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# Medals awarded to the personnel of the Scottish National Antarctic Expedition, 1902–1904: an inconsistency of recognition

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## ABSTRACT

The 1902–1904 Scottish National Antarctic (*Scotia*) Expedition led by William Speirs Bruce was overshadowed by the 1901–1904 British National Antarctic (*Discovery*) Expedition led by Robert Falcon Scott. The establishment of the independent Scottish expedition had been resented by those promoting the ‘official’ British venture and the accolades accorded to each on their return home were very different. The Royal Scottish Geographical Society honoured both leaders with prestigious medals and later, after public pressure, rewarded *Scotia*’s captain and scientific staff but not her officers or crew. By contrast, the Royal Geographical Society rewarded the leader and personnel of the *Discovery* expedition and completely ignored *Scotia*. An even greater demarcation arose when the Polar Medal was hastily created for the benefit of Scott and the *Discovery* team, and subsequently extended to the crews of their two relief ships. Aggrieved that his men had not received such public recognition, Bruce commissioned his own expedition silver medal, yet did not present it to all eligible personnel. His exclusion of artist William Cuthbertson and taxidermist Alastair Ross is paradoxical given his indignation over the partiality of other awards but may indicate some unacknowledged personal friction during the *Scotia* expedition. The paper illuminates the politics and personalities involved in recognition of the achievements of early twentieth-century Antarctic exploration after the events themselves.

## ARTICLE HISTORY



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William Speirs Bruce; *Scotia*; *Discovery*; Polar Medal; Royal Scottish Geographical Society

## Introduction

The Scottish National Antarctic Expedition (SNAE) organised and led by William Speirs Bruce (1867–1921) sailed aboard S.Y. *Scotia*. It remains the least celebrated expedition of the ‘Heroic Era’ of Antarctic exploration and, whilst other British and European expeditions have been extensively researched, the achievements of the SNAE were largely forgotten for many years, even in Scotland. This situation has been partially

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rectified by the eventual publication of *The Log of the Scotia* (Bruce, 1992), and by two modern biographies of Bruce (Speak, 2003; Williams & Dudeney, 2018). Recent academic reassessments of the SNAE and its historical context have also raised the expedition's profile (e.g. Keighren, 2005; Stone, 2017; Swinney, 2007).

On their return to Scotland on 21 July 1904, the SNAE enjoyed a short-lived celebrity. Two months later, on 10 September 1904, far greater attention was paid to Commander Robert Falcon Scott (1868–1912) and the returning British National Antarctic Expedition (BNAE). Scott was immediately promoted to Captain and a specially created medal (for simplicity hereafter the Polar Medal) was awarded to his expedition team and the crew of *S.Y. Discovery* (*The Times*, 12 September 1904), and subsequently to the crews of the relief ships *S.Y. Morning* and *S.Y. Terra Nova* in 1905.

The contrasting displays of public recognition for each expedition were evident from contemporary newspaper reports. There was limited coverage of *Scotia*, but *The Times* reported daily on the return of *Discovery* and continued the adulation for days after her arrival. For Bruce, the paucity of recognition for the SNAE was exacerbated by the award of medals and later, when the Admiralty relaxed the eligibility criteria of the Polar Medal, he and his supporters lobbied hard for it to be awarded retrospectively to the Scottish expedition. This did not happen, and the controversy thus engendered has been reviewed comprehensively by Dudeney and Sheail (2014). Against this background the early honours that *were* bestowed upon Bruce and his scientific staff, and the history of the unique expedition medal that he had struck in 1905, have been largely overlooked.

This paper investigates the public awards by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (RSGS, founded 1884) during 1904–1905 to both expeditions and the private award made by Bruce to some members of the SNAE. In neither case was the distribution of medals entirely free from controversy.

## Antarctic exploration at the beginning of the twentieth century

A resolution passed at the 1895 International Geographical Congress, hosted in London by the Royal Geographical Society (RGS, founded 1830), declared that 'the exploration of the Antarctic Regions is the greatest piece of geographical exploration still to be undertaken' (Howarth, 1896, p. 292). More than fifty years had passed since pioneering voyages had established the likely onshore position of the South Magnetic Pole and surveyed stretches of the East Antarctic coastline and Ross Sea (Fogg, 1992). Since then, a multitude of whaling and sealing voyages had added much local detail to the northern peripheries of the continent and its offshore archipelagos (Fogg, 1992; Headland, 2010). The challenge set out at the Geographical Congress was to integrate exploration with a more scientific approach to Antarctic research. National pride and rivalry amongst European nations soon promoted the fitting-out of several expeditions (see Table 1).

In most cases the lead was taken by influential individuals who lobbied for financial support from philanthropists, learned societies and official government sources. The British response was unusual in that the first British expedition to sail, in 1898, was a private venture financed largely by Sir George Newnes, a wealthy publisher, and was led by a Norwegian, Carsten Borchgrevink. He had previously accompanied an exploratory whaling expedition to the Ross Sea in 1895 and made the first landing on the East Antarctic mainland (Evans & Jones, 1974). His *Southern Cross* expedition 1898–1900 was the first to

**Table 1.** The principal national Antarctic expeditions launched after the 1895 Geographical Congress which influenced the role and recognition of the SNAE. For more details of these, and contemporary sealing and whaling voyages, see Fogg (1992) and Headland (2010).

Date	Country of origin	Leader	Ship(s)	Area of activity
1897–1899	Belgium	Adrien de Gerlache	<i>Belgica</i>	Antarctic Peninsula
1898–1900	Britain	Carsten Borchgrevink	<i>Southern Cross</i>	Ross Sea
1901–1903	Germany	Erich von Drygalski	<i>Gauss</i>	Indian Ocean coast of East Ant.
1901–1904	Sweden	Otto Nordenskjöld	<i>Antarctic</i>	Antarctic Peninsula
1901–1904	Britain	Robert Falcon Scott	<i>Discovery</i>	Ross Sea
<b>1902–1904</b>	<b>Scotland</b>	<b>William Speirs Bruce</b>	<b>Scotia</b>	<b>Weddell Sea, S. Orkney Islands</b>
1903–1905	France	Jean-Martin Charcot	<i>Français</i>	Antarctic Peninsula
1907–1909	Britain	Ernest Shackleton	<i>Nimrod</i>	Ross Sea

make a planned overwintering on the Antarctic continent, establishing a base at Cape Adare, the northwest point of the Ross Sea, where Borchgrevink had landed previously.

This first intervention was probably resented by those organising what became the official British expedition, a committee of the RGS and the Royal Society (RS). The driving force here was Sir Clements Markham (1830–1916), President of the RGS from 1893 to 1905, who was determined that the venture should be primarily a voyage of discovery, led by the Royal Navy, with reaching the South Geographical Pole one of the main objectives. From the outset there was conflict between Markham's preference for naval leadership and the civilian scientific appointments. Initially the expedition's chief scientist was to have been John W. Gregory, a British geologist then working at the University of Melbourne who became Professor of Geology at the University of Glasgow from 1904 (Leake & Bishop, 2009). Gregory (1901) published an outline of his plans but resigned when it became clear that the science programme was subordinate to exploration and Markham's protégé, the Royal Navy officer Commander Robert Falcon Scott, was appointed to lead it (Fogg, 1992, pp. 116–118).

