

# ↻: Ars :↻ Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE  
QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



*EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.,  
AND LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.*

## VOLUME XLIV. PART 1.

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## THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is two guineas, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter. They are profusely illustrated and handsomely printed.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigraha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

### CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meeting are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the *Transactions*.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic, or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

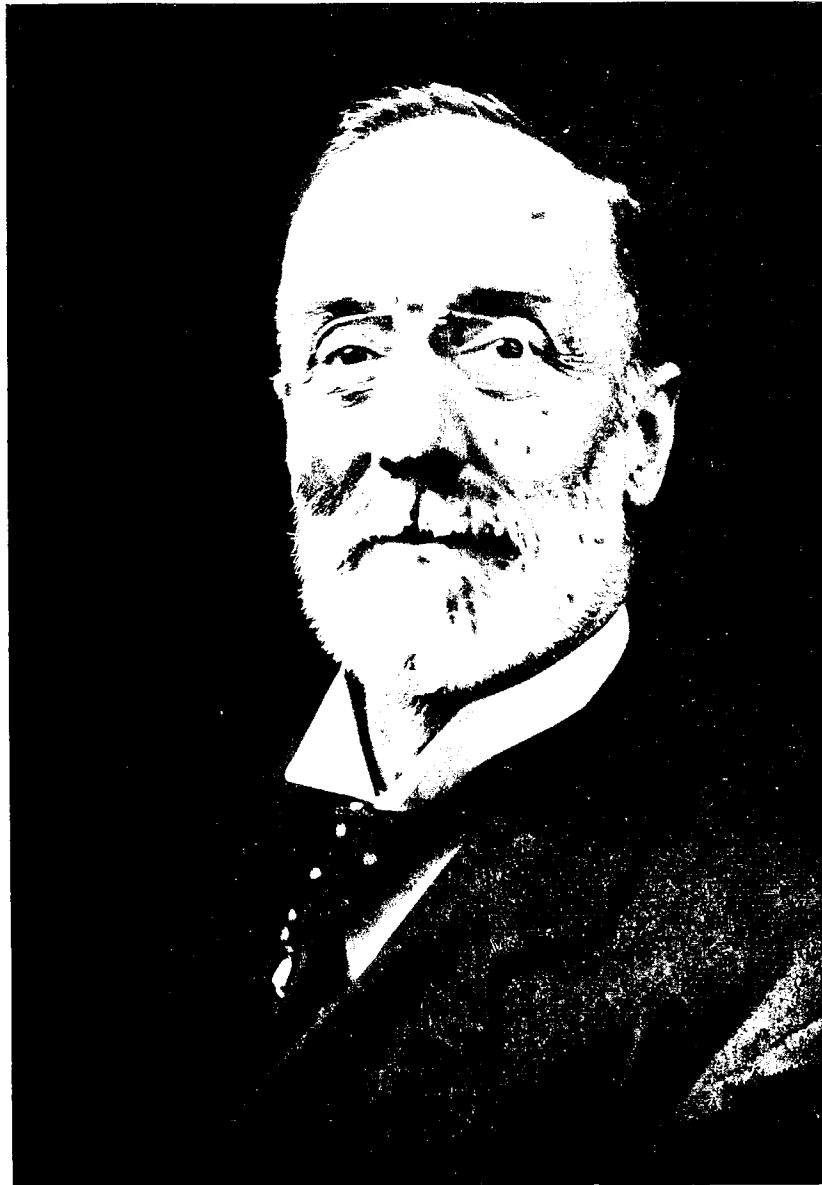
The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that for only a quarter of the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.



Photograph by Anna

From a Photograph by Histed

*W. H. H. H. H.*

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**Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,**  
BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE  
*Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,*  
**No. 2076.**

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VOLUME XLIV.

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FRIDAY, 2nd JANUARY, 1931.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Gilbert W. Daynes, W.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M.; W. J. Williams, J.W.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.Dis.G.W.; Bengal, J.D.; B. Telepneff, I.G.; and Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Douglas Knoop, A. E. Gurney, Major-Gen. James D. McLachlan, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., P.G.S.B., Geo. Simpson, Hy. Smith, R. Sandland, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., J. W. V. Mason, Ed. M. Phillips, F. G. Lightfoot, Augustus Smith, L. G. Wearing, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.Pt., T. Lidstone Found, W. T. J. Gun, E. W. Marson, F. J. Asbury, P.A.G.D.C., W. T. Dillon, P.A.G.Pt., Walter Watts, H. G. Bennett, H. F. Mawbey, R. W. Strickland, W. Pryce Jones, S. R. Miller, C. F. Sykes, W. W. Woodman, F. Brown, A. W. Hare, R. J. Schooling, E. Eyles, A. Regnauld, Chas. J. Woosnam, B. R. James, E. S. M. Perowne, G. D. Hindley, R. H. Clerke, A. Fisher, R. G. Reid, H. Thornton Gurner, L. Peterson, J. A. B. Townsend, W. Emmerson, A. McKenzie Smith, J. C. Harvey, Leslie Hemens, Jas. W. Charlton, F. Vuillermoz, S. W. Rodgers, P.A.G.R., J. J. Nolan, and A. H. Smith.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. M. Saul-Brown, Harpenden Lodge No. 4314; Henry W. Sayers, P.M., Aldersgate Lodge No. 1657; E. J. Ruming, P.M., Regent Lodge No. 3131; and R. E. Stubington and Sydney G. Cole, Caritas Lodge No. 4981.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres. B.G.P., P.M.; Ed. Conder, L.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; and John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks, P.M.

Three Lodges and Thirty-Three Brethren, were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The Report of the Audit Committee:—

#### PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, 2nd January, 1931.

*Present*:—Bro. Gilbert W. Daynes, in the Chair, with Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, W. J. Williams, Rev. H. Poole, W. J. Songhurst, Gordon P. G. Hills, Dr. W. K. Firminger, B. Telepneff, Lionel Vibert, Secretary, and J. H. McLeod, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his Books, and the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

#### REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1930.

BRETHREN,

It is with deep regret we have to report the sudden death on 21st February of Bro. Thomas Moravian Carter, M.D., O.B.E., Past Provincial Grand Warden, Bristol, and that of Bro. William Watson, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, on 12th April. The services rendered to the Lodge and Craft by these Brethren are recorded in the *Transactions*. The total membership of the Lodge is reduced to 25.

We are glad to state that there is an increase of 100 in the membership of the Correspondence Circle. On the 30th November, 1929, we had a total of 3,477, and 331 names were added during the year: on the other hand, 231 were removed from the list:—Ninety-seven by resignation, 71 by death, and 63 for non-payment of dues. Thus the total number carried forward is 3,577. As pointed out in previous years, a minimum membership of 4,000 must be reached and maintained in order that our income may cover our annual expenditure, and we again urge all Brethren to assist us by introducing new members.

During the year under review the last Part of Volume xli. was issued, as well as Part I. of Volume xlii. In the accounts presented to the Lodge £798 9s. 9d. has been reserved for Parts II. and III. of Volume xlii., and £1,200 for Volume xliii. Subscriptions amounting to £447 7s. 10d. are still owing. Donations to the Publication Fund amount to £56 3s. 7d. The Fund has not been closed, and it is hoped that Brethren will continue to support it, and so enable us to carry out the purpose for which it was formed.

In the early part of the year the Lodge published a collection of Six Masonic Songs of the Eighteenth Century, which had been selected by Bro. H. Poole, the musical settings being by Bro. G. A. Alcock. The sales have been so far satisfactory that it is hoped that a further selection may be published during the year now begun. The Committee authorised the publication of a series of Pamphlets, to consist of reprints of papers and other matters of importance to students which are not readily available for reference. The first of the series, a reprint of the late Bro. Speth's two lectures, *Builders' Rites and Ceremonies; The Folklore of Masonry*, has since been published.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to our Local Secretaries, who continue to do much good work. Bro. C. Maple-Polmear has kindly undertaken the work in Johannesburg, in succession to Bro. Godfrey Smyth, who has moved from the district. Bro. Henry S. See has kindly consented to act in Rhode Island, U.S.A., in place of Bro. W. H. Scott, who has retired after thirty years' service. The resignation of Bro. A. Macpherson, of Glasgow, has been accepted with regret, and Bro. Dr. R. T.

Halliday has signified his willingness to supervise Scotland generally with Bro. L. Melrose acting in Edinburgh, and it is hoped that before long other districts in Scotland will have Local Secretaries. A vacancy is caused at Bristol by the death of Bro. T. M. Carter. We are also grateful to Bro. John Holt, of Yarm, who has undertaken the duties in the Province of Durham; to Bro. A. S. Baker, who has taken charge of Hertfordshire; and to Bro. C. G. Williamson, who will look after our interests in Michigan; these are all new appointments. In Natal, where for some years we have been unrepresented, Bro. T. J. Harding has very kindly taken over the Local Secretaryship, and Bro. R. A. Dix has similarly filled a vacancy in Singapore.

For the Committee.

GILBERT W. DAYNES.

in the Chair.

## RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending 30th November, 1930.

RECEIPTS.					EXPENDITURE.									
				£	s.	d.					£	s.	d.	
To	Cash Balance	...	...	24	0	11	By	Lodge	...	...	...	30	15	2
..	Lodge	...	...	32	11	0	..	Salaries, Rent, Rates and						
..	Joining Fees	...	...	172	4	0		Taxes	...	...	...	735	16	9
..	Subscriptions—1930	...	...	1286	13	5	..	Lighting, Heating, Clean-						
	1929	...	...	131	14	1		ing, Insurance, Tele-						
	1928	...	...	32	13	8		phone, Carriage and						
..	Back Subscriptions	...	...	12	10	5		Sundries	...	...	169	7	8	
..	Life do.	...	...	81	18	0	..	Printing, Stationery, etc.				887	15	7
..	Payments received in						..	Medals	...	...	...	38	13	6
	Advance	...	...	195	8	1	..	Binding	...	...	...	35	16	3
..	Medals	...	...	48	17	6	..	Sundry Publications	...	...	134	1	11	
..	Binding	...	...	59	8	10	..	Library	...	...	17	18	11	
..	Sundry Publications	...	...	313	19	2	..	Postages	...	...	199	19	2	
..	Interest and Discounts	...	...	46	7	9	..	Local Secretaries'						
..	Publication Fund	...	...	56	3	7		Expenses	...	...	6	4	0	
							..	Cash Balance	...	...	238	1	6	
				£2494	10	5					£2494	10	5	

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. Dr. R. T. HALLIDAY.

Seal, with openwork metal holder, ornamented with Masonic and other emblems.  
The device is the head of some classical personage, possibly Socrates.  
Probably not Masonic.

By Bro. D. E. WILLIAMSON.

R.A. Apron, Scottish. linen. square with rounded corners. about 3ft. by 2ft. 6in. Small round flap with S. & C. On the apron a design of pillars supporting an arch. which has on it a scroll with the words ROYAL ARCH. On one side a triangle and G; on the other a star. Inside the arch the letters W/SI/AKS/HT/H in five lines. Below, three perfect ashlar on a platform.

By Bro. S. J. FENTON.

Five R.A. Jewels, formerly the property of the Chapter of Fortitude, Birmingham, now deposited in the Warwickshire Provincial Masonic Museum. The design differs but slightly from the present English pattern.

The Chapter of Fortitude, Birmingham, is known to have been constituted by Dunckerley on 6th April, 1783, but nothing further is known of it, except one newspaper reference in 1796, which may relate to it, and the fact that the list given by Sketchley in his edition of *Coustos* of 1789 mentions it as No. 33, 2nd Tuesday.

A new warrant was taken out in 1821, and confirmed in 1839, and it is under that that the present Chapter is working.

Of these five jewels, No. 1 is made by John Bentley, and is marked for H. The dates are A.L. 5787, A.D. 1783. The Greek is blundered. This is no doubt one of an original set of three made at the time the Chapter was founded. Bentley was in business at the time in Great Charles Street, Birmingham.

Nos. 2, 3, 4 are identical with No. 1 as far as the metal work is concerned; they seem all to be stamped from one die. But they are by Wm. Hill, they are all three marked for J., and the dates are A.L. 5787, A.D. 1811. The Greek is again blundered. No. 5 is a blank, apparently from the same die. Wm. Hill was in business in Suffolk Street, Birmingham, at the time. He does not appear to have been a mason, and apparently the A.L. conveyed nothing to him, and he copied what he found, not realising that it also was a date. In the museum there are pieces made by him of what is generally called French Prisoners' work.

By Bro. Dr. C. C. VIGERS, of Torquay.

The Corker Apron and Jewel, and one Seal, as figured and described at p. 200 of Lepper & Crosslé, *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*.

A Transparency on glass, a design of pillars, the Arms of the Moderns, and emblems, with a seated Master. Date uncertain.

A snuff-box with Masonic emblems.

By the SECRETARY, from the Lodge collection.

A China Potpourri, Sunderland ware, with Masonic designs: early nineteenth century. The main design is identical with that of the transparency lent for exhibition by Dr. Vigers.

Photographs of Lodge Cloths as used for the three degrees in the Swedish Rite.

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A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

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Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP read the following paper:—

## THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE BUILDING OF VALE ROYAL ABBEY, 1278—1280.

### A STUDY IN OPERATIVE MASONRY.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP, M.A., AND G. P. JONES, M.A.



VALE Royal was a Cistercian abbey in Delamere Forest, Cheshire, founded by Edward I. who made himself responsible for erecting the buildings and himself laid the foundation stone in 1277.<sup>1</sup> The monks were drawn from the Cistercian Abbey of Dore, near Hereford. For the first eight years from 1273 to 1281 they lived at the Manor of Darnhall, about four miles south of the site ultimately selected for the erection of the Abbey.<sup>2</sup> The King then had an abbey prepared for the monks near to the new work at Vale Royal. To this small abbey the monks were transferred in 1281.<sup>3</sup> The final transfer from "this unsightly and ruinous Abbey" to the new Abbey of Vale Royal was effected in 1330.<sup>4</sup> If the dates given in the Ledger Book are accurate, fifty years were spent in building the Abbey, and even then, according to an abbot writing about 1340, the buildings were far from complete.<sup>5</sup> The total outlay of the King is said to have amounted to £32,000,<sup>6</sup> equivalent to about a million pounds to-day.

The material on which this study of mediæval operative masonry is primarily based is the account of Leonius son of Leonius of the receipts and expenses made about the works of Vale Royal during the sixth, seventh and eighth years of the reign of King Edward I. (1278-1280). In a minor degree, it is based on *The Ledger Book of the Vale Royal Abbey*.

The Ledger Book, which was written at the Abbey during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, contains, *inter alia*, a history of the abbots and an account of various pleadings in which the Abbey had been involved. In 1662 it was in possession of Sir Thomas Mainwaring at Peover, and in that year a copy was made by Randle Holme III.,<sup>7</sup> the copyist of the MS. *Constitutions, Harleian 2054*, and member of the Chester Lodge.<sup>8</sup> The original of the Ledger Book has since been lost, but Holme's transcript is now to be found in the British Museum.<sup>9</sup> A translation of Holme's transcript was edited by Mr. John Brownbill and published by the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society in 1914. The original of Leonius' Building Account is in the Public Record Office,<sup>10</sup> but a translation, partly summarised, is appended to Mr. Brownbill's edition of the Ledger Book,<sup>11</sup> and it is upon that translation that we have relied, having made but a cursory examination of the original.

<sup>1</sup> *Vale Royal Ledger Book*, Lancs. and Ches. Record Society, vol. 68, 1914 (hereafter cited as V.R.L.), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> V.R.L., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> V.R.L., p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> V.R.L., p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> V.R.L., p. 163.

<sup>6</sup> V.R.L., p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> V.R.L., p. v.

<sup>8</sup> Gould, *Concise History* (1920), pp. 114, 115.

<sup>9</sup> Harl. MS., 2064.

<sup>10</sup> Exchequer K.R. Enrolled Accounts, Bundle 485, No. 22.

<sup>11</sup> V.R.L., pp. 193-231.

Leonius son of Leonius was placed in charge of the works of Vale Royal in June, 1278. Comparatively little seems to be known about him, but sufficient is discoverable to indicate his position in the service of Edward I., and the reason for his presentation of accounts relating to the building works at Vale Royal in 1278-1280. He then had, or later acquired, landed property, for he was allowed to enclose waste on the manor of Kynefare in 1286,<sup>12</sup> but his importance is bureaucratic, not feudal. In or before December, 1283, he had been given custody of money to pay the garrison at Whitchurch.<sup>13</sup> In March, 1286, he was associated with Edmund Mortimer and Henry de Ribbesford in an enquiry into the stoppage of navigation on the Severn by weirs,<sup>14</sup> and in May of the same year two castles in the counties of Salop and Stafford, with all the stores, rolls and writs thereto pertaining, were ordered to be put in his custody.<sup>15</sup> The instruction refers to him as King's Clerk, and he was doubtless an administrative expert whose services were used to raise revenue, check accounts and conduct enquiries in the interests of the Crown.

