 Paget, The Lord Alexander
1922 Palmer, Lieut.-Colonel Claude Bowes, C.B.E.
1880 Palmer, George
1839 Pearl, Commander Sir James, K.H., R.N.
1875 Pearson, Albert Harford
1867 Pearson, Julius Alexander
1830 Peat, The Rev. Sir Robert, Baronet
1858 Pennefather, General Sir John Lysaght, G.C.B.
1924 Perowne, Colonel John Thomas Woolrych
1844 Perrott, Sir Edward Bindloss, 3rd Baronet
1837 Perrott, Sir Edward George Lambert, 4th Baronet
1876 Perrott, Colonel Sir Herbert Charles, Baronet, C.H., C.B.
1830 Philippart, Sir John
1920 Philipps, Major-General Sir Ivor, K.C.B., D.S.O.
1898 Philips, Captain Nathaniel George
1931 Pirie-Gordon, Charles Harry Clinton, D.S.C.
1915 Pixley, Colonel Francis William
1933 Plender, Sir William Plender, 1st Baron, G.B.E.
1928 Plumer, Field-Marshal Sir Herbert Charles Onslow, 1st Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., G.B.E.
1931 Plymouth, Ivor Miles Windsor-Clive, 2nd Earl of
1909 Plymouth, Sir Robert George Windsor-Clive, 1st Earl of, G.B.E., C.B.
1837 Popham, Admiral Sir Home Riggs, K.C.B.
1911 Portal, Sir William Wyndham, 2nd Baronet
1859 Porter, Major-General Whitworth
1901 Portland, Sir William John Cavendish-Bentinck, 6th Duke of, K.G., G.C.V.O., Bailiff Grand Cross
1841 Pott, Joseph Compton
1925 Powis, George Charles Herbert, 4th Earl of.
1837 Pownall, Henry
1888 Prussia, H.R.H. Prince Albert of (Honorary)
1931 Purves-Stewart, Colonel Sir James, K.C.M.G., C.B.

1920 Queenborough, Almeric Hugh Paget, 1st Baron, G.B.E.
1861 Ramsay, Captain George, C.B., R.N.
1857 Ramsay, Major-General James
1897 Ranfurly, Sir Uchter John Mark Knox, 5th Earl of, G.C.M.G., Bailiff Grand Cross
1916 Rhodes, Arthur Edgar Grosvenor, O.B.E.
1930 Rhodes, Colonel The Hon. Sir Robert Heaton, K.C.V.O., K.B.E.
1855 Riario-Sforza, General the Duke Ludovico di
1901 Roberts of Candahar, Field-Marshal Sir Frederick Sleigh, 1st Earl, V.C., K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
1834 Robertson of Struan, General George Duncan, C.B.
1863 Robertson of Struan, George Duncan
1916 Rockley, Sir Evelyn Cecil, 1st Baron, G.B.E., Bailiff Grand Cross
1920 Rosher, Francis Edwin
1881 Rowe, Richard Reynolds
1899 Royds, Colonel Sir Clement Molyneux, C.B.
1861 St. George, General Sir John, G.C.B.
1869 St. Germans, William Gordon Cornwallis, 4th Earl of
1898 Sandhurst, Sir William Mansfield, 1st Viscount, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.
1909 Sandwich, Sir Edward George Henry, 8th Earl of, K.C.V.O.
1888 Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Admiral H.R.H. Alfred Ernest Albert (1st Duke of Edinburgh), Duke of, K.G.
1893 Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, H.R.H. the Hereditary Prince of, K.G.
1920 Scarbrough, Major-General Sir Aldred Frederick George Beresford Lumley, 10th Earl of, K.G., G.B.E., K.C.B., Bailiff Grand Cross
1890 Schleswig-Holstein, General H.R.H. Prince Christian of, K.G., G.C.V.O.
1892 Schleswig-Holstein, Major H. H. Prince Christian Victor of, G.C.B.
1910 Scott-Gatty, Sir Alfred Scott, K.C.V.O.
1837 Shadwell, Sir Lancelot
1923 Shaftesbury, Brigadier-General Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 9th Earl of, K.P., G.C.V.O., C.B.E., Bailiff Grand Cross

1874 Shaw, Lieut.-Colonel Claudius
1858 Sheridan, Henry Brinsley
1858 Shuckburgh, Sir Francis, 8th Baronet
1931 Sleeman, Colonel James Lewis, C.M.G., C.B.E., M.V.O.
1837 Smith, Admiral Sir William Sidney, G.C.B.
1911 Somerset, Colonel Algernon St. Maur, 15th Duke of
1855 Sprye, Captain Richard Samuel Mare
1916 Stanley, The Hon. Sir Arthur, G.B.E., C.B., M.V.O.
1870 Stanmore, Sir Arthur, 1st Baron, G.C.M.G.
1922 Stanmore, Sir George Arthur Maurice, 2nd Baron, K.C.V.O.
1915 Stevenson, John Horne, M.B.E.
1930 Storrs, Sir Ronald Henry Amherst, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.
1874 Story, Captain James
1902 Stuart, Colonel John Alexander Man, C.B., C.M.G.
1911 Sydenham of Combe, Colonel Sir George Sydenham Mark, 1st Baron, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.
1858 Taché, Colonel Sir Etienne Paschal
1882 Teck, H.H. Francis, Duke of, G.C.B.
1891 Teck, H.S.H. Prince Francis of, G.C.V.O., D.S.O.
1910 Temple, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Carnac, 2nd Baronet, C.B., C.I.E., Bailiff Grand Cross
1870 Templetown, General Sir George Frederick, 3rd Viscount, G.C.B.
1890 Templetown, Henry Edward Montagu, 4th Viscount
1908 Terry, Major-General Astley Fellowes
1864 Thomson, Captain William
1841 Tonkin, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Warwick Hele
1862 Torphichen, Robert, 11th Baron
1932 Tredegar, Sir Courtney Charles Evan Morgan, 1st Viscount, C.B.E.
1929 Wakefield of Hythe, Sir Charles Cheers, 1st Baron, C.B.E.
1880 Wakeman, Henry Offley
1917 Wales, H.R.H. Edward Albert Christian George, Prince of, K.G., K.T., K.P., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., M.C., Bailiff Grand Cross
1867 Walford, Edward
1883 Warren, General Sir Charles, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
1884 Waterford, Sir Henry de la Poer Beresford, 5th Marquis of, K.P.

1859 Waterton, Edmund
1833 Watts, John James
1920 Wenlock, Sir Arthur Lawley, 6th Baron, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G.
1848 Wilkie, Lieut.-Colonel David
1931 Williams, Alpheus Fuller
1931 Willingdon, Sir Freeman Freeman-Thomas, 1st Earl of, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.
1896 Willis, General Sir George Harry Smith, G.C.B.
1890 Winchelsea and Nottingham, Sir Murray Edward Gordon, 12th Earl of
1857 Wollaston, Major Francis
1931 Wollaston, Sir Gerald Woods, M.V.O.
1872 Woof, Richard
1911 Wray, Lieut.-Colonel John Willoughby, C.B.E.
1920 Yarborough, Charles Alfred Worsley Pelham, 4th Earl of
1907 Yate, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Campbell, Bailiff Grand Cross
1926 Yate, Colonel Sir Charles Edward, 1st Baronet, C.S.I., C.M.G.
1921 York, H.R.H. Albert Frederick Arthur George, Duke of, K.G., K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., Bailiff Grand Cross

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