One early volunteer for the BNAE in 1899 was William Speirs Bruce. He was a veteran of a previous Antarctic voyage, as surgeon on the Dundee whaling/sealing ship *Balaena* (Burn Murdoch & Bruce, 1894) and he had joined Arctic expeditions to Novaya Zemlya, Svalbard and Franz Josef Land (Speak, 2003; Williams & Dudeney, 2018). Given his experience, Bruce expected a speedy appointment, but the organisation of the BNAE was beset by delay and prevarication and he tired of waiting. Encouraged by the success of the small-scale and privately financed *Southern Cross* expedition – which he had helped plan – and undoubtedly driven by his burgeoning nationalism, he conceived an independent Scottish expedition which was first announced by Sir John Murray at an RSGS meeting on 22 March 1900 (*The Scotsman*, 23 March 1900; Williams & Dudeney, 2018, pp. 69–70).

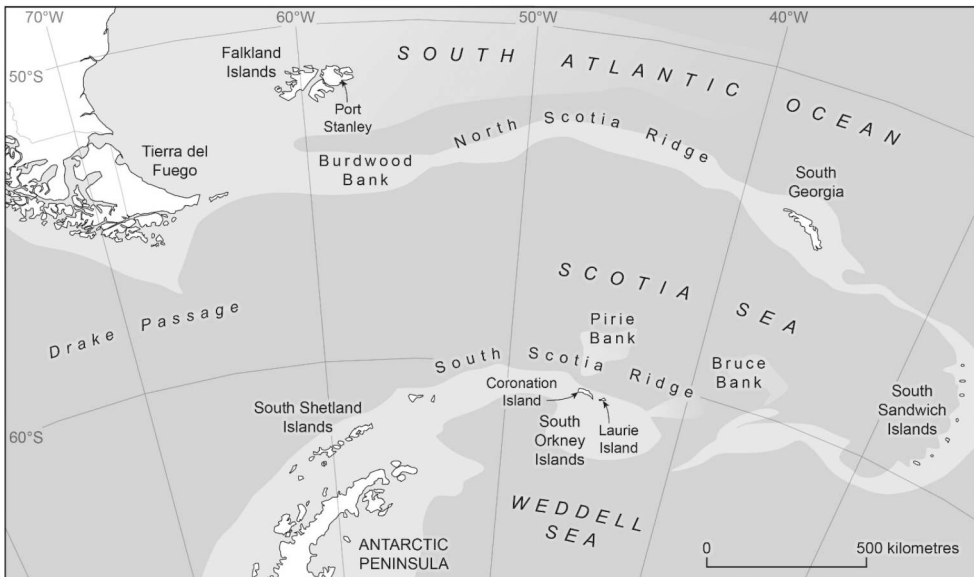
When Bruce was eventually offered a position with the BNAE, he declined on the grounds that the plans for his own expedition were well advanced. Markham seems to have been completely oblivious to Bruce's activities and was infuriated as he felt that there would be competition for resources and a diminution of the 'National' effort that he was masterminding. Bruce, in contrast and perhaps naively, thought that his expedition would be welcomed as a scientific complement to the BNAE, in keeping with his quest for international collaboration. These misunderstandings set the scene for much subsequent bitterness. Withers (2001, p. 219) succinctly summarised the situation: 'Markham and others saw polar exploration as British, to be coordinated in

London and in competition with others' imperial interests. In promoting his expedition as Scottish, in getting industrial not government funding ... and in proposing collaboration with other national expeditions, Bruce was conceived by Markham and others as diminishing the credibility of *British* polar science and of the scientific authorities promoting such imperialist endeavour'.

In context, it is worth remembering the differences in age and status between Markham and Bruce, and between the RGS and RSGS. In 1900, aged 70, Markham had completed seven years as RGS President (and would serve five more), had previously been secretary for 25 years, and was accustomed to an influential role in London's scientific establishment following his Naval career and exploration in the Arctic. His Antarctic masterplan was being obstructed by a notoriously irascible but experienced Scottish scientist, 33 years in age and supported by a geographical society 54 years younger than his own.

### Scottish National Antarctic Expedition, 1902–1904

Led by Bruce, the SNAE expedition departed the Firth of Clyde on 2 November 1902 aboard *Scotia* and spent the 1903 austral winter at Laurie Island, South Orkney Islands (see Figure 1). Pioneering oceanographical surveys were carried out in the Weddell Sea where *Scotia* attained a furthest south position ( $74^{\circ} 01' S$ ,  $22^{\circ} 00' W$ ) on 9 March 1904 (Brown et al., 1906; Bruce, 1992) and discovered Coats Land. That was named for the Coats family of Paisley who, wealthy from their textile business, had underwritten approximately 85% of the expedition's costs. The remainder was raised by a well-supported public appeal: a list of contributors published by the SNAE secretary, James



**Figure 1.** The geography of the South Atlantic Ocean and the Scotia Sea showing the location of the South Orkney Islands. (Source: Esri, Garmin International, CIA World Factbook. British Geological Survey © UKRI 2024).

Ferrier (1903), showed about 180 individual donations ranging from £525 to 3 shillings (£0.15). There were also numerous contributions ‘in kind’ from a range of businesses. Ferrier’s claim that 95% of the expedition costs were subscribed by members of the RSGS must be tempered by the fact that most of that came from the Coats family, whilst the value of ‘in kind’ contributions was discounted.

Bruce recruited a young team for the SNAE (see [Figure 2](#)). His four senior scientists were all known to him through previous work: Robert Neal Rudmose Brown (aged 23, 1879–1957), botanist and invertebrate zoologist; Robert Cockburn Mossman (aged 32, 1870–1940), meteorologist; James Hunter Harvey Pirie (aged 23, 1879–1965), doctor and geologist; David Walter Wilton (aged 29, 1873–1940), zoologist. This quartet was supplemented by two assistants described by Brown et al. (1906, p. 19) as ‘junior men’ (but included elsewhere as scientific staff) who were students without any formal qualifications and the youngest members of the expedition, although several of the ship’s crew were only a few months older. They were the artist William Alexander Cuthbertson (aged 20, 1882–1968) who was studying art in Paris when recruited but had an Edinburgh background (Fanshawe, 2022), and the taxidermist Alastair Ross (aged 20, 1881–at least 1915) who was a medical student in Edinburgh when he was recruited. Before following their different educational paths, both young men had been classmates at Edinburgh’s Royal



**Figure 2.** The scientific and administrative team of the Scottish National Antarctic Expedition. From left to right: standing – Ferrier (secretary), Rudmose Brown (botanist), Pirie (doctor and geologist), Ross (taxidermist), Cuthbertson (artist), Whitson (treasurer); seated – Mossman (meteorologist), Bruce, Robertson (captain of *Scotia*), Wilton (zoologist) with his dog, Russ. Ferrier and Whitson did not travel south. Image from an original held by University of Edinburgh Library Heritage Collections (Source: Papers of William Speirs Bruce, Coll-72-36).



High School (Edinburgh City Archives, GB236/SL 137 Records of Royal High School, Edinburgh 1772–1993).