That was the capacity in which he was connected with Vale Royal. Edward I. intended the building work to be financed, in large part, from the issues of the county of Chester, but it would be in accord with the normal character of administration in his time to find that the revenue did not come in very regularly to the Exchequer at Chester and that the sums due to Vale Royal could be got only with difficulty and in part payments, for the building works there were only one charge on the revenues, and a chamberlain with many charges to meet might easily find it difficult to deliver the sums required to keep the works going, at the pace desired by the Abbot and the King. One possible method of getting prompter payment to Vale Royal would be to place the same official in charge of both services. That was done in June, 1278. Guncelin de Badlesmere, Justice of Chester, is ordered not to receive fines or issues except in the presence of Leonius or his deputy, the King having committed to Leonius both the Chamberlainship of Chester and the custody of the works at Vale Royal in order that the works should be constructed out of the issues of the county.<sup>16</sup> Thus Leonius was expected in his capacity as Chamberlain to exploit the resources of the county and to deliver to himself as Keeper of the Works at Vale Royal, the sums assigned for the building. They should have amounted according to the *Ledger Book*<sup>17</sup> to £526.13.4. per annum, but in addition he should have received other sums for the same purpose amounting to £473.6.8. Thus in all he should have received £1,000 a year: actually his receipts and his expenditure were considerably less, as his accounts show. Nevertheless, the building may have been greatly expedited under his management. The same policy appears to have been continued after his term of office, for the Abbot of Vale Royal was made Chamberlain of Chester in 1281.<sup>18</sup>

Though Leonius was Keeper of the Works at Vale Royal and responsible for the finances, a certain Walter of Hereford is described in the Account as Master of the Work. He is classed with the masons, but received five or six times as much pay as any of the craftsmen, viz., 2/- per day for 364 days per annum, or £36.8.0. a year as against the 3/- a week, or £7 or £8 a year, the undermaster received and 30d. a week, or £6 a year, which a skilled craftsman received. He was obviously an important official and was no doubt responsible for the building operations and their supervision, whereas Leonius was responsible for the finance of the undertaking. This Walter of Hereford was probably identical with the Walter of Hereford who, with Hugh of Leominster, was overseer or clerk of the works at Caernarvon and reported on the state of the walls and castle there on February 26th, 1296, in a letter dated from Conway.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Cal. Pat. R. Ed. I.*, 1281-1292, p. 220.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>15</sup> pp. 64 and 65.

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1272-1307, p. 150. *Cal. Close R.*, 1279-88, p. 102 refers to Leonius, Oct., 1281, as *late* Chamberlain.

<sup>17</sup> Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I.*, p. 267.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. Close R.*, 1272-79, p. 460.

Probably he was also the Master Walter of Hereford who, in 1306, brought masons and carpenters to London for "the Queen's work," which, however, was held up because the London masons threatened to beat the newcomers if they should take lower wages than the city craftsmen.<sup>20</sup>

Leonius' Account<sup>21</sup> appears to be an extract or summary, presumably prepared from tallies, wage-lists, memoranda of receipts and expenses, or other records which were probably kept by clerks, or possibly by Walter de Hereford, the Master of the Works.<sup>22</sup> In the Adderbury building accounts, relating to the rebuilding of the chancel, the summary presented by John Berewyk, Bailiff, in account with New College, Oxford, for the year 1413-14, the following item appears at the end of the wage summary:—

"As per statement of W. Mounter, examined and found correct."<sup>23</sup>

In some of the later Adderbury Rolls under Henry VI., expenses were vouched by the production of 'tallies.'<sup>24</sup>

Leonius' Account seems to have been prepared at the end of three years, shortly before his departure, for the expenses are arranged under headings, each comprising the whole of a particular expenditure for 3 years. Although a fair number of details are given in each case, no attempt is made to strike a balance between receipts and expenses. From the information given in the Account we have prepared an Income and Expenditure Statement for the three years, dividing the receipts, where possible, and the expenses in all cases, according to the year in which they are entered up.

It will be seen from the Statement which follows that the expenses are divided under 19 heads. Of these, the first 9 represent tools and materials, the next 3 represent cartage, and the last 7 wages. The outlay for materials was very small owing to the stone and wood being obtainable free of charge from the quarry at Edisbury and from the forest of Delamere. £66.12.8., or 4.4 % of the three years' expenses, was laid out on tools and materials. The cartage of timber, lime and stone accounts for £373.13.5 or 24.5 % of the 3 years' expenses. £1085.4.9½ or 71.1 % of the grand total was spent on wages. Of this £1085.4.9½, £694.17.5½, or nearly two-thirds, was paid to masons.

The item "wages of masons" occupies 11 pages of close print in the translation. To make matters clear one paragraph may be quoted in full. As being characteristic, we select the second paragraph relating to the 6th year, in preference to the first paragraph:—

For wages of masons in the 6th year of the reign of King Edward ————On Sunday 13th March, paid to John de Dore and Adam de Pabinham, each receiving 30d. a week, for their wages for 5 weeks reckoned from the said Sunday to Saturday 16th April, to wit the vigil of Easter. 25s. Paid to Alexander de Norton and William de la Pounce, each receiving 29d. a week, for their wages during the said time, 24s. 2d. Paid to Roger de Hereford, Adam le Waleis, Richard Vigerous, William de Flaxlegh, Richard de Geredon, William de Alueton, Thomas de la Roche, and Ralph de Carleton, each receiving 28d. a week, for their wages during the said time, £4.13.4. Paid to Philip de Euwias, Adam de la Pounce, Philip de Pebboe, Nicholas de Alueton, Walter de Tong, Richard de Handisworthie, Alexander de

<sup>20</sup> Thomas, *Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls*, p. 251.

<sup>21</sup> V.R.L., pp. 193-230.

<sup>22</sup> At any rate, craftsmen did so in a later period:—

"In the account books of Henry VIII. . . . the principal Artisans in each craft audit such parts of the accounts as deal with labour, and sign every page of the book."—Rogers, *History of Agric. and Prices*, IV., 502. At Exeter, the master mason in 1300 kept the duplicate or counter roll of accounts.—A. Hamilton Thompson, *Cathedral Builders of the Middle Ages*, in *History*, July, 1925, p. 145.

<sup>23</sup> T. F. Hobson (Ed.) *Adderbury Rectoria*, Oxford Record Society, 1926, pp. 11 and 63. William Mounter was a member of New College until 1418 and was Vicar of Radcliffe, some 15 miles from Adderbury, in 1412-13.

<sup>24</sup> *Adderbury Rectoria*, p. 72.



Receipts and Expenses of Leonius, in 6th, 7th and 8th Years of King Edward I.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENSES.			Total for
From within County of Chester		6th Year	7th Year	8th Year	3 Years.
6th Year	459.19. 1.	4.15.10.	1. 7.	1. 6.	4.15.10.
7th Year	530. 7. 9.	6. 4.	2.10.	6. 2.	5. 2.
8th Year	511.15. 0.	3.12. 6.	4.15. 0.	5. 5. 0.	13.12. 6.
		2.18. 4.	3. 0. 0.	3. 3. 9.	9. 2. 1.
		1.12. 3.	1. 5. 5.	18. 9.	3.16. 5.
		3.18. 6.	1.18. 0.	3. 0. 0.	8.16. 6.
		6. 4. 0.	7.18. 0.	9.12. 0.	23.14. 0.
		10. 0.	12. 0.	12.10.	1.14.10.
7th & 8th Years	300. 0. 0.	5. 5. 4.	3.10. 0.	2. 0. 0.	10.15. 4.
Advance from Abbot.	61. 4.10.	4.10. 0.	5. 8. 9.	6. 0. 0.	15.18. 9.
		150.17. 8.	104.11. 8.	91.10. 0.	346.19. 4.
		29. 0. 6.	9.16. 4.	6. 0.11.	44.17. 9.
		1.10. 6.	1.16. 0.	1. 2. 8.	4. 9. 2.
		2. 6. 8.	1.12. 6.	1.14. 0.	5.13. 2.
		234. 1. 9½	200.12.10.	260. 2.10.	694.17. 5½
		36.15. 6.	28.10. 5½	38.15.10.	104. 1. 9½
		24. 4. 3½	16.13. 1.	24. 8. 1.	65. 5. 5½
		58.14. 0.	50. 3. 5.	57. 2. 7.	166. 0. 0.
		571. 6. 1.	442. 7.10½	511.16.11.	1525.10.10½
	Balance.				337.15. 9½
					1863. 6. 8.

Naudedene, each receiving 16d. (? 26d.) a week, for their wages during the said time, 75s. 10d. Paid to William de Buldwas, Robert de Eudonas and William le Parilour, each receiving 2s. a week, for their wages during the said time, 30s. Paid to Hugh de Dore and Roger de Marcle, each receiving 12d. a week, for their wages during the said time, 10s. Paid to Nicholas de Brocton, receiving 2s. a week, for his wages for four weeks during the said time, 8s. Paid to Peter de Mount Sorrel and Adam of the same place, each of them receiving 2s. a week, for their wages for 3 weeks during the said time, 12s. Paid to Roger de Wimundewold, for one week, 29d. Paid to Richard de

Kettelby and John de St. Albans, for their wages for one week, 4s. 8d. Paid to Robert Springand, for one week, 12d. On Sunday, 23rd\* April, to wit, next after Easter, paid to John de Dore, he being the second, each receiving 15d. for 3 days on which they worked in Easter week, for their wages, 2s. 6d. Paid to Alexander de Norton, he being the 3rd, each receiving 14½d. for the same time, 3s. 7½d. Paid to William de Flaxlegh, he being the 10th, each receiving 14d. during the same time, 11s. 8d. Paid to Philip de Euwias, he being the 7th, each receiving 13d. for the same time, 7s. 7d. Paid to John de Eynisham and Robert of the same place, for the same time, 28d. Paid to Robert de Eudonas, he being the 6th, each receiving 12d. during the same time, 6s. Paid to Hugh de Dore, he being the 3rd, for their wages during the said time, 18d.

Total £16.19. 0½d.

\*The 23rd was a Saturday, so that either the day or the date was entered in error.

1. The first point in the quotation to which attention must be drawn is that the first accounting sub-period is 5 weeks and the second only three days. Frequent variations in the length of the accounting sub-periods characterise the whole accounts. It varies from three days to 26 weeks. We must assume that some kind of weekly records were kept, but that Leonius in making up his statement from the weekly records, frequently lumped the weekly records together. On what principle, if any, he did this, it is impossible to say, but it may be noted that whereas there were 15 accounting sub-periods for masons' wages in the first year, there were only nine in the second and four in the third. In the case of quarrymen, there were 12 accounting sub-periods in the first year, 7 in the second, and 4 in the third. In the case of diggers, the corresponding numbers were 10, 8 and 5, and in the case of carters of stone, 9, 5 and 2. Not only were the sub-periods different in connection with different expenses, but the actual pay-days were generally different too. The thing which appears to have been common to most, if not to all payments was that they were made on Sundays, or at least entered as if they were.

By way of comparison it may be noted that at Adderbury the bailiff, in preparing his summary account with New College, also lumped the weekly wage payments together, but he appears to have been systematic in his method. Beginning his wages statement at Michaelmas he makes 3 accounting sub-periods: (i.) 3 or 4 weeks in October when summer rates applied; (ii.) 13 weeks in November, December and January when winter rates applied; and (iii.) the weeks from the beginning of February to the beginning of October when summer rates applied.<sup>25</sup>

One possible reason why there were fewer accounting sub-periods at Vale Royal in the second year than in the first, and in the third than in the second, is that Leonius found that his summary was growing too big after he had done the first year on a detailed scale and that he decided to lump the later entries more together. Alternatively, it is quite likely that the concentrating was done by the officials to whom Leonius presented his accounts.<sup>26</sup> In either case, if we are right in the surmise that the Account was prepared at the end of the third year, one would have expected to find signs of concentration in some of the items of the first year; *e.g.*, having done masons' wages at great length, Leonius might have abbreviated the accounts for payments to quarrymen, diggers, carters, etc. But that is not the position. All the expenses would appear to be set out at considerable length for the first year, in a more concentrated form for the second year, and in a still more concentrated form for the third year. Probably all the separate accounts were prepared at the end of each year, and only put together in the form we find them at the end of the third year. As Leonius was only appointed in June, 1278, it is certain that part at least of his accounts must have been prepared well after the payments had been made.

<sup>25</sup> *Adderbury Rectoria*, p. 63.

<sup>26</sup> See §4 on first page of Preface to P.R.O. List, etc., Vol. XXXV.

A second possible reason why there are fewer accounting sub-periods in the second year than in the first and in the third than in the second is that the workers were settling down more to their work and that there were consequently fewer changes, so that for many weeks the same names repeat themselves, thus making longer accounting sub-periods possible. Actually each season saw many new workers taken on: why new workers first engaged in the third year should stick to the work better than the new workers engaged in the second year is not at all obvious; possibly the policing arrangement for preventing "pressed" workers from slipping away had been improved.<sup>27</sup>

2. The second point in the quotation to which attention must be drawn is that in one instance the names of all the masons are set out in full, whereas in the other only one in each wage group is mentioned by name, except in the case of two new arrivals, John and Robert Eynisham. This second method of enumerating, "paid to A B, he being the Xth, each receiving Y pence a week," occurs much more frequently in the Account than the method of enumerating in full and is a cause of various difficulties to students of the Account.

(i.) Firstly, it introduces an element of uncertainty into the date of a man's commencing work and a man's ceasing work. In the example quoted, the bare numbers given for the second period correspond to the numbers set out in full in the first period, so that it is not unreasonable to assume that the same men were employed in the second period as in the first. But often the numbers do not correspond. Thus, taking the group at 24d. on successive pay days commencing at June 12th, 1278:—

June 12.	13 men set out by name, including Rob. de Salesbury.	
	receive 24d. each.	
June 19.	William de Buldewas, <sup>28</sup> he being the 8th, each receiving	
	24d.	
July 3rd.	Rob. de Salesbury, he being the 3rd	_____
July 24th.	Rob. de Salesbury,	_____ 5th _____
Aug. 14th.	John de Schipton <sup>29</sup>	_____ 7th _____
Sept. 25th.	Rob. de Salesbury	_____ 7th _____
Oct. 16th.	Rob. de Salesbury	_____ 6th _____
Oct. 30th.	_____	_____
Nov. 13th	_____	_____
Jan. 8th.	Rob. de Salesbury, John de Schipton, Alexander de	
	Leminstre. <sup>30</sup>	
Feb. 5th.	Rob. de Salesbury, he being the 4th, each receiving 24d.	

Between June 12th and 19th, the number of 24d. men dropped from 13 to 8. As William de Buldewas returned to work on June 19th and was described as the 8th, at least 6 must have dropped out, and we assume that they may have formed part of a 26d. group which was suspended on June 12th but represented by 12 on June 19th; Maurice Griffid who had 24d. on June 12th is actually named as being the 12th receiving 26d. on June 19th.

Between June 19th and July 3rd the number at 24d. dropped to 3, there being no sort of indication as to who had dropped. Then for two successive periods the numbers grow to 5 and to 7. Does that represent the return of old masons or the arrival of new ones? There was at least one new one (John de

<sup>27</sup> For changes amongst masons, and for "pressing," see *post*.

<sup>28</sup> Mentioned by name on May 15th and earlier dates.

<sup>29</sup> Entirely new name.

<sup>30</sup> Entirely new name.

Schipton) by August 14th, but there is nothing to show that that was the first occasion for which he received a wage. He may have helped to raise the number from 3 to 5 on July 3rd, or from 5 to 7 on July 24th. Newcomers were by no means always named on their first appearance in the wage list; *e.g.*, on February 4th, 1279/80, there was only one man, Philip de St. Peter, who received 15d. a week. On the next pay-day, April 28th, we read "paid to Philip de St. Peter, he being the 3rd, each receiving 15d. a week," there being no entry in any previous list to suggest who the two additional men at 15d. might be it is almost certain that they must have been newcomers, although un-named. On the next pay day, November 3rd, we find "paid to Philip de St. Peter, Robert London and John de London, each receiving 15d. a week . . ." and we assume that Robert London and John de London were the two unknown men receiving 15d. on April 28th.

(ii.) Secondly, owing to this system, we can never feel sure that all the masons, etc., who worked on the job, are actually named in the Account before us: *e.g.*, the name William de Merchokirwis,<sup>31</sup> a mason whose tools were bought in accordance with custom<sup>32</sup> at the same time that the tools of ten other masons were bought, never appears in the wage lists, although the names of the other ten do.