Thomas Robertson (aged 48, 1855–1918), who took command of *Scotia*, was a respected Dundee whaling captain familiar to Bruce from prior Polar voyages. The 26 officers and crew were mostly experienced Arctic whalers, 21–51 years old (fifteen were in their 20s), and all were Scots. Of the six scientific staff, only Wilton could not claim Scottish descent (from an English family he had been born in Russia). Bruce (himself born in London to a Scottish family) regarded his expedition as a distinctively Scottish enterprise: ‘While ‘Science’ was the talisman of the Expedition, ‘Scotland’ was emblazoned on its flag’ (Prefatory Note by Bruce in Brown et al., 1906). By contrast, when the ship returned home, only 20 of the 31 men aboard were Scottish following crew changes in Port Stanley (January 1903), Buenos Aires (December 1903 to January 1904), and Cape Town (May 1904). The death of the chief engineer, Allan Ramsay, on 6 August 1903 during the winter spent at Laurie Island, and the requirement for Mossman and Bill Smith (cook) to remain for a second winter to assist transfer of the base to Argentinian control further altered the demographics (Brown et al., 1906).

### **British National Antarctic Expedition, 1901–1904**

The BNAE has an extensive literature, with a good summary of its origins and activities provided by Fogg (1992, pp. 114–121). The expedition left Portsmouth aboard *Discovery* on 5 August 1901, then anchored overnight off the Isle of Wight to facilitate a send-off by King Edward VII on the following day. Sailing via South Africa, *Discovery* reached New Zealand on 29 November and remained there until 24 December. The voyage south culminated at Ross Island where, soon after 9 February 1902, *Discovery* was frozen into the sea ice. From that base, in the 1902–1903 austral summer, Scott, Edward Wilson (1872–1912) and Ernest Shackleton (1874–1922) attempted to reach the South Pole but were forced to turn back at 82° 17' South on 24 December 1902. During their return all three were affected by scurvy, with Shackleton the worst afflicted, and so against his will he was invalided back to New Zealand in early March 1903 aboard *Morning* (Captain William Colbeck) the relief ship making the first prearranged resupply visit to *Discovery*.

When *Morning* left, there were still eight miles of solid sea ice between *Discovery* and open water. This news caused concern and so for the final relief a second ship, *Terra Nova* (Captain Harry Mackay) accompanied *Morning* (they arrived 5 January 1904), with orders for Scott that should *Discovery* still be ice-bound she was to be abandoned. In the event, the ship was afloat by 15 February 1904, finally extricated with much difficulty, and all three ships sailed for New Zealand, arriving there on 1 April 1904.

### **1904: The return of the expedition ships**

This year was remarkable in that two Antarctic expeditions (four ships) returned to Britain and enjoyed markedly different receptions. The detailed chronology of events provides an essential framework for the decisions that were made for honouring them and reflects the differences between them. News of the return of the BNAE ships *Discovery*, *Morning* and *Terra Nova* to New Zealand would have reached Britain soon

afterwards. *Discovery* would remain in New Zealand for two months before sailing home via the Falkland Islands. Meanwhile, *Scotia*, with Bruce and the SNAE, had arrived at Cape Town on 5 May and this news would have been promptly dispatched before they sailed for Scotland on 17 May 1904. With both expeditions now in 'safe' waters, the relieved geographical societies, support staff and public bodies could plan for their return.

Almost coincident with *Scotia's* departure from Cape Town, it was announced at the RGS 74th Anniversary Meeting and Annual Dinner on 16 May 1904 that Commander Scott had been awarded one of the Society's Royal Medals (The Patron's Medal) 'for his conduct of the National Antarctic Expedition, and especially for his sledge journey to 82°17' S – and the King approved the choice' (*The Times*, 17 May 1904). It would not be presented to him until 27 February 1905. Scott was also to receive a gold Special Medal (The Scott Medal), with Special Awards (silver replicas of the Scott Medal) for the officers and crew of *Discovery*. The services of Captain Colbeck of the *Morning* were to be recognised by a specially designed piece of plate (Poulsom & Myers, 2000). In his speech the RGS President praised 'three expeditions that worked on the Antarctic Circle and its neighbourhood', namely those commanded by Nordenskjöld (leader of the Swedish expedition: see Table 1), Scott and Colbeck. There was no mention of *Scotia* (Captain Robertson), the SNAE (William Speirs Bruce) nor the second relief ship *Terra Nova* (Captain Mackay). Thus, the RGS had honoured Scott and the BNAE on the day before Bruce and *Scotia* departed Cape Town, and four months before the *Discovery* would arrive home. Their token recognition of *Morning* and neglect of *Terra Nova* was insensitive.

Ernest Shackleton (RSGS Secretary, 1904–1905) attended the above meeting, so his account, complementing press reports of the awards, would have soon reached the RSGS Council. As if in response, on 27 May 1904, it agreed that 'Captain Scott would be awarded the Livingstone Medal – and him coming personally in November to receive the same' (RSGS Council Minutes). Surprisingly, it was not until 15 June that William Speirs Bruce, their resident Scottish explorer, was awarded the more prestigious Gold Medal, the Society's highest accolade (RSGS Council Minutes). It might have amused him to know that his medal was the least expensive of the two to produce, seemingly reflecting the relative values of the SNAE and BNAE in terms of budgets and results (Edinburgh City Archives, Alexander Kirkwood & Son, medallists and engravers, NRAS 1189, hereafter Appendix 1).

### **The return of Scotia**

When the ship's arrival in the Firth of Clyde was anticipated, a triumphal reception was hastily arranged, requiring the crew to endure a six day wait in Ireland. Finally, on 21 July 1904, *Scotia* was escorted into Millport, to be met by a large crowd of friends, families and dignitaries, many of whom travelled from Edinburgh on a special train (*The Scotsman*, 22 July 1904); 400 guests enjoyed lunch and the event was recorded on film for posterity (<https://movingimage.nls.uk/film/2947>).

Sir John Murray (Oceanographer and RSGS President 1898–1904), gave a welcome speech, read out a congratulatory telegram from King Edward VII, and presented Bruce with the Society's Gold Medal. Captain Robertson was presented with a 'gold



seal' – contra Speak (2003, p. 95) who refers to a silver medal – by Dr Paul Rottenburg, Chairman of the Glasgow Branch of the RSGS and a trustee of the Millport Marine Biological Station. This 'handsome gold watch seal', an item for hanging on a gentleman's fob chain, was 'the gift of the Marine Biological Association, Millport' (*Glasgow Herald*, 22 July 1904) and was intended to 'remind him of their appreciation of his work in the Antarctic regions' (*The Scotsman*, 22 July 1904). This token recognition (cf. Colbeck's plate) was underwhelming.

No other RSGS medals were presented during the homecoming celebration but a week later, a letter to *The Scotsman*, signed NEPTUNE, requested the RSGS to consider awarding medals to Captain Robertson and the scientific staff: 'is it fair that that these men's services should not also be recognised?' (*The Scotsman*, 28 July 1904). Could NEPTUNE have been the RSGS President putting public pressure on his own Council? His case would have been strengthened by the publication of a lengthy, comprehensive summary of the SNAE in *The Times* (23 August 1904). It was credited to 'a correspondent' but almost certainly was written by Bruce seeking publicity after the return of *Terra Nova* and prior to the return of *Discovery*.

### **The return of Terra Nova**

The relief ship *Terra Nova* slipped quietly into Plymouth on 14 August (*The Times*, 16 August 1904) and after coaling would proceed to Sheerness, arriving about 18 August for paying-off. There were no announcements of medal awards.

### **The return of Discovery**

Having coaled in the Azores, *Discovery* steamed directly to Portsmouth and arrived on 10 September 1904. Her progress along the English Channel was monitored and Sir Clements Markham and dockyard officials joined the ship off Spithead. A few hours delay then ensued whilst the final arrangements for the carefully choreographed official welcome were put in place. A communique from the Admiralty, entitled 'NEW POLAR MEDAL' stated, 'His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to direct that a new medal for services in the Polar regions shall be struck and granted to the officers and crew of the *Discovery*' (*The Scotsman* and *The Times*, 12 September 1904). Significantly, there was no formal announcement in *The London Gazette*. This 'new' medal, now known as the Polar Medal, was initially struck in silver and later also in bronze to accommodate the inclusion of eligible officers and crews of the *Morning* and *Terra Nova* (Poulsom & Myers, 2000, appendices 5 and 7). In addition, Commander Scott was promoted to Captain as of 10 September 1904.

The officers of *Discovery* attended a dinner hosted by the Admiral Superintendent of the Portsmouth Dockyard on Monday 12 (*The Times*, 13 September 1904) and the following day both officers and crew were entertained to a banquet by the city mayor (*The Scotsman*, 14 September 1904). After sailing to London, Scott and his officers attended an RGS dinner on Thursday 15 September, whilst on Friday 16 September Scott, officers and crew attended a RGS and Royal Society luncheon at the East India Docks. Notably, William Speirs Bruce 'commander of the Scottish Expedition' attended the latter two events (*The Scotsman*, 17 September 1904), which was hence the closest that the RGS came to

honouring Bruce in the immediate aftermath of the two expeditions. Thereafter, the Savage Club in London hosted a ‘Welcome Dinner’ for Scott and his officers on 5 November and a *Discovery* Antarctic Exhibition opened at the Bruton Galleries (Skelton & Wilson, 2001, pp. 145–146). The welcome given to the BNAE was extensive, well publicised and widely reported, and far beyond that enjoyed by the SNAE.

### **The return of *Morning***

The more significant of the relief ships, *Morning* arrived at Plymouth on the 6 October 1904, and was also destined for Sheerness and paying-off (*The Scotsman*, 7 October 1904). As with *Terra Nova*, no honours were bestowed.

### **1904: The RSGS response**

On 20 October, following the prompting from NEPTUNE, the RSGS Council awarded a Silver Medal to Captain Robertson and Bronze Medals to the scientific staff – Brown, Pirie, Wilton, Cuthbertson and Ross (*The Scotsman*, 21 October 1904). The omission of Mossman was due to his having remained on Laurie Island in charge of the now Argentinian meteorological observatory. His silver medal would be awarded after his return to Scotland in 1905. Meanwhile, in London, Scott had lectured to a full Albert Hall on 7 November (hosted by the RGS) where he received his Special Medal and his men their Special Awards (*The Times*, 8 November 1904). At the same meeting the US Ambassador presented Scott with the Philadelphia Geographical Society’s Gold Medal for 1904 and Captain Colbeck was presented with his commemorative plate.

Four days later, the RSGS hosted a lecture at Edinburgh’s Synod Hall on 11 November before which Professor James Geikie (newly elected as President) presented Scott with the Livingstone Medal. Sir Clements Markham and *Scotia* veterans Brown, Cuthbertson, Pirie, Robertson and Ross were present, as was Ferrier, the SNAE secretary, but Bruce was absent due to illness (*The Scotsman*, 12 November 1904).

Scott and Markham attended the RSGS 20th Anniversary Dinner at the North British Station Hotel the next day (see [Figure 3](#)). As Bruce was still indisposed, Robertson spoke on his behalf and was followed by Scott. The newspaper account of their speeches highlighted the differences between the men and their expeditions: private, Merchant Navy and Scottish versus government-sponsored, Royal Navy and ‘British’, and hinted at some tension between the two captains, mostly initiated by Robertson (*The Scotsman*, 14 November 1904).

Finally, at the Synod Hall on 30 November, the RSGS medals were formally presented to Robertson, Brown, Cuthbertson, Pirie and Ross. Wilton was presumably absent, and it is not known when he received his medal. As a result of Bruce’s continued illness, the lecture – ‘The *Scotia* in Antarctic Seas’ – was given by Brown (*The Scotsman*, 1 December 1904). The medals had been ordered on 15 November 1904 (Appendix 1).

### **1905: Scottish honours and Bruce’s personal medal**

The flurry of ship arrivals, medal awards, dinners and lectures subsided after 1904, and the first reminder of the SNAE was the return of Mossman and Smith to Buenos Aires

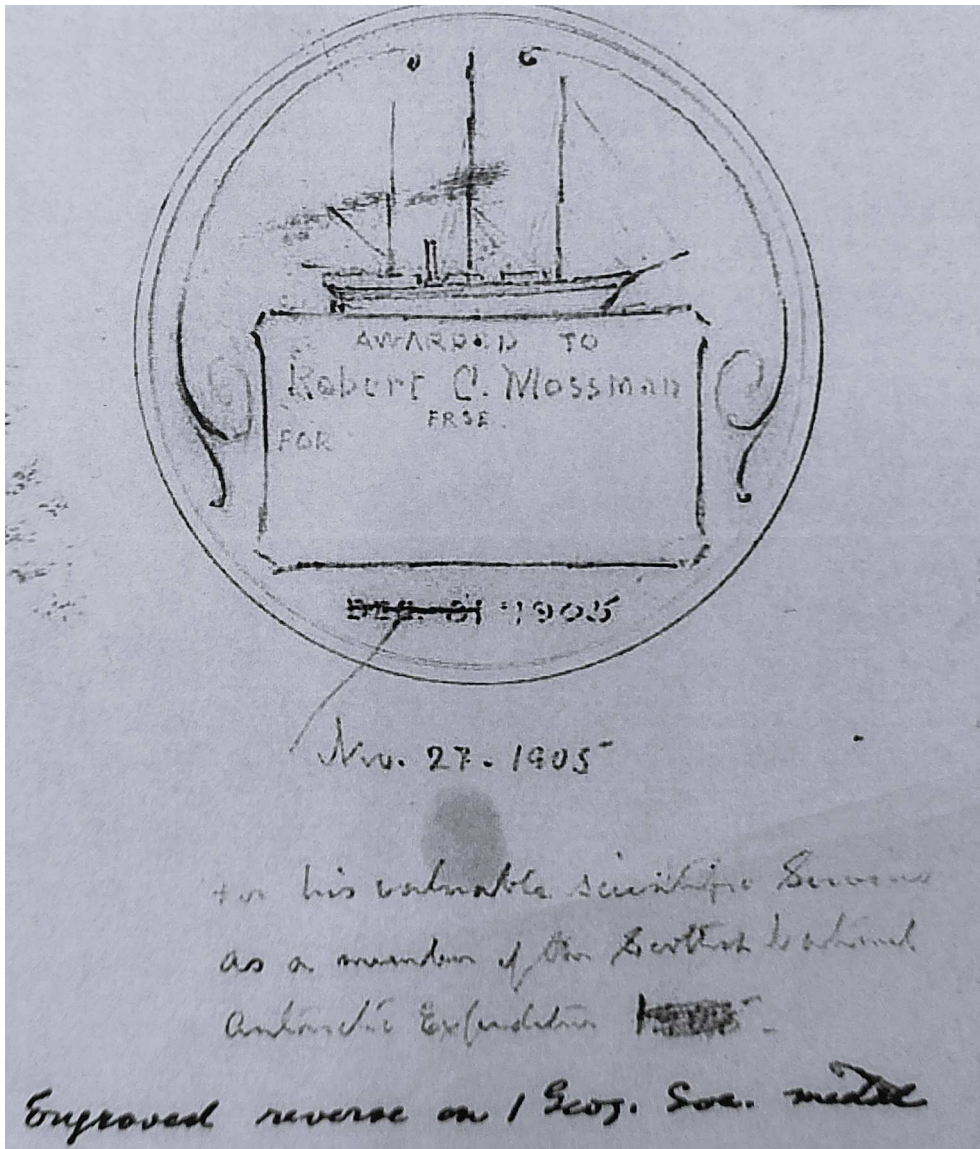


**Figure 3.** The menu card from the 20th Anniversary Dinner of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, designed by William Gordon Burn Murdoch (1862–1939), who had sailed with Bruce to the Antarctic aboard *Balaena* in 1892 and whose signature appears at bottom right (Source: Image courtesy of RSGS).