(iii.) Thirdly, there is an element of doubt as to whether A B who is named as being the Xth to receive Y pence a week is in any sense a leader, or foreman, or overseer of the others who constitute this group. Our own opinion is that the phrase has no such significance and that it is merely a device of the account keeper to save himself the trouble of setting out all the names in full. But it has to be recognised that Mr. Brownbill, the editor of the *Ledger Book of the Vale Royal Abbey*, takes a different view. He has a footnote to the first entry of this kind in the Account—"On Sunday, 3rd April, paid to Ralph de Merton, he being the 6th carrying boards and timber . . ." <sup>33</sup>—which runs: "This phrase *se sexto* means that he was leader or foreman of a group of six. It occurs many times." We very much doubt if this is a correct interpretation. The following extract from the Account relating to the diggers will help to make clear our contention that there is no question of one of a group being foreman or overseer, unless it is set out quite clearly<sup>34</sup>:—

On Sunday, 10th April, paid to Henry de Dore he being the sixth of the bairdores, each receiving 10d. a week, for one week, 5s. . . .  
paid to William le Brakere, he being the twentieth of the diggers and workmen . . . each receiving 9d. a week, and the overseer 12d., for one week, 15s. 3d.

In the case of the bairdores, the entry "Henry de Dore, he being the sixth," is simply to save the space required had the other five been enumerated by name. On the first occasion when diggers' wages appear in the Account, Henry de Dore, Philip de Glasbury, William Fouk, Henry de Sutton, Alan de Davinham and Richard de Buddeworth are all set out by name and described as "bairdores."<sup>35</sup> In the case of the diggers and workmen we assume that Wm. le Brakere, who was previously specified in the Account as overseer (*Vigintuarius*),<sup>36</sup> received 12d. and the 19 he supervised 9d., thus making 15s. 3d. in all.

A similar arrangement prevailed about the same date among the carpenters at Rhuddlan<sup>37</sup>:—

On Sunday next ensuing, paid to Master Peter de Brampton for the wages of an hundred carpenters each receiving 4d. per diem, and their constable (*constabularius*) receiving 8d.; of which five are overseers of

<sup>31</sup> V.R.L., p. 196.

<sup>32</sup> p. 198.

<sup>33</sup> p. 226.

<sup>34</sup> *Archæologia*, xvi., p. 52.

<sup>35</sup> See *post*.

<sup>36</sup> p. 227.

<sup>37</sup> p. 227 at top.

twenty (*vigintenarii*) and each receives 6d. per diem for his wages. from Sunday, 23rd August, for the seven following days, £12.3.9.<sup>38</sup>

Yet one other consideration. If A B were the leader or foreman of the group of which he is described as being the Xth, one would expect to find his name enumerated on each occasion, but that is not the case. In the example given above about masons at 24d. a week, Robert de Salesbury is generally named, but once it is William de Buldewas and once John de Schipton. In the case of other groups of masons, there are also fairly frequent changes in the men named; after shorter or longer breaks, the old names recur. We are forced to the conclusion that it is a matter of mere chance which man of any particular group will be named in the Account.

3. The third point in the quotation to which attention must be drawn is the statement that on March 13th wages were being paid for the 5 weeks ending on April 16th, or in other words, that the wages were being paid in advance. In most cases, according to the Account, the wages would appear to have been paid in advance. We find it very difficult to believe that they were.

Firstly, as has already been indicated, Leonius was appointed in 1278 to the dual post of Chamberlain of Chester and Keeper of the Works at Vale Royal, probably because the revenue was not flowing in freely enough from the County Exchequer to finance the building operations. It is, of course, possible that by the method of anticipating revenue by negotiable tallies, he was able to raise sufficient funds to pay the wages in advance. To judge by his receipts, Leonius appears to have drawn a good deal of revenue from "farms," *e.g.*, among the receipts of money in the sixth year we find "from the farm of the mills" of Chester—£35, "from the farm of the county of Cheshire"—£93.6.8., "from the farm of the King's Advowries of Christmas term"—£34.6.8.<sup>39</sup> Notwithstanding his efforts to anticipate revenue, his receipts for 6 Ed. I. were only £459.19.1, as contrasted with expenses amounting to £571.6.1, so that even if the loan of £61.4.10 shown in the accounts as obtained from the Abbot was secured during this particular year, there would still have been a deficit of £50.2.2. We think it much more probable, therefore, that Leonius was in arrears with his payments at the end of the first year than that he would have been adding to his financial difficulties by making wage payments in advance. It is true that during 7 Ed. I. and 8 Ed. I. the deficit on the building account was gradually wiped out and converted into a substantial surplus of £337.15.9½. The fact, however, that even so he did not repay the Abbot strengthens our feeling that he was not very likely to have paid the workers their wages before it was absolutely necessary.

Secondly, an examination of other items in the Account strengthens the improbability of advance payments. We are told at one place that it was the custom that if masons brought their tools they should be bought.<sup>40</sup> On July 10th, 1278, eleven masons were paid 10s. for their tools. Of these eleven, one commenced work on March 13th, six on April 24th, and three on June 12th: the last cannot be traced in the wages list. On the average, they were kept waiting eleven weeks before they received the relatively small sum of 10s.

Thirdly, whilst it would be possible in the case of a body of workers who held permanent appointments to pay them in advance if it were desired to do so, and if funds were available, it would hardly seem possible to adopt this policy in the case of workers who were coming and going with very considerable freedom, as we shall try to demonstrate a little later. Take, *e.g.*, the wage payments to

<sup>38</sup> 1 @ 8d. = 8.  
5 @ 6d. = 2. 6.  
95 @ 4d. = 1.11. 8.

£1.11.10. per diem = £12. 3.10. for seven days.

<sup>39</sup> V.R.L., pp. 193, 194.

<sup>40</sup> V.R.L., p. 196.

masons on April 24th, 1278, made according to the account that day in respect of the three weeks from April 24th to May 14th.<sup>41</sup> All masons being named on this occasion, we find 31 from the previous period and 9 new ones being paid in respect of 3 weeks, 7 new ones being paid in respect of 2 weeks, and 3 new ones being paid in respect of one week. As the newcomers appear to have stayed on for a time we must assume that whilst 40 masons were at work from Monday, April 25th, to Saturday, April 30th, 47 were at work from Monday, May 2nd, to Saturday, May 7th, and 50 were at work from Monday, May 9th, to Saturday, May 14th. We very much doubt if the Master of the Works knew on April 24th, when it is claimed that the wages were paid, that he was going to have 7 new masons on May 2nd and 3 new masons on May 9th. If he did by any chance know it, they would in any case not have been there on April 24th to receive their wages.

Take another example to illustrate the improbability of these payments in advance. On Sunday, April 28th, 1280, according to the Account<sup>42</sup> the masons were paid £134.2.8, being 26 weeks' wages paid in advance to 51 masons. On the same day, he is said to have paid some £17.10.0 to 7 bairdores and 25 diggers, being 14 weeks' wages paid in advance.<sup>43</sup> Also on the same day he is said to have paid some £14 to 8 smiths, being 24 weeks' wages paid in advance.<sup>44</sup> It is inconceivable to us that a shrewd financier like Leonius would part with such a very large sum as was represented by these payments, viz., some £165, before he needed to and before he was certain that all the masons, smiths and diggers were entitled to payment.

Fourthly, if the practice followed in connection with the royal building operations at Beaumaris Castle in 1317 is a guide, we have reliable information as to what actually occurred because the weekly wage records for part of 1316 to 1317 are still preserved in the Public Record Office.<sup>45</sup> Each membrane is headed:—

Payment made for the works of the Castle of Beaumaris on Sunday  
the                    day of                    in the tenth year of the reign of King  
Edward for the preceding week.

*Cementarii*

To Master Nicholas of Derneford	7s. 0d.
To Edmund of Wynwod	2s. 7d.
To Richard of Wyke	2s. 6d.

. . . . .

Not being prepared to accept the inference that wages were paid in advance, we have two alternative explanations to offer:—

(a) Leonius' Account was made up long after the expenses to which it refers had been incurred. The formula used may be a mere book-keeping device when lumping a large number of weekly wage lists together. If he had lumped the whole annual outlay on wages of a particular category of workers together, there would have been no need to indicate any date at all for the payments, as is the case in the income and expenditure account which we prepared and quoted above. Wages of masons for 6 Ed. I. would have appeared as £234.1.9½. But Leonius, or the official who may have digested his accounts, does not adopt this method of summarising. He produces a kind of summarised cash book, indicating dates when payments were actually or supposedly made. When he lumped together masons' wages for 26 weeks from April 28th to Nov. 2nd, 1280, he either had to give the date April 28th or Nov. 2nd. Probably the wages were paid weekly, as at Beaumaris, or possibly fortnightly. The custom

<sup>41</sup> V.R.L., p. 208.

<sup>42</sup> V.R.L., pp. 217-218.

<sup>43</sup> p. 230.

<sup>44</sup> p. 226.

<sup>45</sup> Exchequer K.R., Bundle 485, No. 24.

at York, for example, was in theory fortnightly, but at times wages were paid monthly, or payment was postponed even longer.<sup>46</sup> Even so, the wages might have been paid at the beginning of the week or of the fortnight to which they related. Personally we feel that the second part of the Account relating to masons' wages which we quoted before (the italics are ours), viz.:

*On Sunday 23rd April, to wit, next after Easter, paid to John de Dore, he being the second, each receiving 15d., for 3 days on which they worked, in Easter week, for their wages, 2/6. . . .*

is a clear indication that the wages were paid on the Sunday *at the end of the week* in which they had been earned. But even if they were normally paid at the beginning of the week we believe that only one week's wages would have been paid on April 28th, 1280, another week's on May 5th, another on May 12th, and so forth. In summarising these weekly payments, Leonius entered them as if they had all been made on April 28th, in preference to entering them as if they had all been made on Nov. 2nd. We hold that the same thing has happened in all the other cases where the wages of two or more weeks are said to have been paid in advance.

(b) The dates indicated by Leonius for wage payments may be those on which he advanced sums to the Master of the Works or to the Overseers to enable them to pay wages as they fell due. Later he would ascertain from the wage lists how these sums had actually been spent. When preparing his summarised account he entered against a particular date not the round sum he had advanced for wages that day, but the exact sum spent in respect of a period commencing with that date, supported by various particulars to show how the sum was reached.

#### *The Extent of the Building.*

The Abbot of Vale Royal, writing apparently about 1340, describes the buildings as follows:—“ . . . in our said monastery we have one very large church, commenced by the King of England at our first foundation, but by no means finished. For at the first foundation he built it with stone walls, but the vaults remain to be built, with the roof and the glass and other ornaments of the church. Moreover, the cloister, chapterhouse, dormitory, refectory and other offices of the monastery, still remain to be built in a style corresponding with the church.”<sup>47</sup> Although not a single arch or doorway remains, excavations in recent years have revealed the ground plan of the Abbey which was 421 feet long, or 11 feet longer than Fountains Abbey, which had previously been regarded as the biggest Cistercian Abbey in England.<sup>48</sup>

The Building Account throws light on the scale of the building during the first three years, 1278-1280, in at least two ways: on the one hand, we learn of the materials brought to the site; and on the other, of the numbers of the different classes of workmen employed. We do not know the weight of stone carried by one-horse or two-horse carts, but we learn from the Account that 14,708 loads of stone were carted in the first year, 11,080 loads in the second year, and 9,660 loads in the third year, or 35,448 in all, of which 7,044, or approximately one-fifth, represented loads carried in two-horse carts.<sup>49</sup>

In what concerns the number of workers employed, we have prepared a table, which is appended, showing the approximate numbers, classified by occupations and wage rates, employed in the middle of each month throughout the three years. The average numbers are as follows:—

<sup>46</sup> *York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Society, No. 35), p. 162.

<sup>47</sup> V.R.L., p. 163.

<sup>48</sup> Pendleton, *Notes on the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, Vale Royal, Cheshire*, p. 21.

<sup>49</sup> V.R.L., pp. 198-203.

40	masons.
4	carpenters.
15	quarrymen.
36	diggers.
7	smiths.
33	carters of stone and timber.

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135

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On occasion the number of masons rose to 64, the number of carpenters to 13, the number of quarrymen to 48, the number of diggers to 70, the number of smiths to 13, and the number of carters of stone and timber to 54. The maximum numbers employed each year were 231 in June 1278, 153 in October 1279, and 160 in July 1280.

Though the numbers employed were only half or less than half of those employed at Westminster in 1253,<sup>50</sup> it is quite clear that we are here concerned with a large-scale undertaking on which a substantial number of wage-earners at many different rates of pay were employed, as contrasted with the small-scale production carried on by little masters or independent craftsmen, which prevailed in most trades at that period.

*Organisation of the building operations.*

As the Building Account we are studying relates to the first three years of the operations, it throws a good deal more light on the organisation of the undertaking than later accounts would be likely to do.

The site lay in the valley of the Weaver, near the edge of Delamere Forest, about four miles south-west of Northwich. The forest provided the material for the boards and other woodwork, whilst the stone was obtained from a quarry at Edisbury<sup>51</sup> in the heart of Delamere Forest, about four miles from the building site as the crow flies. The road by which the stone was carted was probably a little longer, but as many of the carts succeeded in doing two round trips in one day, it is difficult to believe that the route was more than five miles, if as much, as a daily trip of twenty miles by cart over a mediæval road, day after day, the carts being loaded for half the distance, would seem a remarkable feat.

(i.) *Quarries.* The quarrymen appear to have worked at the outset in gangs of 8, consisting of a quarrymaster receiving 18d. a week, two cutters or mallet men receiving 12d., and five men "working with trowels and hoes and trimming," receiving 10d. The cutters and workmen are frequently described as the master's servants. At one time in 1278, six such gangs were employed simultaneously, each gang apparently having its own quarry or part of a quarry, for on March 20th there was paid to "Robert de Inis, Paul de Alueton, John Cradoc and Richard Louekin, masters, each working in his quarry by himself with his servants, . . . 24s."<sup>52</sup> In 1279 and 1280, when presumably there was little work to be done with trowels and hoes, the quarry was manned almost entirely by malletmen.

At the commencement of the undertaking in January, 1277-8, before any quarrymen were employed, three masons, Adam de Pabinham, Alexander de Norton, and William de Crokisdene, with their fellows and labourers, were paid 100s. for 10 hundred of stones which they dug out of the quarry, cut, prepared, and finished.<sup>53</sup> As this transaction is entered in the accounts under the heading "for wages of masons," there can be no doubt with what category of workers we are concerned. At a slightly later date, we find Adam de Pabinham and Alexander de Norton drawing wages as masons.

<sup>50</sup> See G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, Ap. II.

<sup>51</sup> V.R.L., p. 203.

<sup>53</sup> V.R.L., p. 207.

<sup>52</sup> V.R.L., pp. 218, 219.



In February, 1277-8, there is an entry under "necessary expenses": "paid Alexander de Norton for six 'pycons' (? picks) for the quarry, 2s. 3d. at 4½d. each: for 8 'houwis' (? hoes), 2s. at 3d. each: for 10 'bechis' and 'triwlis' (? trowels), 15d. at 1½d. each."<sup>54</sup> This transaction suggests either that Alexander de Norton and his fellows and servants arrived at the quarry with tools which it was customary for the employer to provide (as in the case of some masons' tools to be mentioned below) and that the employer therefore took them over; or that he carried out his contract working with his own tools and then sold these quarrymen's tools when he had no further use for them; or possibly that he dealt in tools as well as conducting quarrying contracts and serving as a mason.

The only other case of the same name occurring amongst masons and quarrymen is that of Thomas de Lechampton. A man of this name received 12 (10)d.<sup>55</sup> a week as a mason from Nov. 13th, 1278, to May 20th, 1279, whereas a man of the same name received 12 (10)d. on the quarries from Feb. 9th to Dec. 24th, 1280.

Apart from these cases, the masons' work appears to have been quite distinct from the quarrymen's work.

Had the undertaking been on a smaller scale, there would possibly have been less specialisation. In any case at Adderbury, in 1414, when 10 masons were engaged on rebuilding the chancel, 5 men were at work who are described as "digging in the quarry and working for the masons,"<sup>56</sup> which would appear to imply that quarry workers and masons' labourers were interchangeable.

(ii.) *Smithies.* At the quarry at Edisbury, and also at the site of the Monastery, a smithy was erected by the carpenters<sup>57</sup> to provide the means of keeping the quarrymen's and masons' tools in order. The equipment of the two smithies, to judge by the expenses incurred, consisted of two large bellows, costing 7s. 8d.; two small bellows, costing 2s., and one costing 18d.; two hammers, costing 10d., three hammers, costing 12d., and three pincers, costing 12d.<sup>58</sup> When the smithies were fully staffed, there was associated with each a smith and his servant (occasionally two smiths and two servants), a charcoal burner, a worker described as "servant for the bellows and striker," and a "portehache" who carried the irons and hatchets and other tools back to the smithy to be repaired.<sup>59</sup> In the second and third years the smiths appear to have managed with fewer assistants.