from Laurie Island in February 1905 (*The Scotsman*, 10 February 1905). Mossman, once back in Edinburgh and assisted by Bruce and Ferrier, on 11 October dispatched three men from the soon-to-be-closed Ben Nevis Observatory for deployment on Laurie Island with the Argentine Meteorological Office. The RSGS awarded a Silver Medal to Mossman that same day (See [Figure 4](#)) (*The Scotsman*, 12 October 1905).

On the 27 November at the RSGS 21st Anniversary Dinner, 'prior to entering the dining hall, the President presented to Mr R. C. Mossman a medal awarded to him by the Society', with Bruce and Shackleton in attendance (*The Scotsman*, 28 November



**Figure 4.** The design sketch for the medal awarded to Robert Mossman by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. (Source: Image courtesy of RSGS. Described in the Kirkwood order as 'Engr [Engraved] Ship re one Silver Medal': see Appendix 1.)



**Figure 5.** The SNAE Silver Medal awarded to Gilbert Kerr, now held by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. (Source: Image courtesy of RSGS).

1905). The presentation was virtual as his actual medal was not ordered by the RSGS (one of three that day) from the medallists until 12 December (see Appendix 1). This entry in the Kirkwood & Son daybook is immediately followed by an order on the same day from William Speirs Bruce for 24 silver medals to his own design and inscribed ‘For Valuable Services’, hereafter referred to as the SNAE Medal (Figure 5); it was thus commissioned a year earlier than stated previously by Speak (2003, p. 126).

Bruce’s decision to order a personal expedition medal was probably precipitated by his discovery that Markham had been shown the ‘Admiralty Antarctic Medal’ at the Mint in May (Dudeney & Sheail, 2014, p. 179) and that the Admiralty had requested a list of the officers and men of the *Morning* and *Terra Nova* selected to receive the ‘Antarctic Medal (Bronze)’ in June (Kroulik, 1987). As Shackleton was RSGS secretary at the time and had attended all the *Discovery* homecoming receptions, Bruce would have undoubtedly known that he, along with Scott and eight officers, scientists and crew were to receive their medals from King Edward VII at Buckingham Place on 18 December 1905 (*The Times*, 19 December 1905). The timing was important to Bruce – he wanted to present his personal medal in advance of the first presentations of the new Polar Medal.

Of the 24 SNAE Medals ordered, 23 were engraved with the recipient’s name (the one left unengraved was presumably retained by Bruce). That number agrees with the recipients listed by Poulson and Myres (2000, p. 701) and reiterated by Speak (2003, p. 127): the four senior scientific staff, sixteen ship’s officers and crew members who had served for the full duration of the voyage (including Ramsay, posthumously), and the expedition’s three support staff, including the assistant secretary Nan Anderson, probably the first woman to receive an Antarctic medal (see Appendix 2). The names of two members of the scientific staff, Cuthbertson and Ross, were noticeably absent.

The SNAE Medals were presented on 14 December, only two days after being ordered, at a meeting of the Glasgow Branch of the RSGS. Bruce lectured on ‘The Voyage of the

Scotia' and 'at the close Mr Bruce presented to Captain Robertson and other members of the expedition a silver medal' (*The Scotsman*, 15 December 1905). Which other recipients were present is unrecorded, and, although Cuthbertson and Ross are both known to have resumed life in Edinburgh, it seems unlikely that they were in Glasgow only to be marginalised. Or perhaps they were, and the injustice of the situation caused Bruce to have second thoughts, as two days later more medals were ordered.

On Saturday 16 December 1905 Bruce placed two separate orders (see Appendix 1). The first was for '16 Paper Boxes to hold medals' and presumably for posting out of medals to those who did not receive them personally in Glasgow. The second order was for '2 Bronze Medals & cases' which were struck from the dies created four days earlier for the silver SNAE Medal.

Bruce's determination to produce his own medal was the more remarkable given his perpetual shortage of money. When they were ordered, he was simultaneously struggling to raise capital to establish a Scottish Oceanographical Laboratory and to publish the SNAE scientific reports. His financial woes can only have been aggravated by the cost of the silver and bronze medals, £26 5s 3d and 15s respectively (see Appendix 1) – the equivalent of about £3000 in 2024. Nevertheless, given his commitment, it seems unlikely that he would have left out Cuthbertson and Ross purely on the grounds of economy.

### The Cuthbertson and Ross paradox

The two additional medals may have been meant for Cuthbertson and Ross, but if Bruce had them in mind for a 'second-class' award he was not sufficiently concerned to have their names engraved, as was confirmed in 2001 when one was auctioned (see Appendix 2), nor were they ever presented.

It is particularly difficult to understand Cuthbertson's omission as his father's business had supported the SNAE by donating the official stationery (Ferrier, 1903) and it is likely that Bruce was acquainted with the family. This supposition arises from Bruce's (1992) expedition narrative in which William Cuthbertson is always called Willie, whereas Alastair Ross and all other personnel are referred to by their surnames in keeping with the convention of the time. That diminutive seems out of place in the SNAE context without a prior association – Bruce was not renowned for casual familiarity – which may have arisen through his friend, the artist W. G. Burn Murdoch, who lived close to the Cuthbertson household and, through Edinburgh's artistic circles (e.g. The Scottish Academy), would have known William's mother Katherine, another talented artist (Fanshawe, 2022).

Bruce would also have known Ross's father, a prominent Edinburgh lawyer and historian, with whom he shared his Scottish nationalism (Davidson, 2008), and via affiliation to the Saint Andrew Society (Burn Murdoch was a founder member), although Ross Senior did not contribute to the SNAE fund (Ferrier, 1903). Furthermore, Bruce would have appreciated the coincidence that, as he too had done, the younger Ross had abandoned medical studies to join an Antarctic expedition.

### Expedition life

One of the expedition's principal achievements was the topographical survey of Laurie Island (Bruce, 1905). When naming the geographical features Bruce celebrated in



toponyms his senior scientists, *Scotia's* officers and some of the crew, the Edinburgh support staff, and various sponsors, friends and relations, but curiously omitted Cuthbertson and Ross. They only received posthumous recognition in 1988 when the United Kingdom Antarctic Place-names Committee approved Cuthbertson Snowfield (60° 42' S, 44° 30' W) and Ross Peaks (60° 43' S, 44° 32' W) on Laurie Island (<https://apc.antarctica.ac.uk/>).