(iii.) *Erection of Lodges and Houses.* Other preparatory work which had to be undertaken before any serious building could be done, was to provide work-places or lodges for the masons, and houses for them and other workmen. There are several references in the accounts to such buildings being erected. In January, 1277-8, 45s. were paid to six carpenters "working and making huts (*logias*) and dwelling houses (*mansiones*) for the masons and other workmen . . ."<sup>60</sup> In March, 1277-8, 27s. were paid to six carpenters "making houses (*domos*) and dwelling places where the master (*magister*) may be received and masons' workshops and other dwelling places."<sup>61</sup> In April, 1278, six carters were paid 24s. "for carrying boards and timber for making dwelling houses (*mansionibus*)."<sup>62</sup> whilst at the same time 20 diggers were occupied for 6

<sup>54</sup> V.R.L., p. 195.

<sup>55</sup> The figure in brackets is the winter rate corresponding to the summer rate of 12d.

<sup>56</sup> *Adderbury Rectoria*, pp. 64, 65

<sup>57</sup> V.R.L., p. 203.

<sup>58</sup> V.R.L., p. 196.

<sup>59</sup> V.R.L., pp. 222, 223. At the present day, "on first entering the quarry at about 14 years of age, boys are engaged on light labouring tasks. *e.g.*, carrying planing tools and picks from the rock face to the blacksmith's shop." (Ministry of Labour, Report on Apprenticeship and Training, 1925-26, Vol. III., p. 8.)

<sup>60</sup> V.R.L., p. 203.

<sup>61</sup> V.R.L., p. 204.

<sup>62</sup> V.R.L., p. 198.

weeks "working on enclosing and ditching the places where they were making the dwellings of the masons and others."<sup>63</sup> In May, 1278, 40s. were paid as wages to plasterers "making and plastering the houses and other dwelling places in the site of the Abbey."<sup>64</sup> In April, 1279, wages were paid to 4 carpenters "working on the masons' 'workshop.'"<sup>65</sup> In June, 1279, a boarder and his fellows were paid 28s. "for making 1,400 boards for the new masons' workshop (*asteleria*)."<sup>66</sup> In July of the same year, straw was purchased "for the houses."<sup>67</sup>

In April, 1280, Nicholas the boarder with his fellows was paid 20s. "for making 1,000 boards for the new masons' workshop and for others needed," and 40s. for making 2,000 boards "for covering the masons' workshop and other houses."<sup>68</sup> At the same date, William le Daubour with his labourers was paid 34s. for "plastering a certain workshop near the site of the monastery . . . and covering certain houses with turves."<sup>69</sup>

To give a better idea of the extent of the temporary buildings which were being erected throughout the three years, it should be indicated that 3,400 boards in the first year, 5,900 in the second, and 3,000 in the third, or 12,300 boards in all, were made out of the King's wood and paid for at piece-rate (including 4,400 mentioned immediately above).<sup>70</sup> In addition, daily wages were paid to various carpenters "felling trees for timber and preparing them there in the wood with their axes,"<sup>71</sup> as well as daily wages and piece-rates to sawyers of timber.<sup>72</sup> Further, in the first year 18,000 nails were purchased "for the boards for covering the houses" and 13,000 "for laths": in the second year the corresponding numbers were 4,000 and 13,000 and in the third year 9,000 and 10,000.<sup>73</sup>

Some of the timber and boards prepared by carpenters, etc., were no doubt used for scaffolding, and others may have been stacked so as to become seasoned before being used for the roof. But as the construction of the roof would not be expected to take place for a good many years, it is quite likely that no preparations were made for it, and that all the timber prepared was required for more immediate purposes. It is noticeable that whilst on the average 9 carpenters were employed in the first year, only 3 were employed in the second year and one in the third year. By that time the preparatory woodwork was no doubt largely completed and one carpenter was sufficient to look after things. At a later date, when the roof came to be built, many carpenters would no doubt be employed.

Amongst other purposes for which the timber and boards prepared in 1278-80 may possibly have been used, was the construction of the temporary small Abbey, erected by the King as described in the *Ledger Book* and mentioned at the beginning of this paper. There is, however, no reference in the accounts to such a use; further, such a temporary building is not likely to have taken more than a few months to erect. The monks were not transferred to it until 1281; as there was only one carpenter employed in 1280, we are of opinion that additional carpenters must have been employed in 1281 and that the construction of the building and probably the preparation for it, fall outside the period under review.

(iv.) *Digging.* The other main preliminary or subsidiary work to which reference must be made is that performed by the diggers, which was continuous from the time it was commenced in March, 1277-8, till the Building Account finishes in December, 1280. The average number of "diggers and other common workmen" employed was 36, of whom 6 were serving as barrow men to the masons' lodges, so that 30 were engaged in digging. The Account

<sup>63</sup> V.R.L., p. 227.

<sup>65</sup> V.R.L., p. 205.

<sup>67</sup> V.R.L., p. 197.

<sup>69</sup> V.R.L., p. 207.

<sup>71</sup> V.R.L., p. 204.

<sup>73</sup> V.R.L., p. 197.

<sup>64</sup> V.R.L., p. 207.

<sup>66</sup> V.R.L., p. 197.

<sup>68</sup> V.R.L., p. 197.

<sup>70</sup> V.R.L., p. 197.

<sup>72</sup> V.R.L., p. 206.

fortunately gives a fairly good picture of the work done by the diggers. In March, 1277-8, 10 men were paid for "working and levelling a place on which the ground plan of the monastery was to be traced, and all the work called the floor space which place they cleared out, filled up and levelled."<sup>74</sup> Early in April, 1278, 20 men were employed "working with trowels and hoes and other tools suitable for digging and making turves and ditches, upon the forming of a pond, from which a water course should flow down to the site of the monastery, for making the mortar."<sup>75</sup> In July, 1278, there were 44 "diggers" "who were then digging and laying the foundation of the church, of which workmen some were 'bairardores' to the masons' workshop, others are making the ditches and foundation, others making mortar, some carrying this, some throwing the sand, some wheeling the barrows, some working at different places in the site of the monastery."<sup>76</sup> In January, 1280, we read of 18 diggers "of whom some are clearing ground, others wheeling barrows, others throwing out the sand, some digging and others doing different work at the site of the monastery."<sup>77</sup>

Other preparations for making mortar are indicated by the following purchases:—May, 1278, 4 sieves for making mortar, 5d.; June, 1278, 6 large sieves for mortar, 12d.; March, 1278-9, 6 sieves, 9d.; April, 1280, 6 sieves, 9d.<sup>78</sup>

### *Masons' Wages.*

During the three years to which the Building Account relates, the names of 131 masons, not including Master Walter de Hereford, Master of the Work, occur, with the wages paid to them. In many cases the same names recur many times. From this fairly substantial mass of detail, it is possible to make certain generalisations.

(a). *Summer and Winter wage rates.* Generally speaking in winter, from the end of October to the beginning of February, "on account of the shorter days," lower rates were paid at Vale Royal than in summer. At Adderbury, about 1415, winter rates also applied during November, December and January,<sup>79</sup> but at York, about 1352, winter rates were paid from Michaelmas to Easter.<sup>80</sup> In London at the end of the 13th century, in addition to winter rates (Nov. 11th to Feb. 2nd) and summer rates (Easter to Sept. 29th), there was a third set of rates which was paid in spring (Feb. 2nd to Easter) and autumn (Sept. 29th to Nov. 2nd).<sup>81</sup> At Vale Royal, wages of 30d. a week were reduced to 25d. in winter; 29d. to 24½d.; 28d. to 24d.; 27d. to 23d.; 26d. to 22d.; 24d. to 20d.; 20d. to 18d.; 18d. to 16d.; 16d. to 15d. or 14d.; and 14d. to 13d. At Adderbury the collective weekly wage of a mason and his apprentice was reduced from 6s. 1d. to 4s. 10d., and masons' wages were reduced from 3s. to 2s. 6d., and from 2s. 6d. to 1s. 8d.<sup>82</sup> At York the regulation provided that the weekly reduction should be equivalent to one day's pay.<sup>83</sup> At Vale Royal, however, it has to be noted that at least some of those at the bottom of the wage-scale, 12d. a week and less, as well as those at the top of the scale, 32d. a week and more, were not subject to reduced rates in winter. That the three men holding the more responsible posts should not be affected is easily comprehensible; that so much consideration should be shown to the low-paid masons is somewhat surprising. At first sight, it might seem that 12d. or 10d. or 8d. per week was such a low figure, that the recipient could not be expected to live on less. But the fact that the quarrymen and diggers in receipt of 12d. and 9d. in summer were reduced to 9d. and 7½d. in winter, shows that this explanation will not hold. Amongst the carpenters and smiths, too, reduced winter rates applied to the lower as well as the higher paid workers. Further, it is not clear that all masons at

<sup>74</sup> V.R.L., p. 226.

<sup>76</sup> V.R.L., p. 228.

<sup>78</sup> V.R.L., p. 196.

<sup>79</sup> *Adderbury Rectoria*, pp. 63 and 69.

<sup>80</sup> *York Fabric Roll*, p. 172.

<sup>81</sup> See the London wage rates quoted below.

<sup>82</sup> *Adderbury Rectoria*, p. 69.

<sup>83</sup> *York Fabric Roll*, p. 172.

<sup>75</sup> V.R.L., p. 227.

<sup>77</sup> V.R.L., pp. 229-230.

12d. per week were immune from winter reductions, for Philip de St. Peter and Thomas de Lechampton commenced work at 10d. per week on Nov. 13th. 1278, whereas the following spring both were employed at 12d. Whether that represented a summer rate corresponding to the winter rate of 10d. or whether it represented a promotion, it is impossible to say. We are inclined to think that it may have represented a summer rate in the case of Thomas, and a definite increase of rate in the case of Philip, who certainly received increases at later dates. Thomas disappeared very shortly from amongst the masons, and later on a man of the same name was working at 10d. in the winter of 1280 and 12d. in the summer of that year in the quarry. We think it not improbable that the two Thomases were one and the same, working one time as a mason's labourer, and at another time as a mallet man in the quarry.<sup>84</sup> With regard to Philip, and also Roger de Marcle, Hugh de Dore, John de Kerwirdin and Adam de Swinemor, all of whom, when in receipt of 12d. or less, were immune from winter reductions, we speculate below as to the possibility of their being apprentices, to whom special rules about rates of pay might apply. The other masons who received 12d., viz., Rob Springand (April 10th—Oct. 15th, 1278), Adam Wolflee (May 1st to Oct. 15th, 1278) and Richard de la Roche (May 1st—Oct. 15th, 1278), left before the winter season began, so that we do not know whether they would have received reduced winter rates or not.

(b) *Holidays and Feastdays.* Only the Master of the Works, Master Walter de Hereford, was paid for every day of the year: his wage is stated to have been 2s. a day, and he received £36.8.0d. for the year, equivalent to 364 days at 2s.<sup>85</sup> John de Bataile, under master, receiving 36d. a week, and Richard de Hereford, receiving at one period 32d., and at a later period 34d., a week, appear to have been paid in respect of feastdays but received no wages when no work was done at Easter, Whitsuntide or Christmas. As Richard de Hereford was accorded the same favoured treatment as John de Bataile in the matter of feastdays, as well as having an unusually high wage, which was likewise not reduced in winter, we assume that he was an assistant or understudy to John de Bataile.

The general body of masons were not paid for either feastdays or holidays. In 1277-8, when work commenced on Jan. 16th, the days for which there was no pay were:—

- 1 at the Feast of St. Matthias, the Apostle (24th Feb.).
- 3 at Easter.
- 3 at Whitsuntide.
- 1 at the Feast of St. Margaret the Virgin (July 20th).
- 6 at Christmas (actually the stoppage lasted a fortnight but the other six days fell in January).

In 1278-9 the days for which there was no pay were:—

- 6 at New Year (part of the Christmas holiday).
- 1 at the Feast of St. Matthias, the Apostle (24th Feb.).
- 6 at Easter.
- 1 at the Feast of the Apostles, Philip and James (May 1st).
- 6 at Whitsuntide.
- 1 at the Feast of All Souls (Nov. 2nd).
- 6 at Christmas.

In 1279-80 the days for which there was no pay were:—

- 6 at New Year.
- 6 at Easter.
- 4 between Easter and Christmas (including probably 3 at Whitsuntide).
- 6 at Christmas.

<sup>84</sup> This possibility and the certainty in other cases, of high grade masons working first in the quarry and then in the lodge, was referred to before.

<sup>85</sup> V.R.L., pp. 207, 212, 216.

Apart from the holidays at the great Church festivals, the number of feast days to which attention was paid at Vale Royal appears to have been small compared with some other places, *e.g.*, the Westminster Fabric Roll of 1253 sets out 21 saints' days between April 28th and Dec. 6th, on which, apparently, no work was done.<sup>86</sup>

(c). *Variety of rates of pay.* Quite apart from winter rates and excluding the 2s. a day of the Master of the Work, eighteen different summer rates of pay occur in that part of the Account which relates to masons' wages, viz., 36, 34, 32, 30, 29, 28, 27, 26, 24, 22, 20, 18, 16, 15, 14, 12, 10 and 8 pence per week. John de Bataile received the 36d. per week and Richard de Hereford both the 34 and 32 pence. If these top rates are omitted from consideration, as well as the bottom rate of 8d. which occurs in the case of Adam de Swinemor alone, and then only for a few weeks, we are left with 128 masons paid at 14 different rates. The cases of 22, 14 and 10 pence per week are comparatively rare; the 11 rates which normally occur in the wage list, and the average number employed at those rates, may be roughly indicated as follows:—

3	at 30 d. per week.
1	at 29
12	at 28
6	at 27
5	at 26
5	at 24
1	at 20
1	at 18
1	at 16
1	at 15
3	at 12

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In the case of nearly all the other classes of wage earners at Vale Royal—carpenters, smiths, quarrymen and diggers—the Account throws some light on the nature of the work done by men at different rates of pay: *e.g.*, in the case of quarrymen, we are told that the men at 18d. were “master-quarriers,” the men at 12d. were “mallet-men,” and the men at 10d. (sometimes 9d.) were “working with trowels and hoes and trimming.” In the case of the diggers, we learn that the man at 18d. was “master of the diggers,” some men at 12d. “overseers”: some men at 10d. (later 12d.) “bairdores” taking stones with hand barrows to the masons' lodge; some men at 10d. (later 9d.) were “working with trowels and hoes and other tools suitable for digging.”

In some contemporary building accounts the masons are partially classified: *e.g.*, at Rhuddlan Castle in 1281 and 1282 we read, under the head of “Masons,” of the Master Mason receiving 6d. per diem, five masons each receiving 4d. and one workman receiving 3d. a day.”<sup>87</sup> At Westminster Abbey in 1253 we read of “cutters of white stone,” of “marblers,” and of “stonelayers.” The number of masons of each kind is given, but unfortunately not the rates of pay.<sup>88</sup>

Unfortunately in the case of masons, the Vale Royal Building Account throws no direct light upon the nature of the work done by the various men. There are, however, two items in the Account which throw some indirect light on the problem. Firstly, there is an entry on Sunday, July 10th, 1278, of 10s. paid to 11 masons, who are named, “carrying their tools with them to wit . . . 20 hatchets and 48 irons for carving [?cutting] stones, . . . because it is the custom that their tools, if they bring any, shall be bought.”<sup>89</sup> Of the

<sup>86</sup> G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (2nd Ed.), p. 232 n.

<sup>87</sup> *Archæologia*, xvi., p. 59.

<sup>88</sup> G. G. Scott, *Gleanings*.

<sup>89</sup> V.R.L., p. 196.

11 masons named in this connection, one does not figure under the head "wages of masons" in the Account. Of the 10 who do, 2 were employed at 28d. a week, 2 at 27d., 4 at 26d., and 2 at 24d. We are probably justified, therefore, in assuming that the 28, 27, 26, and 24 pence a week rates were all paid to masons who would be described as cutters, or hewers. How the relatively fine distinctions in pay were determined, it is impossible to say. There is no indication that so many or such fine distinctions were made at Westminster or at Rhuddlan. At York, a hundred years later, by which date the general level of wages had risen somewhat, there were only five different rates of pay for *cementarii*, viz., 3s., 2s. 6d., 2s. 4d., 2s. and 20d. per week.<sup>90</sup> Unfortunately there is no explanation of the differences in the Fabric Roll as printed.

Secondly, there is an entry in the Account under Sunday, Jan. 16th, 1277-8, "paid to Adam de Pabinham, Alexander de Norton, William de Crokisdene, with their fellows and labourers, for 10 hundred of stones which they dug out of the quarry, cut, prepared and (?at) their own expense, by piece work 100s., at 10s. per 100." There is no further reference in the Account to William de Crokisdene, but Adam de Pabinham and Alexander de Norton were both engaged for a time as masons, the former at 30d. a week from the end of February to the middle of August, 1278, and the latter at 29d. a week, from March 5th to June 11th, 1278. The fact that they worked in the quarry "with their fellows and labourers" suggests that they were masters of a team or group of workers and would consequently be likely, if engaged at a wage, to be employed in some kind of overseeing capacity. Four men were taken on as masons at the same time as Adam de Pabinham, viz., 2 at 24d. a week and 2 at 12d. a week, but it is difficult to believe that they were Pabinham's "fellows and labourers," for the probability is that two departed before Adam de Pabinham, whilst one certainly stayed on 18 months and the other 2½ years after Adam departed. Seven men were engaged as masons at the same time as Alexander de Norton, viz., 3 at 28d., 2 at 26d., and 2 at 24d. a week. To judge by their wages, they were all skilled cutters and hewers and none of them labourers: in their case, however, they do appear all to have left Vale Royal about the same date as Alexander de Norton. It is just possible that Alexander and two of the men (William de Tong, and Nicholas de Brocton) came from neighbouring villages in Shropshire—Norton, Tong and Brocton—and that they did form a group, but as the name Norton occurs in at least 10 other counties, it is not safe to make a deduction based on its exact situation.

The suggestion that masons receiving 30d. or 29d. a week were in some way overseers supervising the cutters or hewers at 28d., 27d., 26d., and 24d. is not without its difficulties. In the first place, the difference in the rates of pay hardly seem sufficient, to judge by the overseer-diggers at Vale Royal, who received 12d. a week against an ordinary digger's 10d. or 9d. and the overseer-carpenters at Rhuddlan in 1281, who received 6d. a day against a carpenter's 4d.<sup>91</sup> On the other hand, at Kirby Muxloe in 1481 the Wardens received 3s. 4d. per week as compared with 6d. per day paid to masons.<sup>92</sup> In the second place, the proportion of 30d. and 29d. masons to 28d., 27d., 26d., and 24d. masons seems too great and too variable for them to be overseers. In the case both of the diggers at Vale Royal and the carpenters at Rhuddlan, the overseer was always the 20th member of his group, i.e., the proportion of overseers to overseen was 1:19. In the case of the masons at Vale Royal, the proportions varied from 1:4 to 1:7¼ in the first year, 1:4 to 1:9 in the second year, and 1:7 to 1:24 in the third year, the average for the three years being approximately 1:7.

So far as the masons receiving less than 24d. per week were concerned, there is neither direct nor indirect indication in the Vale Royal Building Account of what their functions were. In an average week, there were 1 at 20d., 1 at 18d., 1 at 16d., 1 at 15d. and 3 at 12d. to account for. In other places,

<sup>90</sup> *York Fabric Roll* (1371), pp. 3 folg.

<sup>91</sup> *Archæologia*, xvi., p. 51.

<sup>92</sup> *Leicester Archaeological Society*, vol. xi., p. 236.

we have come across such terms as masons' workmen,<sup>93</sup> layer,<sup>94</sup> setter,<sup>95</sup> bedder of stone,<sup>94</sup> rough mason,<sup>96</sup> but which, if any, of these terms apply to the men at Vale Royal and which rate of pay would be associated with which term, it is impossible to say. On the other hand, it is conceivable that some of these rates apply to apprentices, a subject upon which we shall speculate a little later.

If we assume for the moment that all masons receiving 30, 29, 28, 27, 26, or 24 pence a week were cutters or hewers of various grades of skill, and that all masons receiving 20, 18, 16, 15, or 12 pence a week were layers, setters, bedders of stone, or possibly apprentice hewers, or cutters, then we find on the average, 32 in the first category and 7 in the second. In other words, out of every 100 masons employed at Vale Royal, 82 would be cutters, hewers, etc., and 18 layers, setters, etc. At York Minster in 1371, 29 masons were employed, 15 at 36d., 2 at 30d., 3 at 28d., 5 at 24d. and 4 at 20d. per week. Apart from the facts that wages were about 20 % higher than at Vale Royal, that 50 % of the masons were at the top of the scale, as against 10% at Vale Royal, and that there were far fewer rates than at Vale Royal, the figures show that the proportion of high-wage to low-wage labour was not very different from Vale Royal. If we assume that the York masons receiving 24d. a week were hewers, then we have 25 hewers, etc., to 4 layers, etc. In other words, out of every 100 masons at York 86 would be hewers, etc., and 14 layers, etc. If we assume, however, that owing to the rise in wages, York masons receiving 24d. were only layers, etc., then we have 20 hewers and 9 layers. In other words, out of every 100 masons at York, 69 would be hewers and 31 layers.

It is doubtful, however, whether it is possible to draw a hard and fast line between cutters and hewers on the one hand, and setters and layers on the other. In the middle of winter one would expect the work of laying or setting to cease: the fact that straw was bought each summer "for covering the work in the winter"<sup>97</sup> seems to show that this was actually the case. If the layers ceased to set stone they must either have been discharged<sup>98</sup> or have been employed in some other capacity. Though the number of masons did drop in January, 1278-9, as compared with December, 1278, men at practically every rate of pay were affected, so that it is difficult to believe that setters or layers were dismissed and cutters or hewers retained. In the following winter the number of masons employed actually increased. We understand that nowadays setters and layers are often capable of dressing stone, and we think it likely that the same was true at Vale Royal. In London in 1356 at least some of the mason hewers and mason setters appear to have been interchangeable.<sup>99</sup> If that was the case at Vale Royal, it would explain why few or no masons were dismissed in winter.<sup>100</sup> But it would also strongly suggest that there cannot have been much, if any, difference in the rates of wages paid to dressers of stone on the one hand and to setters and layers on the other.

In our endeavour to understand the numerous rates of pay for masons at Vale Royal we have discussed the problem with Bro. C. B. Flockton, an architect who has had a large experience of erecting stone buildings. We assume that no "carvers" were at work during the first three years of the building operations and are very doubtful whether any tracery was being prepared by highly skilled masons at so early a period in the structure of the Abbey. Excluding these two classes, and bearing in mind the interchangeability of setters and hewers referred

<sup>93</sup> Rhuddlan.

<sup>94</sup> Westminster.

<sup>95</sup> York. The *Fabric Roll* occasionally refers to *cementarii vocati setters*, without indicating a rate of pay.

<sup>96</sup> Kirby Muxloe.

<sup>97</sup> V.R.L., p. 197.

<sup>98</sup> The rough masons (=layers) at Kirby Muxloe were not employed during the winter. *Building Accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle*, Leicestershire Archæological Society, xi., pp. 257, 265.

<sup>99</sup> Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 281.

<sup>100</sup> Had the winters been very severe, work in the quarry and in the lodges would no doubt have been held up, as well as setting or laying, but actually wages were paid to quarrymen and masons throughout the three years of the Account.

to above, the categories of masons for purposes of wages would appear to be reduced to the following:—

- (i.) Under-master.
- (ii.) Assistant under-master or warden.
- (iii.) Overseers or foremen.
- (iv.) Masons skilled in arch moulds.
- (v.) (a) Masons skilled in straight moulded work.  
(b) Layers or setters of moulded work.
- (vi.) (a) Masons preparing ordinary square ashlar with a chisel.  
(b) Setters or layers of ashlar.
- (vii.) (a) Rough masons preparing walling stone or "rockies" with a scappling hammer.  
(b) Wallers of "rockies" or of "rubble."
- (viii.) Rough wallers of "backing."
- (ix.) Servants or labourers.

This scheme would account for nine different rates of pay. In the summer of 1280, when labour conditions at Vale Royal were stable for six months, the 51 masons (excluding the Master of the Work) were receiving 13 different rates of pay, viz.:—

1	at	36	pence	per	week.
1	at	34	do.	do.	
2	at	30	do.	do.	
1	at	29	do.	do.	
10	at	28	do.	do.	
10	at	27	do.	do.	
6	at	26	do.	do.	
10	at	24	do.	do.	
1	at	20	do.	do.	
2	at	18	do.	do.	
3	at	16	do.	do.	
3	at	15	do.	do.	
1	at	12	do.	do.	

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Modern experience appears to offer no counterpart to such great diversity of rates. It would seem to point: (i.) to an absence of organisation amongst the workers: (ii.) to freedom from any wage fixing by an assize of wages: and (iii.) to individual contracts between employers and workers.

(d) *Changes in rates of wages.* Although the 13th century was a period when custom played a very large part and when economic conditions were characterized by stability rather than by change, yet we have to note in the Vale Royal Building Account quite a number of alterations in wage rates, so far as individuals and even categories of workers were concerned. It is difficult to classify the changes, as the reasons for the changes can only be surmised, but we venture to group the changes in masons' wages roughly as follows:—

(i.) *Increases with growing experience.* Roger de Marcle and Hugh de Dore received 12d. per week from Feb., 1277-8, to Feb. 4, 1278-9; then 15d. until May 20th, 1279, from which date they received 16d. until Oct. 28th; then a winter rate of 14d. until Dec. 24th, when Hugh appears to have left Vale Royal. In January, 1279-80, Roger de Marcle had a winter rate of only 13d.:



he does not appear to have worked for the next three months, but from April 28th to Nov. 2nd was again in receipt of 16d. During November and December, 1280, he was still employed at 16d.—corresponding to a summer rate of 18d.

Philip de St. Peter was employed at 10d. from Nov. 13th, 1278, to Feb. 4th, 1278-9, then at 12d. until August 26th, when he was promoted to 14d. He dropped to 13d. in November and December, and to 12d. in January. He then had 15d. throughout the summer of 1280, and continued in November and December at that rate, corresponding to a summer rate of 16d. Adam de Swinemor had 8d. from March 5th to May 20th, 1279, 10d. from May 28th to Dec. 24th, 1279, and 12d. from Jan. 7th to Dec. 24th, 1280.

We suggest that Roger, Hugh, Peter and Adam were relatively young masons who received increases of wages with growing experience. We speculate below upon the possibility of their having been apprentices.

(ii.) ? *Increase after short probationary period.* Maurice Griffid and John de Lutleton were first engaged on June 12th, 1278, at the rate of 24d. the week. From June 19th Maurice certainly, and John probably, were paid at the rate of 26d. A little later Maurice and John were certainly both receiving 26d. We suggest that they were engaged at the 24d. rate for one week by way of trial, and that, proving satisfactory, they were kept on at the 26d. rate.

(iii.) ? *Increase associated with growth of responsibilities.* Richard de Hereford was first engaged in July, 1279, at 32d. a week: from April, 1280, he was paid 34d. a week. We suggest that Richard received the extra pay because his work became more responsible as from April 28th, when the number of masons at 30d. a week was reduced from three to two.

(iv.) ? *Increase or decrease corresponding to change in grade of work.* Ralph de Lincoln, who was employed at a 23d. winter rate and 27d. summer rate in 1279, was employed at the 24d. winter rate (corresponding to 28d. summer rate) in January, 1279-80, and was probably employed at the 28d. rate in the spring of 1280. Ralph de Benitham had a winter rate of 23d. in January, 1279-80, and a winter rate of 24d. in November and December, 1280, equivalent to summer rates of 27d. and 28d.

Philip de Peboe and Adam de la Pounde, after being employed for several weeks at 26d., were reduced to 24d. in the third week of June, 1278. William de Tonebrug, who was employed at a winter rate of 23d. in January, 1279-80, and a summer rate of 27d. from Feb. 4th to Nov. 2nd, was reduced to a 22d. rate for November and December, 1280, corresponding to a summer rate of 26d.

We suggest that these particular masons were offered either superior or slightly inferior work in the course of time, and that small adjustments in the rate of pay were made accordingly.

(v.) *Bairdores and Diggers.* A case of a more general change in wages is afforded by the rates paid to the "bairdores" who carried stones to the masons' lodges. A first set employed in the spring of 1278 received 10d. a week. They were succeeded for a year by a set who received 9d. in summer and 7½d. in winter. These were succeeded by another set who received 12d. in summer and 10d. the first winter and 9d. the following winter.

So far as diggers were concerned, a number were engaged at 10d. a week in the spring of 1278. After July 9th, 1278, the rate became 9d. (with a corresponding 7½d. rate in the winter).

The only suggestions we can make to account for the "bairdores" and diggers' wages is that in the case of what practically must have been unskilled labour, custom played less part and competition more part in determining wage rates than is generally assumed to have been the case at that period.

(e) *Methods of paying wages.* Apart from carters, who were paid so much per journey in the case of stone and timber and so much per cwt. in the

case of lime, all work, with very trifling exceptions,<sup>101</sup> was paid for by weekly wages.

In this matter the system adopted at Vale Royal appears to have differed considerably from that adopted at some other large contemporary building operations, where a substantial amount of work was done by task or paid for at piece-rate. Material was often purchased in a finished or semi-finished condition, the work probably being executed away from the site of the building operations, *e.g.*, at Westminster in 1253, the cost of materials and their carriage for the 32 weeks recorded, amounted to £891.9.5½, whilst wages for the same period amounted only to £696.8.7. Amongst the materials purchased were pieces of freestone, cut by task work into various shapes required for doors, windows, arches, vaults, etc., made ready for setting.<sup>102</sup>

From the absence of any reference in the Vale Royal Building Account, either to payment of masons in kind, or to allowances for food, we may perhaps conclude that the weekly wage paid to each mason constituted the whole price of his labour, or possibly the whole price less the value of housing accommodation provided for him. Such a conclusion is not, indeed, quite free from doubt, for we cannot be certain that the accounts of Leonius, though they may cover all the receipts and payments in money, cover the whole expenses of the building. The Abbot himself may have been directly responsible for the food of some at least of the masons. Certainly cases can be cited of masons being provided with food and lodging by other ecclesiastical employers,<sup>103</sup> and it may have been that masons employed in the building of Merton College bell tower in 1448-50 were fed as well as paid wages.<sup>104</sup>

At Westminster Abbey in 1365 we read of "3 masons at 2s. 0d. a week and their livery of bread and ale."<sup>105</sup> On the whole, however, it is improbable that the great majority of masons employed at Vale Royal were fed at the expense of the Abbey, and their wages may be assumed, for purposes of comparison, to represent the whole of their receipts.

(f) *Comparisons of rates with those paid elsewhere.* The earliest record so far discovered relating to the regulation of wages in the building trades appears to be a London Assize of 1212,<sup>106</sup> which lays down the following rates:—

	With Food.	Without Food.
Carpenters	3d. per day.	4½d. per day.
Masons ( <i>ceementarii</i> )	3d.	4½d.
Tylers	3d.	4½d.
Servants of masons & tylers	1½d.	3d.
Hewers of freestone ( <i>Sculptores lapidum liberorum</i> )	2½d.	4d.
Whitewashers ( <i>dealbatores</i> )	2d.	3½d.
Daubers ( <i>Luti appositores</i> )	2d.	3½d.
.. ( <i>Torchiatores</i> )	2d.	3½d.
Servants of the above	1½d.	2½d.
Diggers ( <i>fodiatores</i> )	1½d.	2½d.

<sup>101</sup> See p. 15 *ante* for stones cut in the quarry by Adam de Pabingham and p. 17 for boards prepared in the King's wood for building the lodges and houses. Sawyers (V.R.L., p. 206) and plasterers (V.R.L., p. 207) were occasionally paid piece-rate.

<sup>102</sup> G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (2nd Ed.), p. 235.

<sup>103</sup> *E.g.*, John Loose, working for Corpus Christi College in 1459, was to have a chamber, bedstead and bed in the College "and his mete to be dyght in the kechyn" at the cost of the College while he was there working. Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1., pp. 308-310. Cf. the contracts of John de Middleton and Peter Dryng in 1398 and 1401 in *Hist. Dunelm. Script Tres.* (Surtees Society), pp. clxxx. and clxxxvii.

<sup>104</sup> Thorold Rogers, *Hist. Agricult. and Prices*, vol. 1, p. 259; the accounts (*op. cit.*, vol. 111, pp. 720 folg.) show money payments only.

<sup>105</sup> Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (2nd Ed.), p. 258.

<sup>106</sup> Printed in T. Hudson Turner, *Domestic Architecture in England*, Oxford, 1851, vol. I., p. 281.

Two later London wage regulations [for the first see *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londiniensis, Liber Albus*, vol. 1, p. 728; cf. *Liber Custumarum* I., p. 99; and for the second *Liber Albus* I., pp. 729-30] may be tabulated thus:—

Date.	Trades.	Season.	Rate per day with food.	Without.
Between 1275 and 1296	Carpenters	Sept. 29th to November 11th	1½d.	4d.
	Masons			
	Plasterers	November 11th to Feb. 2nd	1d.	3d.
	Daubers			
	Tylers	Feb. 2nd to Easter	1½d.	4d.
		Easter to Sept. 29th	2d.	5d.
	Servants [of tylers, probably of all above trades]	Sept. 29th to Easter		2d.
	Makers of mortar and <i>fesurs des mures de terre</i> [Makers of 'cob' walls]	Easter to Sept. 29th		3d.
Between 1338 and 1358	Masons, Plasterers	Easter to Sept. 29th		6d.
	Carpenters, Sawyers.	Sept. 29th to Easter		5d.
	Tylers.	Easter—Sept. 29th		5½d.
		Sept. 29th—Easter		4½d.
	Garçons.	First half year		3½d.
		Second do. do.		3d.
	Master Daubers	First half year		5d.
		Second do. do.		4d.
	[Their garçons as those of tylers]			

No similar records are known for any other borough or city at so early a date, and no record of regulation is to be expected for rural areas. Indeed, information of any kind about masons' wages in the 13th century is relatively scanty. There exists enough, however, to suggest that the wage level was higher in London than in most, if not in all other places, in any case from the later 13th century onwards.