Their exclusionary treatment is hence puzzling as both had played a full part in the SNAE activities. As taxidermist, Ross was mostly occupied at the expedition's base coping with the abundance of zoological specimens – 'He [Gilbert Kerr] and Mr Alastair Ross had much to do, and between 400–500 skins of birds, seals and sealions testified to their industry' (*Edinburgh Evening News*, 22 July 1904). He also helped ferry supplies to the scientific and surveying field parties. Cuthbertson took part in those arduous exploratory sledging trips during which the men lived and worked in very close proximity in temporary camps. Pirie, writing in Brown et al. (1906, p. 160), acknowledged Cuthbertson's involvement, describing 'six hours of the hardest pulling I [Pirie] ever want to have to do ... If this is Science, said Willie, she's a hard mistress; give me Art'. Here and elsewhere, Pirie follows Bruce's use of the diminutive 'Willie' whereas his other colleagues were always referred to by their surnames. He also records treating Cuthbertson for snow blindness on several occasions. Most members of the survey parties were thus afflicted, but it may have been a particular problem for Cuthbertson who spent many hours producing the annotated landscape sketches that controlled the topographical survey.

There are fewer references to Ross in the expedition literature, but in one record for 16 April 1903 Bruce wrote (1992, p. 83) that, whilst returning to the ice-bound *Scotia*, '[b]oth Davidson [2nd Mate] and I fell into the [ice] crack near the ship when coming back – much to Ross's satisfaction'. Ross was presumably a witness, but Bruce's response seems more of a wry comment than a complaint, and it is his only remark in this style.

Cuthbertson and Ross were members of the six-man team left on Laurie Island for the 1903–1904 austral summer, whilst Bruce took *Scotia* north to the Falkland Islands and Buenos Aires, Argentina, for supplies and repairs. As such they were charged with maintaining the scientific and meteorological record, Bruce's key expedition goals. When *Scotia* reached Buenos Aires, on 24 December 1903 after a slow passage from Stanley, signs of disaffection came to the fore and nine of the crew left the ship, as noted by Speak (2003, p. 78), presumably tired of the conditions and unwilling to face the possibility of a second winter in the ice. Most left by mutual consent, although Captain Robertson declined to comment on the character of two of them in the 'Agreement and Account of Crew' (UoELHC, Papers, Gen.1653; Swinney, 2001, p. 306).

From Stanley, letters had been sent to Scotland on a fast mail steamer and arrived in time for Ferrier to arrange for extracts to be published in *The Scotsman* on 6 January 1904 as 'News from the Explorers'. Included in the collection were 'Letters from the Artist' (Cuthbertson, to his parents and sister) in one of which there is the suggestion of unease at the killing of wildlife: 'I have discovered that an Antarctic zoologist doesn't know what pity means'. This remark may hint at a clash of personalities within the scientific staff, but then the article finishes with Cuthbertson claiming that 'the ship's company have got on together as happily as brothers'. Publicity and fund-raising were Ferrier's motivations, but his intervention also had the effect of making Cuthbertson visible to the Scottish public.

**The voyage home and its aftermath**

The expedition literature and archives maintain a record of camaraderie as *Scotia* sailed for home, but there is a perplexing entry in the ‘Agreement and Account of Crew’ on the day after leaving Cape Town. The *Scotia* reached there on 5 May 1904 and departed late in the evening of 17 May, once a replacement carpenter had been hastily recruited following the desertion of the man signed-on in Buenos Aires as recorded by Charles (Carlos) Haymes (in UoELHC, Papers, Gen.1666; Swinney, 2001, p. 308). The new recruit, Thomas Fraser, was duly recorded in the ‘Agreement and Account of Crew’ the next morning (Figure 6, line 40). Immediately underneath his entry are the names of William Cuthbertson and Alastair Ross (Figure 6, lines 41 and 42), described as Ordinary Seamen on their first ship, with nominal wages of one shilling per month (cf. Burn Murdoch & Bruce, 1894, p. 19). In the final column Captain Robertson recorded ‘Did not appear’, although both men were aboard *Scotia* for the voyage back to Scotland (Brown et al., 1906). Was some change in status planned for the two young men, with which they refused to cooperate? Whatever was involved, there are no further mentions of the issue. Moreover, whilst writing the summary of the SNAE that would be published in *The Times* on 23 August 1904, Bruce fully acknowledged the roles played by Cuthbertson and Ross.

Bruce was notoriously irascible. His SNAE colleague R. N. R Brown admitted that he ‘could at times be embarrassing to his friends, for the Scottish thistle, in his keeping, was

Ref. No.	Signature of Crew	Age	Nationality	Port or Home Address	Last Ship	Date	Place	Capacity
38	Garnett Cooke vs vs	26	Australia	Newcastle, N. S. W.	Levenham	do	do	Heard
39	Peter Marius Andersen vs vs	31	Denmark	Copenhagen	Foreign	24/104	do	AB
40	Thomas Fraser vs vs	57	do	26 High St., Tynningham, Ayr	Linnies Kerr	18/5/04	Cape Town	Carpenter
41	Walter Cuthbertson	22	Scotland	113 Mayfield Edinburgh	first ship	18/5/04	Cape Town	OS
42	Alastair Ross	22	do	5th York Pl. Edinburgh	" "	" "	" "	OS

Certificate No.	PARTICULARS OF ENGAGEMENT					PARTICULARS OF DISCHARGE					RELEASE		Ref. No.					
	Date & Hour to be Aboard	Wages Week/Month		Wages Advanced	Week/month Allowment	Signature of Official	Date	Place	Cause	Character	Conduct	Balance of Wages			Signatures of Crew	Signature of Witness		
		£	s									d		£			s	d
	8	.	.	4	.	nil		do	do	do							38	
Bonus	5	.	.	4	.	nil		do	do	do								39
Bonus	8	.	.	nil	nil		do	do	do									40

country, state if a natural born British Subject or naturalized.  
 Electrical Engineers or Winchmen and not merely as Engineers. Boys entirely employed in connection with the work of Cooks and Stewards should be described as Cabin Boys, not merely as Boys.  
 The words "not conditional" should be inserted above the entry of the amount.  
 The Yacht, thus "H.M.S. Revenge"; and the other causes of leaving the Yacht should be briefly stated thus: "Discharged," "Deserted," "Left Sick," "Died."  
 [Twelve pages.]  
 0-1 nil nil do do do Did not appear 61  
 0-1 nil nil do do do Did not appear 62

**Figure 6.** Extracts from Agreement and Account of Crew, SY Scotia, rows 38–42, showing: (above) bottom of page 6, and (below) bottom of facing page 7. Date and Hour columns show ‘Bonus’ at rows 39 and 40. Discharge column shows ‘do’ (ditto) for the end of the voyage at Greenock. (Source: Image courtesy of University of Edinburgh Library Heritage Collections).

very thorny' (Brown & Burn Murdoch, 1923, p. 284). Nevertheless, he was described positively elsewhere in that biography with praise such as: 'Every man knew he would get full credit for his efforts even if they failed, but thinly veiled contempt if he shirked his job ... [but] ... he was always compassionate to the shortcomings of his staff' (p. 300); and 'he showed even that rare tolerance of making allowances for the omniscience of youth' (p. 301); and 'loyalty to the men who had stood by him in polar seas and ice fields was a notable characteristic' (p. 302). If Bruce privately felt that Cuthbertson and Ross had 'shirked his job', he gives no explanation and provides no evidence. Youth alone was not a factor in their absence from the list of SNAE medal recipients. Most of those who received the medal were relatively young (Speak, 2003, pp. 77–78), and one, a member of *Scotia's* crew, was only a few months older than Ross, who in turn was seven months older than Cuthbertson. Bruce's actions stand in marked contrast to the generous character portrayed by Brown.