In Thorold Rogers' tables,<sup>107</sup> during the period 1259 to 1354, that is roughly during the century before the effects of the Black Death are traceable in payments to masons, there appear to be only three instances of masons receiving more than the London rates of 4½d. per day in 1212. A mason received 5d. per day in London in 1281, so did another at Basingstoke in 1335, and a master mason received 5d. per day at Cambridge in 1286. There are 32 instances of masons receiving 4d., or 4d. plus some fraction of a penny—10 of them at Cuxham, 2 at Cambridge, 17 at Oxford and 3 elsewhere. The great majority of payments to masons are under 4d. per day, some of them as low as 1½d. or even a penny, and many of them are 2d., 2½d. and 3d.

Excluding 3 masons who were clearly of a supervisory grade, the best paid masons at Vale Royal received 30d. a week in summer; this rate corresponds with the highest 13th century rates in Thorold Rogers' tables. The London Assize rates of 1212, 4½d. for *cementarii* and 4d. for hewers or carvers of free-stone, would correspond to the Vale Royal rates of 27d. and 24d. per week. Accordingly, though the rates of 29d., 28d. and 26d. cannot at present be

<sup>107</sup> *History of Agriculture and Prices*, I., pp. 315 folg.; II., pp. 273 folg.

explained, we may probably regard the craftsmen at Vale Royal (32 on the average) who drew from 24d. to 30d. a week as master craftsmen equivalent in skill to the most skilled classes of masons to be found in London or Oxford. Even in Oxford, however, as Thorold Rogers' tables indicate, there were to be found craftsmen drawing 3d. and 2½d. per day. The craftsmen at Vale Royal (4 on the average) drawing from 18d. to 15d. per week may perhaps be compared with these, and the suggestion may be hazarded that they were layers or setters,<sup>108</sup> each of whom could probably deal with the output of several hewers. Alternatively, it may be suggested that they correspond to the *servientes* whose wages in London in 1212 were set at 2½d. per day. The two suggestions do not necessarily conflict. It might well be that a workman who could be employed by himself, without supervision, in a country district or elsewhere, in building a wall of brick or rough stone, would be counted as the assistant, or man, or *serviens* of a more skilled workman when employed on a more extensive operation.

Whether the masons who receive 12d. a week are to be included in the same class, corresponding to Thorold Rogers' masons at 2d. per day, or whether all or possibly some of them were apprentices or learners, is discussed elsewhere in this paper.

*Continuity of Employment and Mobility of labour amongst Masons.*

Whilst Leonius' Account is nothing like so informative as the weekly records, from which it was probably constructed, would be, yet we can obtain from it a very fair picture of employment conditions at Vale Royal. During the period of 36 months covered by the Account, the names of approximately 700 men appear on the various wage lists, whereas the maximum number employed, in any capacity, at any one date, was 231 in June, 1278, and the average number employed throughout the three years was 135. The particulars for the various categories of workers are as follows:—

	Total names recorded.	Maximum employed at any one date.	Average number employed.	Average length of employment out of 36 months.
Masons	131	64	40.4	11.1 months.
Carpenters	41	13	3.9	3.4
Quarrymen	85	48	15.5	6.5
Diggers	140	70	35.8	9.0
Smiths	30	13	7.0	8.0
Carters of Timber	13	6	1.5	4.2
Carters of Stone	261	48	31.1	4.3

The employment conditions with regard to masons may be examined more closely. If the position for each year is analysed separately, we find that the first year differed considerably from the second and third, as is shown in the following table:—

	Total number of Masons' names on books during the year.	Maximum number of Masons employed at one date dur- ing the year.	Average number of Masons employed dur- ing the year.	Average length of employment of each Mason during the year.
1st Year.	92	64	40.5	5.28 months.
2nd Year.	45 <sup>109</sup>	39	34.3	9.16
3rd Year.	53 <sup>110</sup>	51	45	10.15

Of the 92 masons engaged in 1278, only 29 appear to have been re-engaged in 1279. In other words, not one mason in three survived the first year. In

<sup>108</sup> For bricklayers at 3½d. and 3d. per day, in 1307. see Thorold Rogers. II., 289.

<sup>109</sup> 16 new men and 29 from previous year.

<sup>110</sup> 23 new men and 30 from previous year.

the second year, 16 new masons were engaged, making 45 in all. Of these, 30 were re-engaged the following year, so that two masons in three survived the second year. During the third year 23 additional masons were taken on, making 53 in all, but by December, 1280, only 30 were in receipt of wages. There is no information to show what proportion survived to the fourth year. To compare the continuity of employment during the three years, it may be noted that the 92 masons who worked in the first year had an average of 5 months of employment, the 45 who worked in the second year had an average of 9 months' employment, and the 53 who worked in the third year had an average of 10 months' employment at Vale Royal.

The problem of continuity of employment amongst masons may be approached in another way, by tracing, so far as the information permits, the history of each man separately. Of the 30 masons employed in December, 1280, 24 had 12 months and upwards of continuous service to their credit:—

1	had 36 months.
1	35
1	32
6	31
1	30
1	29
1	26
1	24
1	23
2	22
1	19
3	18
4	12

Furthermore, 5 masons with 33, 32, 30, 22, and 18 months of service had dropped out in November, 1280.

Examining the same facts from another angle, out of the 29 first-year masons who were re-engaged in the second year, 3 continued in employment for 22 months and 12 for 24 months; out of the 30 first and second-year masons who were re-engaged in the third year, 5 continued in employment for 10 months and 20 for 12 months.<sup>111</sup>

As we interpret the statistical evidence, the Master of the Work, Walter de Hereford, experienced considerable difficulty in the first year in securing the kind of masons he wanted, but during the second and third years he was much more successful.

As we have already endeavoured to show, the wages offered to masons at Vale Royal were fully equal to those paid in London and Oxford, and substantially above those paid in country districts, the reason no doubt being that it was not the rough country masons of the locality but skilled craftsmen, wherever they could be found, who had to be attracted. That they did come from far and wide, is almost certain, to judge by the names they bore. The masons' names stand out in very strong contrast to those of the carters, quarrymen and diggers, and, to a less extent, to those of the smiths and carpenters. Relying partly on the assumptions that all cases of "X son of Y" are local, and that all cases are local where the names coincide with those of tenants

<sup>111</sup> It appears probable, from another source of information, that at least one of the masons employed in the first year was working at Vale Royal as late as 1285. An interesting sidelight is thrown on the life of the mediæval mason by a record of that year. John de Dore and his fellows, masons, and other workmen of Vale Royal had poached venison in Delamere Forest, and were in prison at Chester. On September 10th, Reginald de Grey, Justice of Chester, is ordered to take a fine from them and let them go. [*Calendar Fine Rolls*, 1272-1307, p. 220.] The offence was ordinarily a serious one, and the release of the prisoners was probably due to the need for their work at Vale Royal. The name of John de Dore occurs in the wage list quoted on page 7 *ante* as receiving 30d. a week.

or holdings on the Cheshire manors of the Abbey as set forth in the *Ledger Book*, and partly on a gazetteer, we reach the following rough estimates:—

Of the	261	carters	95 %	were local;
Of the	140	diggers	85 %	„ „
Of the	85	quarrymen	85 %	„ „
Of the	41	carpenters	50 %	„ „
Of the	30	smiths	50 %	„ „
Of the	131	masons	5 to 10 %	„ „

Amongst the many places from which the masons came were Hereford, Dore, Leominster and Marcle in Herefordshire; Mount Sorrel and Kettelby in Leicestershire; Bentham, Winchcombe, Littleton and Leckhampton in Gloucestershire; Buildwas Tong and Bromfield in Shropshire; Cockersand Abbey and Furness in Lancashire; Battle in Sussex; Roche in Yorkshire; as well as Lincoln, London, Nottingham, Oxford, St. Albans, and Salisbury.

With regard to the possibility that foreign masons were employed at Vale Royal, the great majority of the masons, to judge by the names, were English, with a sprinkling of Welsh. There occur, however, a few names which have a somewhat foreign sound, viz., Geoffrey de Boiton and William Sevin, who had a summer wage of 30d. a week; Peter le Breton, William de Frankeville, Floure de Castro and Henry Frances, who had a summer wage of 28d.; Geoffrey de Boneville (27d.); Richard Blaincpain (24d.); and Peter le Breton (12d.). With the exception of the last, who may have been the son of the mason bearing the same name, all appear to have been skilled hewers and cutters. The only other information about these particular masons is as follows:—William Sevin and Geoffrey de Boneville were probably the owners of two-horse carts.<sup>112</sup> Geoffrey de Boneville was one of the masons whose tools were purchased in the early summer of 1278.<sup>113</sup> As most of the masons who owned carts, as well as those whose tools were purchased, were English so far as we can judge, the supplementary information about William Sevin and Geoffrey de Boneville hardly strengthens the suggestion that they might be of foreign origin. Blaincpain was probably an Englishman whose ordinary name was Whitbread.

As to the method by which masons were drawn from so far afield to the wilds of Cheshire, the Building Account gives no direct indication, but it is very suggestive to find that on most occasions new masons arrived in relatively large parties, *e.g.*, 4 on Jan. 16th, 4 on Feb. 13th, 5 on Feb. 27th, 8 on March 5th, 9 on April 24th, 7 on May 1st, 28 on June 12th, 5 on July 3rd, 1278; 4 on Jan. 8th and 5 on June 17th, 1279; 11 on Jan. 7th and 10 on April 28th, 1280.<sup>114</sup> We think that there can be no doubt that someone busied himself to find the masons who were required. In the Adderbury Account for 1413-14 we find an entry:—

T. Reed, travelling expenses *re* hiring masons (4 days in January) 10d.<sup>115</sup>

There is no similar item in the Vale Royal Account, although it is practically certain that travelling was done in search of masons; furthermore, as it was a royal undertaking, it is highly probable that letters patent were issued instructing sheriffs to take masons and to send them to Vale Royal, but unfortunately no records of such letters patent are to be found in the Calendar of Patent Rolls.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>112</sup> See below.

<sup>113</sup> See above.

<sup>114</sup> V.R.L., p. 230.

<sup>115</sup> *Adderbury Rectoria*, p. 65. Reed was one of several masons in receipt of 3s. 0d. a week.

<sup>116</sup> Reference to records of impressment at the erection of Windsor Castle in 1360-62 will be found in Tighe and Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, vol. 1.

*Masons' Customs.*

(i.) *Tools.* Reference has already been made to the fact that the tools of certain masons were purchased from them "because it is the custom that their tools, if they bring any, shall be bought."<sup>117</sup> In addition to the 20 hatchets and 48 carving irons obtained in this way, 24 hatchets for masons at 5d. each and 20 at 4½d. each were purchased from a local smith.<sup>118</sup>

We may take it, therefore, that it was for those in charge of the building operations, and not for the workmen, to provide the necessary tools.

(ii.) *Lodge and Living Accommodation.* The provision of this was described in connection with the organisation of the building operations, but attention must be drawn here to the fact that there appear to have been several lodges. In March, 1277-8, we learn of carpenters "making houses . . . and masons' workshops."<sup>119</sup> In June, 1279, we find 1,400 boards being purchased "for the new masons' workshop,"<sup>120</sup> and again in April, 1280, another 1,000 boards being bought "for the new masons' workshop."<sup>121</sup> Thus there would seem to have been erected at least two lodges in the first year and one lodge in each of the second and the third years, making a minimum of four lodges in existence by the middle of 1280, as it seems unlikely that the lodges constructed in 1279 and 1280 were to replace those erected only one or two years previously.

As to the use to which the masons' workshops or lodges were put, the fact that six barrowmen were paid for "taking stones to be carved (? hewn) at the masons' workshop and outside"<sup>122</sup> is a clear indication of at least one purpose which they served. Incidentally, it would seem that some stones were hewn outside the lodges. On the other hand, the numerous references in the Account to the erection of houses and dwelling-places for the masons, as distinct from the lodges, would seem to imply that lodges were used primarily, if not entirely, as workshops.

(iii.) *Masons staying only a very short time on the job.* As has already been indicated, it is not always easy from the Building Account to be at all certain when a particular man commenced to work, or when he ceased to work; but there are a few cases at least in which it is probable that masons remained on the job for only a very short period, as if they had been given a few days' work to provide them with the means of travelling further afield. For instance, on April 23rd, 1278, John de Eynisham and Robert of the same place, received 28d. for three days they worked in Easter week. They had not been employed previously, nor were they employed during the next three weeks (April 24th-May 15th): the chances are they were not employed during the following three weeks (May 15th-June 4th), and they were certainly not employed during the next working week, viz., the week after Whitsun-week (June 11th-18th).<sup>123</sup> Similarly, in July, 1278, John de Harpelegh was employed for one week at 27d., and John de Stoke and William de Brocton for one week at 20d. each.<sup>124</sup> Their names never occur before or after, and we are inclined to think, from a study of the wage lists which we have constructed from the Account, that one week in July, 1278, was the only occasion on which they were employed at Vale Royal.

(iv.) *Masons employed in carting.* Amongst the 261 carters of stone enumerated in the Building Account are 11 names which also occur amongst the masons. The names, with the period of employment and rates of remuneration, may be set out as follows:—

<sup>117</sup> V.R.L., p. 196.

<sup>119</sup> V.R.L., p. 204.

<sup>121</sup> V.R.L., p. 197.

<sup>123</sup> V.R.L., pp. 208, 209.

<sup>118</sup> V.R.L., pp. 195, 196.

<sup>120</sup> V.R.L., p. 197.

<sup>122</sup> V.R.L., p. 226.

<sup>124</sup> V.R.L., p. 210.

Name.	Mason.	Carter.
John Griffid	27d (23d) per week 12 June, 1278 to 1 Nov. 1280.	2-horse cart @ 3d per journey, June 1278 to June 1279.
Wm. de Alueton	28d per week 5 Mar to 2nd July 1278.	do.
Wm. de Sevin	30d (25d) per week 12 June 1278 to 20 Apl 1280.	do.
Thos. de la Roche	28d (24d) per week 12 Mar 1277-8 to 4 Mar 1278-9, possibly later.	do.
John Page	28d. (24d) per week. 12 June 1278 to 3 Feb. 1279-80, possibly later.	2-horse cart @ 3d per journey, June 1278 to Dec. 1280.
Philip de Euwias	26d (22d) per week 13 Feb. 1277-8 to 4 Mar 1278-9, possibly later.	2-horse cart @ 3d per journey, Aug. to Dec. 1278.
Roger de Wimundewold	29d (24½d) per week 9 Apr 1278 to 2 Nov. 1280.	2-horse cart @ 3d per journey, June 1279 to Apr. 1280.
John de (le) Kamme	28d (24d) per week 7 May 1278 to 24 Dec 1280.	2-horse cart @ 3d per journey, June to Dec. 1279.
Rd. de Hereford (or Hertford)	32 or 34d per week, 30th July 1279 to 24th Dec 1280.	1-horse cart @ 2d per journey, Oct. 1279 to Dec. 1280.
Wm. de Oxon.	26d per week 4 Feb. to 20 Apl. 1280, possibly later.	2-horse cart @ 3d per journey, Apr. to Dec. 1280.
Geoffrey de Boneville	27d (23d) per week 12 June 1278 to 24 Dec 1280.	2-horse cart @ 3d per journey, Apr. to Dec. 1280.

In summer the 2-horse carts did two journeys a day, in winter only one journey a day. The wages in brackets are the winter rates.

We cannot be sure that all these masons were employed continuously between the dates mentioned, but in some cases they certainly were, so that, assuming that masons and carters with identical names were one and the same, which in view of the peculiar names seems not unlikely, some at least of these men would appear to have been in two places at the same time. Though it might be possible occasionally to draw a weekly wage from one employer whilst working for and receiving wages from another, yet it is inconceivable that this could happen frequently, if at all, where the same employer paid both masons and carters. The only explanation, therefore, would appear to be that the masons, who all belonged to the higher paid categories, owned horses<sup>125</sup> and carts which were looked after by servants or labourers, who did the actual carting whilst their masters hewed or dressed stones in the lodges. The scheme by which a mason might be simultaneously a small carting contractor is analagous to a system at Adderbury in 1414, where much of the carting, according to the Account, was done by Berewyk, the bailiff (the man corresponding to Leonius at Vale Royal) and by the vicar.<sup>126</sup> We may take it for granted that neither the bailiff nor the vicar walked at the side of his cart from Teynton to Adderbury, a distance of 16 miles. The payment of 2s. 6d. per load would provide for the remuneration of a servant and leave a substantial balance over for the owner of the horses and cart.