From his own experience, initially being ignored by the RGS when in 1904 honours were heaped on Scott, then subsequently with respect to the Polar Medal arrangements in 1905, Bruce was cognisant of the hurt caused by non-recognition. And with reference to the SNAE medal, Brown wrote (1923, p. 302): 'Those of us, officers, staff and crew who were with him throughout the *Scotia's* voyage value highly the silver medal made to Bruce's design which he gave to each "for valuable services"'. He (and other recipients of the medal) must have been aware of the snub handed to Cuthbertson and Ross, but no one objected. The impression given is that Bruce had developed some antipathy to his youngest expedition comrades, but, if indeed so, the cause remains hidden a century after the event.

## The Polar Medal

Bruce's dissatisfaction with the paucity of recognition afforded his men had been aggravated by the Polar Medal awards to the three ships' companies associated with the BNAE, but it was redoubled when that medal was awarded to members of Shackleton's 1909 expedition, another enterprise organised without Government support. Until at least 1917 Bruce lobbied hard for this honour to be bestowed retrospectively on his team (Speak, 2003, pp. 129–131) and thereafter others continued the campaign, notably around the centenary of the SNAE in 2002.

Much has been written about the Polar Medal's origins and criteria of eligibility. The comprehensive works by Poulson and Myers (2000) and Dudeney and Sheail (2014) provide excellent introductions to the nuances of its history, utilising source material from the Admiralty archives. The Polar Medal is more than a rebranding of the nineteenth century Arctic Medal, as is often assumed. Whereas the Arctic Medal was announced in *The London Gazette* (30 January 1857, issue 21963, p. 320), there was no Royal Warrant for the 'polar medal' in 1904, and its institution was only published in *The Times* on 12 September 1904, in conjunction with the report of the return of *Discovery* and the BNAE (Klietmann, 1961, p. 9). By contrast, the award of the by-then-named 'Polar Medal' to members of the Shackleton Antarctic Expedition 1907–1909 was fully gazetted (*The London Gazette*, 23 November 1909 issue 28311, p. 8665), as were subsequent awards.

The Arctic Medal as first announced was for 'all persons of every rank and class who have been engaged in the several expeditions to the Arctic Regions, whether of

discovery or research between the years of 1818 and 1855'. The award criteria were subsequently modified by the Admiralty to allow inclusion of foreign, private and land-based expeditions, so resulting in the Second Arctic Medal (1875–1876). A complete list of recipients is given by Poulson and Myers (2000), who note that seven private voyages from 1829–1858 were included. Under these regulations, the SNAE would have been eligible.

A medal to commemorate the success of BNAE was first mentioned around 22 April 1904, as quoted in an internal Admiralty message dated 24 February 1905 (Kroulik, 1987, p. 9). This occurred three weeks after *Discovery*, *Morning* and *Terra Nova* had returned safely to New Zealand. Initially intended only for the men of *Discovery* (in silver), the inclusion of the crews of *Morning* and *Terra Nova* in 1905 created controversy, with Scott objecting. The dilemma was resolved by also issuing the medal to the latter crews in bronze. Kroulik captures the politics of the situation: 'a series of errors, misunderstandings, and an effort on the part of the Admiralty to save the members of the crews of 'Morning' and 'Terra Nova' from disappointment and themselves from embarrassment'. Whereas Scott had submitted the selected officers and crew from *Discovery* in September 1904, the lists for the bronze medals would not be completed until June 1905.

The Admiralty had effectively taken control of the new medal which subliminally became, by default, an honour restricted to government-backed expeditions and service personnel. However, the criteria for its award were not clearly defined and were readily relaxed to accommodate the privately funded Shackleton expedition of 1907–1909 (Dudeney & Sheail, 2014). It was not until 1954 that the regulations were formally revised and proclaimed in a Royal Warrant (*The London Gazette*, 18 May 1954: for a fuller explanation, see Poulson & Myers, 2000). Given the internal wranglings within the Admiralty to solve the medal issues for their own three ships, it would have been impossible for Bruce to have made a successful application in 1904–1905.

The affair has been definitively analysed elsewhere (Dudeney & Sheail, 2014), with Bruce's personal lobbying revealed in archived correspondence (Swinney, 2001, p. 308; UoELHC, Papers, Gen.1656). From 1910 to 1914, his letters to the Scottish Office (mostly to Sir James Dodds, Permanent Under-Secretary for Scotland), although principally about grants and funding, frequently mentioned the Polar Medal. In parallel, he wrote to Charles E. Price MP at the House of Commons on similar matters and lobbied the RSGS and the Royal Society of Edinburgh (RSE), urging appeals to the Secretary of State for Scotland, Lord Pentland, and the Prime Minister, H.H. Asquith, respectively. By 1914 it appears that the Treasury no longer opposed the award of Polar Medals to the SNAE on the grounds of cost. Moreover, the Admiralty had realised that the oceanographic data gathered by Bruce was more valuable than Shackleton's and so corresponded supportively with King George V's Private Secretary. It was to no avail as the King, ultimate authority in these matters, would not reverse the earlier decision approved by his father (Dudeney & Sheail, 2014, p. 178).

Most importantly, in connection with the later (and near-successful) application, the Papers of William Speirs Bruce contain various typed, but undated, documents titled 'List of 'Scotia' scientists and seamen considered entitled to Polar Medal', with one annotated by Bruce in pencil 'Polar Medal list sent to the Scottish Office' (Swinney, 2001, p. 308; UoELHC, Papers, Gen.1656). Significantly, these lists include William Cuthbertson and Alastair Ross, who were denied an SNAE medal. Why did Bruce (probably with

the acquiescence of his senior scientists) deprive them of his personal medal in 1905, yet recommend them for a public medal with greater popular prestige several years later? He had experienced at first hand the bitterness of non-recognition and the feeling that he was ostracised from his peer group of polar explorers. There is no ready explanation for his imposition of the same circumstances on his two youngest colleagues.

## Conclusions

After its undoubted success, Bruce fought for recognition of the SNAE on two fronts, the national geographical societies (especially the RSGS) and Government officialdom (the Admiralty in particular). The SNAE medal, ordered by Bruce in December 1905, was intended as redress for perceived neglect in comparison to the attention lavished on the BNAE.

For the most part, the existing Antarctic establishment, epitomised by the RGS and the Admiralty in London, initially paid little heed to Bruce and the return of the SNAE. By contrast, the RSGS were quick to honour Scott with their Livingstone Medal prior to his return home, and, whilst awarding Bruce the more prestigious of its two Gold Medals soon after, were hesitant to extend awards to his scientific staff or ship's crew. It took an open letter in the press to cajole Silver Medals, for Captain Robertson and Mossman, and Bronze Medals, for Brown, Cuthbertson, Pirie, Ross and Wilton, yet the *Scotia's* officers and crew remained unrecognised.

The immediate award of the new Polar Medal to the expedition members, officers and crew of *Discovery* on their arrival home and subsequently to the crews of *Morning* and *Terra Nova*, but not to the *Scotia* personnel, was another provocation and led Bruce to create a personal silver medal in December 1905 to honour twenty SNAE members and the three Edinburgh-based support staff. Inexplicably, Cuthbertson and Ross, the junior members of his scientific staff who had served throughout the expedition, were excluded from this award, as they had been from toponyms during the surveying of Laurie Island. Two bronze medals ordered later may have been intended for them but were never presented.

Bruce always maintained a façade of expedition camaraderie in public, and neither published nor archival material provides any evidence to contradict that overall assessment. This, and his own aggrieved reaction to lack of recognition, makes his failure to award the SNAE Medal to Cuthbertson and Ross hard to understand. Further, the Cuthbertson family had supported Bruce as the official stationers and Ross's father, an eminent lawyer in Edinburgh and ardent Scottish nationalist, would have been known to him.

Cuthbertson and Ross had received the public acknowledgement inherent in the award of their RSGS medals and later Bruce himself included them in letters to the Scottish Office as nominees for the Polar Medal. Therein lies the paradox. It appears that Bruce differentiated between the public recognition of the SNAE (geographical societies and the Admiralty) and his personal appreciation of an individual as deserving the SNAE medal. To the outside world the SNAE was a successful and convivial Scottish undertaking, yet it is hard not to suspect that for reasons unknown Bruce was personally dissatisfied with his two scientific assistants, William Cuthbertson and Alastair Ross.

## Epilogue: final recognition for Bruce

There were no formal national awards for the SNAE members after 1905, but late in that year Bruce became a Fellow of the RSE on 18 December (Anon., 1921–22) – ironically the same day that Scott and others received Polar Medals from King Edward VII at Buckingham Palace. Mossman was already a Fellow, elected 7 December 1891, and Pirie was later elected on 13 July 1908.

Bruce's oceanographical exhibit, described as 'of strongly Scottish character', at the *Exposition Coloniale de Marseille* in 1906 was awarded the *Grand Prix* and *Scotia's* staff the *Diplome Commemoratif* (*Glasgow Herald*, 24 September 1906). The Scottish Oceanographical Laboratory was opened by Prince Albert of Monaco on 16 January 1907, and in April 1907 Bruce received an Honorary LLD from Aberdeen University (*contra* Speak, 2003, p. 138, who gives 2006).

The RGS finally presented Bruce with their Patron's Medal in 1910 'for explorations in the Arctic and Antarctic' and in 1913 he was awarded the Patrick Neill Medal and Prize by the RSE. International acclaim followed in 1920 with the David Livingstone Centenary Medal awarded by the American Geographic Society.

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## Appendices

### **Appendix 1: Details of Medals related to the Scottish National Antarctic Expedition (Source: Edinburgh City Archives, Alexander Kirkwood & Son, medallist and engravers, NRAS 1189/2/10, 1189/2/11, 1189/2/12, 1189/5/10, 1189/5/11)**

Date (Ref & Page)	Name	Description	Cost	Recipient
01/07/1904 (531, p. 52)	RSGS	1 Gold Medal (10??) Their obverse & our plain reverse die. Best Royal Blue Morocco Case named on outside W S Bruce etc.	£11 18s 6d	Bruce
10/11/1904 (531, p. 90)	RSGS	1 Livingstone Gold Medal 6 1/2 oz named round edges & Royal Blue Morocco case 7 × 5 named on outside & Society's stamp. £26 10s of gold in this.	£29 16s 0d	Scott
15/11/1904 (531, p. 91)	RSGS	1 Silver Medal from Society's die. Eng Map on above 7/6. Case 2/-. Eng Map on Gold Medal. Making sketch of map & supplying negative of same. 5 Bronze Medals from Society's die & cases. Eng inscriptions on Bronze Medals. 381 letters @ 9d per dozen.	£4 18s 0d	Brown, Cuthbertson, Pirie, Robertson, Ross, Wilton
12/12/1905 (532, p. 206)	RSGS	1 Gold Medal etc & 3 Silver Medals from Society's die 2oz. 3 Blue Morocco Cases bookstamp outside. Eng Ship re one silver medal.	£32 17s 0d	Mossman (silver)
12/12/1905 (331, p. 207)	Bruce, W.S. Scott. Antarctic Exped.	Pair of Medal dies 2" dia Sphere & Ship on obverse. House Flgs & Thistle wreath on reverse. 24 Silver Medals 2" dia 1 3/4 oz & Case. Engraving 23 Medals	£26 5s 3d	SNAE
16/12/1905 (331, p. 207)	Bruce, W.S. esq.	16 paper boxes to hold medals	£0 2s 6d	SNAE
16/12/1905 (331, p. 207)	Bruce, W.S. esq.	2 Bronze Medals (2 × 7/6) & Cases	£0 15s 0d	SNAE
16/01/1907 (506, p. 330)	Bruce, W.S. Scott. Antarctic Exped.	1 Silver Medal & Case from his dies. Eng 57 letters at 1d per letter	£0 19s 3d	HSH Prince Albert of Monaco
11/04/1911 (570, p. 375)	Bruce, W.S. Surgeon's Hall	1 Livingstone Medal (Princes Metal), Gilt, 1 Morocco Case. 2 Silver Antarctic Medals given on loan to be returned after Glasgow Exhibition closes.	£1 2s 6d	Scottish Exhibition Glasgow. 1st May–31 October 1911

### **Appendix 2: RSGS & SNAE medals awarded and their current whereabouts, where known**

#### ROYAL SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Gold Medal (1904)	Bruce, W. S.	RSGS, Perth
Silver Medal (1904)	Robertson, T.	
Bronze Medal (1904)	Brown, R. N. R. Cuthbertson, W. A. Pirie, J. H. H. Ross, A. Wilton, D. W.	SPRI, Cambridge Sold at auction, 2009*
Silver Medal (1905)	Mossman, R. C.	

\*<https://www.noonans.co.uk/auctions/archive/lot-archive/results/168908/>

## SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION

SNAE Medal (1905) Silver (24)		
Scientific Staff	Brown, R. N. R. Mossman, R. C. Pirie, J. H. H. Wilton, D. W.	SPRI, Cambridge
<i>Scotia</i> Crew	Anderson, Henry Davidson, Robert Duncan, Alexander Fitchie, John Florence, Edward Gravill, Henry Kerr, Gilbert Low, David McDougall, James Martin, William Murray, William Ramsay, Allan (posthumous) Robertson, Thomas Smith, John Smith, William Walker, A. J.	See Poulson & Myers, 2000, p. 701  McManus Museum, Dundee RSGS, Perth  RSGS, Perth
Office Staff	Anderson, Nan Ferrier, James Whitson, Thomas B.	Museum of New Zealand, Wellington
Unengraved	Not allocated.	

The medals were not intended to be worn. Nan Anderson's medal has been modified with a bar to take a ribbon which might once have been white (as for the Polar Medal).

Compare <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/1466286> (Anderson) with Figure 5 (Kerr).

SNAE Medal (1905) Bronze (2)	
Unengraved	Not Allocated.

One came into the possession of Douglas Kennedy, a near-neighbour of Bruce, and was sold at auction in 2001. See <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-2777971>, where it is incorrectly dated to 1910.

SNAE Medal (1907) Silver (1)	HSH Prince Albert 1 of Monaco
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This additional SNAE Medal was presented to H.S.H. Prince Albert 1 of Monaco when he formally opened Bruce's Scottish Oceanographical Laboratory in Edinburgh on 17 January 1907. On the same occasion Prince Albert, who had been a long-term supporter of Bruce (Brown, 1923), received the RSGS Gold Medal for his oceanographic work.