(v.) *Masons engaged in the quarries.* For the sake of regularity, we may repeat here what has previously been stated in connection with the Organisation of the Building Operations, namely, that very few masons worked in the

<sup>125</sup> At a somewhat later period R. Winhecumbe, the chief mason at the rebuilding of Adderbury Chancel, owned a horse, because when working for Oxford University, in 1430, he was allowed hay for his horse as part of his remuneration. See *Adderbury Rectoria*, p. 33.

<sup>126</sup> *Adderbury Rectoria*, p. 63.



quarries at Vale Royal. Of the 131 masons named in the Building Account, we can only be absolutely sure that two worked for a period in the quarries. Adam de Pabinham and Alexander de Norton, who were employed at one time as masons at 30d. and 29d. a week, worked in quarries in January, 1277-8 "with their fellows and labourers,"<sup>127</sup> but there is nothing in the Building Account to show whether "their fellows and labourers" afterwards worked as masons at Vale Royal.

The only other possible case appears to be that of a certain Thomas de Lechampton, who worked as a mason at 12d. a week in the spring of 1279; a man of the same name worked in the quarries at 12d. a week in 1280.

(vi.) *Apprentices at Vale Royal.* We have to admit at once that the Building Account is absolutely silent on the subject: there is no reference whatever to an apprentice amongst masons, smiths or carpenters. All our remarks, therefore, on the subject of apprentices amongst the masons must be of the nature of speculations.

(a) Apprenticeship was a system of technical training, by which the craftsman was taught the secrets of his craft and rendered qualified to carry on his calling. In its origin it was closely associated with the craft guild system, which was first evolved in the 12th century. The earliest reference to apprenticeship, however, with which we are acquainted is in certain Statutes of the City of London of about 1230, requiring covenants of apprenticeship to be enrolled.<sup>128</sup> The earliest reference in Norwich appears to be 1291.<sup>129</sup> It must be remembered, however, that it is the municipal control of the apprenticeship system to which these dates refer, not to the first appearance of the system. The system in an unregulated condition probably existed for a good many years before the municipal authorities began to control it. We can safely assume, therefore, that the apprenticeship system did exist by 1278, but whether it was limited to a few towns, or whether it was spread over the whole country, is problematical. Further, whether at that early period the apprenticeship system existed apart from craft guilds, as it certainly did at a later period, under the Statute of Artificers, 1563, is also problematical.

As we have no evidence to show (i.) that there was any system of apprenticeship in country districts as early as 1280, (ii.) that there was any system of apprenticeship outside a guild organisation as early as 1280, or (iii.) that there was any kind of guild or similar organisation among masons as early as 1280, we have to recognise the distinct possibility, if not probability, that the reason that apprentices were not mentioned in the Building Account is that there was no formal system of apprenticeship amongst masons as early as 1280. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that some system of learnership, by which youths and young men were taught a skilled craft, such as dressing and hewing stones, did not exist.

(b) If there were any apprentices or learners at Vale Royal, it is quite likely that they did not receive any pay from Leonius, in which case they would hardly appear in his Building Account. In support of this possibility, the financial terms of three early indentures may be quoted:—

- (i.) In 1459, John Goffe was apprenticed to John Gibbs, fisherman, for 8 years; he was to receive food and clothing during the terms of his apprenticeship, and 20s. sterling at the end of the term.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> V.R.L., p. 207.

<sup>128</sup> Thomas, *Cal. of Plea and Mem. Rolls*, 1364-81, pp. xxx., xxxi.

<sup>129</sup> For an indenture of that year, see Hudson and Tingey, *Records of Norwich*, I., p. 245.

<sup>130</sup> Ancient Deeds A.10022, quoted by Bland, Brown and Tawney, *Select Documents*, p. 147.

- (ii.) In 1480, Walter Byse was apprenticed to John Gare, cordwainer, for 8 years: he was to receive meat and drink and clothing and 3d. in money in the first year, 6d. in the second, and so at the rate of 3d. a year, and the last year he was to receive 10s. of money.<sup>131</sup>
- (iii.) According to a Leicester indenture of 1531, an apprentice was to receive 8d. a year and in the 8th year 6d. a week, in addition to his meat, drink and clothing.<sup>132</sup>

In these three cases of indentures, selected at random, little or no money was to be paid to the apprentice until the last of 8 years, and not very much then.

We have therefore to recognise the possibility that there were apprentices or learners at Vale Royal, but that they were not mentioned in the Building Account because they received no direct remuneration from the building funds.

(c) Under the system of apprenticeship a boy was indentured to a master craftsman, who, in addition to teaching him his trade, provided him with board and lodging and clothing. In return, the craftsman secured for himself the value of any work done by his apprentice. This would obviously not be very much in the earlier years of the term of apprenticeship, but might be considerable in the later years. The arrangement, as stated, assumes, what was no doubt generally true, that the craftsman was a little master working on his own account, who sold the products of himself and his apprentice to the public. In the case of building operations on a big scale, such as prevailed at Vale Royal, the position was entirely different. The craftsmen were wage-earners, not little masters or small contractors; they were paid weekly wages, and not by the task or piece. If a mason at Vale Royal undertook to house, feed and clothe an apprentice whilst teaching him the art of stone carving or stone cutting, he would receive no compensation for his outlay, or remuneration for his teaching, in the form of more products to sell, as he was not selling his products, but his services. The value of any work done by the apprentice would accrue to the employer and not to the craftsman. The only way to rectify this would be for the employer to pay the craftsman with an apprentice a higher weekly wage than he paid to the craftsman working alone, to remunerate him for the joint services of himself and his apprentice. As the apprentice gained in experience and his work became more valuable to the employer, the joint remuneration would presumably be raised.

That such a system of joint remuneration of master and apprentice did exist in connection with some building operations is shown by the Adderbury Account. For five years from 1412 to 1417 "Richard Winchecumbe and his apprentice," appear under the heading of "masons' wages." Extracts may be quoted from the two years for which details are given, 1 and 2 Henry V. and 2 and 3 Henry V.:—

R. Winchecumbe and his apprentice at 5s. 7d. weekly for the two:  
. . . from 8 Oct. to 1 Nov. . . .

R. Winchecumbe and his apprentice at 4s. 10d. weekly for the two:  
. . . from 2 Nov. to 2 Feb. . . .

R. Winchecumbe and his apprentice at 5s. 10d. weekly for the two:  
from 2nd Feb. to Easter and 6s. 1d. weekly from Easter to Michaelmas. . . .

Winchecumbe and his apprentice at 6s. 1d. weekly for two: . . .  
from 1 Oct. to 28th Oct. . . .

<sup>131</sup> MS. O.2.53, in Trin. Col. Camb. quoted by Cunningham, *Eng. Ind. and Com.*, 1890, p. 316.

<sup>132</sup> Bateson, *Records of Leicester*, III., 29.

Winchecumbe and his apprentice at 4s. 10d. weekly for the two:  
 . . . from 1 Nov. to 2nd Feb. . . .

Winchecumbe and his apprentice at 6s. 1d. weekly for the two:  
 from 2 Feb. to 3 Aug. . . .

Winchecumbe from 3 Aug. for 4 weeks and his apprentice for 7 weeks, Saltecombe and Reed for 8 weeks, Laurence for 3 weeks and 2½ days, and T. Clark for 4 weeks and 3 days, all paid as above  
 . . . £5.2.1.<sup>133</sup>

Summarising the figures we have:—

Autumn	5s. 7d.
Winter	4s. 10d.
Spring	5s. 10d.
Summer & Autumn	6s. 1d.
Winter	4s. 10d.
Spring & Summer	6s. 1d.

But for the fortunate chance that the apprentice worked on the building for three weeks after Winchecumbe had left at the end of August, we should be unable to say how much of the 6s. 1d. paid to Winchecumbe could be regarded as being paid in respect of the apprentice's work. From the information contained in the Account respecting the pay of Saltcombe, Reed, Lawrence and Clark, the equation in the last paragraph quoted can be solved as follows:—

Saltcumbe, 8 weeks @ 3/-	=	1. 4. 0.
Reed, 8 weeks @ 3/-	=	1. 4. 0.
Lawrence, 3 weeks 2½ days @ 3/-	=	10. 3.
Clark, 4 weeks 3 days @ 2/6	=	11. 3.
Winchecumbe and apprentice, 4 weeks @ 6/1	=	1. 4. 4.
Apprentice, 3 weeks @ x	=	3x
<hr/>		
		4.13.10. + 3x = £5. 2. 1.
		3x = £5.2.1. — £4.13.10.
		= 8s.3d.
∴		x = 2s.9d.

We conclude, therefore, that during the last summer, the remuneration paid to Winchecumbe in respect of his apprentice's work was 2s. 9d. a week, as compared to 3s. 0d. paid to the top grade of masons, and that Winchecumbe received 3s. 4d. a week in respect of his own services.<sup>134</sup> That rate, we assume, was paid to Winchecumbe in spring and autumn, as well as in summer, just as 3s. were paid to Reed and Saltcombe from Feb. 2nd to Nov. 1st. On this assumption we split the joint wage of 5s. 7d. as 3s. 4d. + 2s. 3d. and the joint wage of 5s. 10d. as 3s. 4d. + 2s. 6d., and thus reach the conclusion that the amount paid to Winchecumbe in respect of his apprentice's work was raised from 2s. 3d. to 2s. 6d., and later to 2s. 9d., as he became more skilled. Information to enable us to split the winter rate of 4s. 10d. is not available.<sup>135</sup> Nor is there anything to show how old the apprentice was or how long he had been indentured when 2s. 3d. was paid in respect of him. Incidentally, there is nothing to show that it was even the same apprentice throughout the two years, as he is never mentioned by name. We assume that for these two years it was the same

<sup>133</sup> *Adderbury Rectoria*, pp. 63 and 69.

<sup>134</sup> A rate of 3s. 4d. for Winchecumbe is not improbable, seeing that 15 years later in 1430 he was acting as Master of the Works at the erection of the new Divinity School at Oxford. He had an annual stipend of 40s., a gown worth 13s. 4d., and a weekly wage of 4s. when at work in Oxford, together with a lodging for himself and his fellow workmen. Further, he was allowed hay for his horse. *Epistolæ Academicæ, Oxon.*, I., p. 46 (Oxford Historical Society, 1898).

<sup>135</sup> The winter rates corresponding to 3s. 0d. and 2s. 6d. were 2s. 6d. and 1s. 8d.

apprentice and, to judge from the 2s. 9d. rate, that he was very near the end of his term when work temporarily ceased.

If the possibility of joint wages at Vale Royal is admitted, it might help to explain some of the different rates paid to skilled masons, viz., 24d., 26d., 27d., 28d., 29d. and 30 pence a week. If 24d. were taken as the predominant rate the differences of 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 pence by which 26d., 27d., 28d., 29d. or 30 pence exceed 24d. might represent extra remuneration received by masons working with apprentices or learners of varying degrees of experience though the proportion of joint wage to standard wage would be nothing like as high as at Adderbury. All the apprentices or learners would have to be young and inexperienced, as the sums allowed in respect of their work would represent  $\frac{2}{24}$ ,  $\frac{3}{24}$ ,  $\frac{4}{24}$ ,  $\frac{5}{24}$  and  $\frac{6}{24}$  of a mason's standard wage, whereas at Adderbury the sums paid in respect of the apprentice represented successively  $\frac{1}{24}$ ,  $\frac{2}{24}$  and  $\frac{3}{24}$  of a mason's standard wage.<sup>136</sup> Two pence or three pence a week would hardly be sufficient to compensate a mason for the trouble of teaching an apprentice or learner, let alone feeding and clothing him, though this might rectify itself in the end when the apprentices were older and higher rates were received. Furthermore, if 26d., 27d., 28d., 29d. and 30d. were joint rates, one would certainly expect the wage paid to a particular mason and his apprentice or learner to increase during the course of the two or three years for which some of them worked at Vale Royal. In the case of the higher paid masons this hardly ever occurred, as has already been pointed out. One further objection to the assumption is that it implies far too many learners or apprentices in proportion to qualified craftsmen to make the arrangement at all likely.<sup>137</sup>

Taking everything into account, we reject the possibility of a widely spread scheme of joint wages at Vale Royal and tentatively put forward an alternative suggestion based on the following considerations:—

(i.) We find it very difficult to believe that there was any properly developed system of apprenticeship at this early period amongst masons working as wage-earners (and not as small masters) in the heart of the country, right away from municipal influence which might promote or encourage the system.

(ii.) If there was no apprenticeship system, there must have been some other means by which masons were trained.

(iii.) There were undoubtedly at Vale Royal a few masons at relatively low rates of pay who did, from time to time, receive increases in their rates of pay. We have previously drawn attention to Hugh de Dore who rose from 12d. to 16d. (summer rate), Roger de Marcle who rose from 12d. to 16d. (winter rate), Philip de St. Peter who rose from 10d. to 15d. (winter rate), and Adam de Swinemor who rose from 8d. to 12d.

(iv.) There would be little or no scope for the employment of boys amongst masons, as considerable strength would be called for in using hatchets, if not irons for cutting stones.

Our tentative suggestion is that some young men were treated as "learners" and placed in charge of experienced masons, who very possibly

<sup>136</sup> At the present time, the proportion of a journeyman's rate of wage received by an apprentice is roughly as follows (Ministry of Labour, Report on Apprenticeship and Training, 1925-26, vol. ii., p. 38):—

16 year old apprentice,	17 to 20 per cent.
17 " "	20 to 25 " "
18 " "	25 to 33 " "
19 " "	33 to 50 " "
20 " "	50 to 75 " "

<sup>137</sup> The average numbers of masons employed at various rates were 3 @ 30d., 1 @ 29d., 12 @ 28d., 6 @ 27d., 5 @ 26d., 5 @ 24d. and 7 @ lower rates. If every one receiving above 24d. had a learner or apprentice working with him, it would imply 27 apprentices or learners as compared with 32 masons receiving 24d. and upwards and 39 masons in all.

received a small addition to their wage rate by way of compensation, thus accounting for some of the differences in masons' wage rates. These young men, if they proved efficient, were advanced by regular gradations to positions of higher trust. Roger, Philip and Adam each stayed from the time of his first appearance on the wage lists until the close of the Account. On the other hand, such learners, not being indentured apprentices, would be free to look for better work elsewhere if they chose, as apparently Hugh de Dore did in December, 1279, after he had been at Vale Royal for nearly two years.

In an age when small scale production was the order of the day, and when industry was conducted by a craftsman working with his apprentice or by a "little master" aided by a journeyman, the erection of large stone buildings, whether cathedrals, abbeys or castles, must have called for arrangements entirely different from those found in most, if not all, other contemporary industries. This paper, however, makes no claim to be a systematic examination of mediæval building economics; an economic history of the building industry in the Middle Ages has still to be written. It is merely an endeavour, made possible by the preservation of the Building Account, to describe and analyse a few of the economic problems associated with the early stages of the erection of a particular thirteenth century abbey. In so far as conditions at Vale Royal were typical of those prevailing elsewhere, we trust that its interest may be more general in character.

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Table showing number of workers at various wages employed at middle of each month, Jan. 1277-78 to Dec. 1280.

**CARPENTERS.**

20d. (18) per week  
18d. (15)    ,,  
16d. (15)    ,,  
15d. (14)    ,,  
12d. (10)    ,,  
10d.           ,,  
9d. (7½)     ,,  
7½d.          ,,

[illegible]

QUARRYMEN.

20d. (18) per week  
18d. (15) „  
16d. (15) „  
15d. (14) „  
12d. (10) „  
10d. „  
9d. ( $7\frac{1}{2}$ ) „  
 $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. „

## DIGGERS.

18d. per week  
12d. (10) „  
10d. „  
9d. ( $7\frac{1}{2}$ ) or (8),,

**SMITHS, COLLIERS  
and PORTEHACHES.**

30d. per week  
24d. (20) „  
20d. (18) „  
18d. (15) „  
15d. „  
12d. (10) „  
10d. „  
9d. „  
8d. (7) or (6), „

CARTERS OF TIMBER.

### CARTERS OF STONE.

\* Average

APPENDIX II.

*List of Masons employed at Vale Royal Abbey, 1278-80.*

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival.</i>	<i>Summer rate of pay.</i>
John de Dore ...	16 Jan. 1278	30d. per week
Roger de Herford ...	" "	28
Adam le Waleis ...	" "	28
Richard Vigerous ...	" "	28
Philip de Pebboe ...	30 Jan. 1278	26
William de la Ponde ...	13 Feb. 1278	29
William de Flaxlegh ...	" "	28
Adam de la Ponde ...	" "	26
Philip de Euwias ...	" "	26
Adam de Pabinham ...	27 Feb. 1278	30
William de Buldewas ...	" "	24
Robert de Eudonas ...	" "	24
Roger de Marcle ...	" "	12
Hugh de Dore ...	" "	12
Alexander de Norton ...	5 Mar. 1278	29
Richard de Geredon ...	" "	28
William de Alueton ...	" "	28
John de Alueton ...	" "	28
Nicholas de Alueton ...	" "	26
William de Tong ...	" "	26
William le Parilour ...	" "	24
Nicholas de Brocton ...	" "	24
Thomas de la Roche ...	13 Mar. 1278	28
Ralph de Carleton ...	" "	28
Richard de Hondisworthe ...	" "	26
Alexander de Naudedene ...	" "	26
Walter de Tong ...	" "	26
Peter de Mountsorel ...	20 Mar. 1278	24
Adam de Mountsorel ...	" "	24
Roger de Wymundewold ...	9 Apr. 1278	29
Richard de Kettleby ...	" "	28
John de St. Albans ...	" "	28
Robert Springand ...	" "	12
John de Eynisham ...	20 Apr. 1278	28
Robert de Eynisham ...	" "	28
Roger de Clyve ...	24 Apr. 1278	29
Nicholas de Hondisworthe ...	" "	26
Hugh de Melburne ...	" "	26
Robert de Cressewelle ...	" "	26
Randolph de Benitham ...	" "	26
Henry de Bromfeud ...	" "	26
Symon de Foxcote ...	" "	26
Robert de Salesbury ...	" "	24
William de Winhecumbe ...	" "	24
Ralph de Notincham ...	1 May 1278	30
Richard de Pershore ...	" "	30
Michael de Chester ...	" "	28
Richard de Windeburch ...	" "	28
Richard de Coblinton ...	" "	28
Adam de Wolflee ...	" "	12
Richard de la Roche ...	" "	12



<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival.</i>	<i>Summer rate of pay.</i>
William son of Henry ...	8 May 1278	28
John de Kamme ...	" "	28
Richard de Pershore, jr. ...	" "	12
Geoffrey de Boiton ...	12 June 1278	30
William Sevin ...	" "	30
Philip de Kairwent ...	" "	28
John Page ...	" "	28
Richard de Legh ...	" "	28
Hugh de Leminster ...	" "	28
Peter le Breton ...	" "	28
Walter de Geredon ...	" "	28
William de Muwell ...	" "	28
Robert de Einisham ...	" "	28
John de Eiton ...	" "	28
William de Bolde ...	" "	28
Nicholas de Thureleton ...	" "	28
Walter de Benitham ...	" "	27
John Griffid ...	" "	27
Oswald de Cressewell ...	" "	27
Geoffrey de Bonevile ...	" "	27
Richard de Stoke ...	" "	27
John de Harrelegh ...	" "	27
Maurice Griffid ...	" "	24
Richard de Bromfeud ...	" "	24
Ralph de Benitham ...	" "	24
John de Lutleton ...	" "	24
Richard de Chelkelegh ...	" "	24
Richard de Aldrisworthe ...	" "	24
William de Winhecumbe [sen.] ...	" "	20
Peter le Breton ...	" "	12
John de Pershore ...	" "	12
Hugh de Tychbrieton ...	3 July 1278	26
John de Bataile ...	17 July 1278	36
John de Harpelegh ...	" "	27
John de Stoke ...	" "	20
William de Brocton ...	" "	20
Robert de Mountsorel ...	24 July 1278	20
John de Schipton ...	14 Aug. 1278	24
Hugh de St. Albans ...	13 Nov. 1278	22
Philip de St. Peter (=le Clerch) ...	" "	10 or 12
Thomas de Lechampton ...	" "	10 or 12
John de Oxon ...	8 Jan. 1279	28
William de Schokirwas ...	" "	28
Ralph de Lincoln ...	" "	27
Alexander de Leminstre ...	" "	24
Thomas le Waleis ...	5 Feb. 1279	18
Thomas de Lechampton (2) ...	" "	18
John de Kerwerdin ...	" "	12
Adam de Swinemor ...	" "	8
William de Frankeville ...	18 June 1279	28
Thomas de Furneis ...	" "	28
Robert de Kirketon ...	" "	27
Floure de Castro ...	" "	27
William de Leunishale ...	" "	27

<i>Name.</i>		<i>Date of Arrival.</i>	<i>Summer rate of pay.</i>
Richard de Herford	...	30 July 1279	32
Alan de Castro	...	.. ..	28
William de Tonebrug	...	.. ..	27
Walter de Thurgarton	...	7 Jan. 1280	28
John de Malmishul	...	.. ..	28
Stephen de Norreys	...	.. ..	28
Henry Franceis	...	.. ..	28
John de Wolaston	...	.. ..	28
Edward de Euwias	...	.. ..	28
Roger de Kokirsond	...	.. ..	28
Thomas de Carleton	...	.. ..	27
Hugh de Brug	...	.. ..	27
John de Davinham	...	.. ..	26
Richard de Herford (2)	...	.. ..	16
William de Oxon	...	4 Feb. 1280	26
Richard Blaincpain	...	.. ..	24
Philip de Derlegh	...	28 Apr. 1280	27
Robert de London	...	.. ..	27
Richard de Pirie	...	.. ..	27
Richard de Cestria	...	.. ..	26
Alan de Buldewas	...	.. ..	26
Lovekin de Winchecumbe	...	.. ..	24
Robert London (2)	...	.. ..	15
John de London	...	.. ..	15
Ralph de Lewis	...	3 Nov. 1280	25
Walter de Mundene	...	.. ..	24

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BRO. GILBERT W. DAYNES said:—

I have the greatest pleasure in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Knoop and his colleague for the useful and instructive paper we have just had read to us. It is a paper that must have taken a considerable time to prepare: also great care seems to have been taken in the compilation of the statistics given. We may I am sure consider ourselves fortunate in having such Brethren ready and willing to devote themselves so assiduously to those early building records which still exist. Work such as this paper must be of material assistance to other Brethren who are endeavouring to piece together that mass of material relating to operative masons which lies scattered in so many different places.

In the Building Accounts relating to Vale Royal Abbey we have three years' continuous record, and the period is sufficiently early to give us fresh data upon which it is possible to test and if necessary revise theories already formed from material of later date.

Vale Royal Abbey was a Cistercian foundation, the Monks being drawn from Abbey Dore, not very far distant. Nothing is said in the paper as to any Conversi, or lay Brothers, or whether the foundations of the monastery, which have been uncovered by recent excavations, disclosed any considerable conventual buildings for these conversi. But even assuming the Monastery to have been planned like other Cistercian Abbeys, it seems clear that during the period covered by the Building Accounts of Leonius all labour was hired and paid for by the King and that there were no conversi working on the buildings. Until the temporary Abbey was occupied in 1281 it must be remembered that the Monks lived some four miles to the south of the site in the Manor of Darnhall. Even when the temporary Abbey was occupied it does not appear that the conversi

could have assisted to any material extent, if at all, because, whereas the average yearly account for the three years 1278 to 1281 was about £508, the average yearly account throughout the remaining forty-seven years of building was approximately £650, if the £32,000 can be relied upon as the correct total. These facts also point to fairly constant work being maintained throughout the whole period, the necessity for more highly skilled carvers during the later years perhaps accounting for the higher average after the Building Accounts stop.

The reference to payment of wages on Sundays has its counterpart in the Rhuddlan Accounts—quoted in the paper—where wages were paid to the carpenters on a Sunday. Why was payment made on this day? Was it because it was a non-working day and convenient to the paymaster, or because there were less facilities for the workmen spending their wages that day, or because of some other unknown reason? I assume that the site of the Vale Royal Abbey was away from all civilisation, as was the custom with Cistercian Abbeys. Could it have been that the workmen made their weekly purchases of food, etc., on that day? I should very much like further information as to how exactly workmen working on such a building as Vale Royal Abbey were fed and looked after in the dwellings erected for them. Had they their own families with them, or did they live a sort of communal or barrack life, the married men, if any, having left their wives in their own homes, perhaps considerable distances away? We hear so little as to this aspect, but it is of importance, I think, as having some bearing upon the question of apprenticeship raised by the Lecturers. If the life led was of the barrack type, then the absence of any reference to apprentices may be accounted for by the fact that the apprenticed child is hardly likely to have been sent where the family life, always an important element in mediæval apprenticeship, was absent.

Another interesting item occurs in March, 1277-8, as to levelling a place in which the ground plan of the monastery was to be traced. Was this for a large scale ground plan drawing of the whole monastery, giving dimensions, or did the item refer merely to the area cleared upon which building operations were to be commenced? The fact that it is called floor space rather points to the latter assumption, but if the former suggestion is the correct one the site must have been comparatively level and free from trees and undergrowth to have enabled ten men to have done the work so quickly. As, however, in 1280 further ground was cleared, perhaps the earlier work referred only to the site of the Abbey Church.

With regard to the lack of holidays on feast days other than the great Church Festivals, might not this have been on account of the Monks living four miles away from the site and that there was no provision locally for services for the workmen on those days?

The variety of wages paid presents an interesting problem and it certainly does appear as if there was at that date no standardisation at Vale Royal but that the wages were a matter of bargaining in each case. There would, of course, be no Town Gild to control wages. Thorold Rogers states that at this period artisans' wages were from 25 to 60 per cent. higher in London than elsewhere. He also states that at the building of Newgate Gaol in 1281 the masons received 5d. a day each. (*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, by Thorold Rogers, p. 180.)

The table which has been prepared to show the mobility of labour amongst masons compared with the labour amongst the other trades employed is instructive, the difference being so marked. In this connection I have examined as carefully as I can the names of such of the masons as have been disclosed. I find that in many cases these masons came from places where abbeys or priories were in existence. The following tabulated statement will show clearly the extent of my investigations:—

<i>Name of Mason.</i>	<i>Place and name of religious Order.</i>
John de Dore	Cistercians at Abbey Dore.
Hugh de Dore	ditto
William de Flaxlegh	Cistercians at Flaxley, Gloucestershire.
Thomas de la Roche	Cistercians at Roche, Yorks, or Cluniacs at Roche, Notts.. a cell of Priory at Lenton, Notts.
Richard de la Roche	ditto
William de Buldewas	Cistercians at Buildwas, Salop.
William de Crokisdene	Cistercians at Croxden, Staffs.
Roger de Hereford	Dominicans or Franciscans at Hereford.
Richard de Geredon	Cistercians at Garendon, Leicestershire. perhaps.
Ralph de Carleton	Alien Priory at Charlton, Wiltshire, perhaps.
John de Bataile	Benedictines at Battle in Sussex.
John de Eynisham	Benedictines at Eynesham, Oxon.
Robert de Eynisham	ditto
Robert de Salesbury	Dominicans or Franciscans at Salisbury. Wilts.
Alexander de Leominster	Benedictines at Leominster, Hereford- shire cell of Abbey at Reading, Berks.
Alexander de Norton	Alien Priory at Norton, Cheshire.

We are also told of other places from which masons came, although the names of the masons are not given. Several of these can be associated with one or more of the Religious Orders. Thus at Bromfield in Shropshire there was a cell to the Benedictine House of St. Peter at Gloucester, and perhaps Philip de St. Peter might be connected with this Benedictine House or with some other House dedicated to St. Peter. Also there was a Premonstratensian Abbey at Cockersand, Lancashire, a Cistercian Abbey at Furness, Lancashire, a Benedictine Priory at Winchecumbe, Gloucestershire, a Benedictine Abbey at St. Albans, while at Lincoln, Nottingham and Oxford there were Houses of more than one Order. With regard to Adam de Pabingham I might point out that there was a Simon de Pabingham employed at Westminster Abbey at the end of the thirteenth century, and still living in London in 1313. (*Westminster Abbey Re-examined*, by W. R. Lethaby, p. 97.) I cannot claim that my researches have been in any way exhaustive so far as these operative masons are concerned. For instance, the names of some places may have changed so that I have not been able to connect them with one or other of the English Religious Houses given in Cardinal Gasquet's List. (*English Monastic Life*, by Cardinal Gasquet, pp. 251 to 318.) It may also be that my list could be expanded if the paper had contained the names of every operative mason mentioned in these Building Accounts. I certainly think that it might be of some considerable use if the names of all the early operative masons could be examined from the aspect I have indicated. The result might be that no definite conclusions could be drawn, but, on the other hand, it is just possible that it might assist in differentiating between gild or town masons and those masons who travelled afield and worked upon the many Abbeys, Priories, Cathedrals and perhaps Castles that were built during the period covered.

My reference to Castles brings another thought to my mind. I think we should all agree that it would be of the utmost value if any existing Building Accounts relating to Castles—such, for instance, as Kirby Muxloe—could be treated in a similar manner to the Accounts we have been considering this evening. We are getting a body of evidence together concerning Ecclesiastical

Buildings, but our knowledge as to the Mason work and building conditions generally with reference to Castles is as yet extremely scanty.

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BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

I deem it a privilege to second the very hearty vote of thanks which you have submitted to the Lodge.

The essay before us is a valuable paper showing in considerable detail the particulars of the part taken by the working masons in the building operations of a great Monastic establishment erected about the year 1300.

The authors give us just a momentary glimpse of the operations. The building seems to have been planned on a large scale since it was of greater dimension in plan than Fountains Abbey. It was founded by a King of England who laid one of the foundation stones. Two other foundation stones were laid by Queen Eleanor, one for herself and another for one of her sons.

The fullest account of the Abbey seems to be that in Ormerod's ponderous *History of Cheshire*. Dugdale's *Monasticon* gives little more than an abbreviated version of this. The Abbey survived until the dissolution in the time of Henry VIII.

It may be asked what is the value of such a paper on Operative Masonry to us who are but Speculative Freemasons; and our interrogator may suggest that it is really only suitable for an Architectural or Archæological Society. The reply to such a suggestion is that the value is much every way.

The sources quoted in the paper show the value to us of the published *Transactions* of Universities and County Societies.

It is clear from the paper that very little if any progress had been made in the technical conduct of building operations between the Egyptian period and those mediæval times. Building machinery and means of transport were crude. Architecture itself opens up a much wider question.

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BRO. H. POOLE said:—

I am very glad to be able to join in the thanks of the Lodge to Bro. Knoop and his collaborator for having introduced us to this very early operative record. I have on several occasions, here and elsewhere, urged the importance of the detailed study of just such documents as this, because I believe that they provide the most valuable, though not the only, evidence on which we may some day be able to build a real history of the Craft.

So far as I know, the Vale Abbey Ledger, on which Bro. Knoop has based most of his paper, is the earliest as well as the most detailed account of its kind which is easily accessible to the student. The York Accounts are considerably fuller: but they begin nearly 100 years later, and the editor for the Surtees Society has handled his material in such a way as to deprive it of most of its value for such a purpose as this.

I wonder if Bro. Knoop has made any attempt to trace the identity of Walter of Hereford, the first 'Master of the Works.' It may, of course, be only a coincidence that the second Abbot of Vale Royal should also be one Walter de Hereford, whose name appears in the Accounts of only ten years before; but there is nothing that I have been able to discover in the short time at my disposal which is inconsistent with the possibility that the two were identical. I must admit that I do not remember a case in which the pay of an Ecclesiastic in charge of a building appeared as a charge on the building funds; but in this case the pay was so much greater than that of any class of mason; and in each

of the three years of the Accounts it appears rather on the footing of a 'salary' than a 'wage.' In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, I am inclined to add the name of Walter de Hereford to the list of ecclesiastic-architects.

There is another point on which I would be interested to have Bro. Knoop's opinion—what the Monks were doing all this time. So far as I can gather, the 'colony' went out from Dore in early 1274—some four years before the building of the Abbey commenced. Bro. Knoop seems to assume that the bulk of the building of 'houses' during this period was for the various workmen. I find some difficulty in forming any opinion as to the magnitude of the operations, which involved the use of 12,300 boards and 41,000 nails: but my impression is that the accommodation would be considerable, and I fancy the number of Monks may have been growing. Certainly the numbers of men employed do not indicate the 30 per cent. increase in housing in the third year which the numbers of boards would suggest. Now for the point: there is a very persistent tradition in a number of Cistercian Abbeys that the Monks did their own building. I do not for a moment entertain any idea that this is correct: but one may perhaps admit that a good deal of the unskilled labour—including digging, quarrying and perhaps laying—was done by them. Is it possible that this was the case here? It is most unfortunate that we have no parallel Accounts from elsewhere, but certainly the large numbers of comparatively unskilled labourers employed throughout seems to make it unlikely.

There is, to my mind, considerable value in Bro. Knoop's summary of the lengths of service of the masons of the period. Taken together with the lists of names it emphasizes better than almost anything else could do the migratory character of the Masons' Craft: and Bro. Knoop, by his careful analysis of the lists has been able to put on record the names of no less than five men who, I have no doubt, were travelling masons, and who, in accordance with very early tradition, were employed for a week and given their pay before making their way to the "next Lodge."

By far the most interesting illustration of the mobility of the Craft is the table showing the very small percentage of 'local' masons employed. I have not had the opportunity of examining the detail myself: but, if Bro. Knoop has the details tabulated, it would be interesting to know to what extent the 'local' masons were the lower paid and the 'foreigners' the higher, as one might naturally expect.

A further analysis of the place-names involved shows that no less than 26 of the men came from places with Abbeys, besides seven from Chester, Lincoln, London, Oxford and Salisbury. Fifteen Abbeys are represented on the list, if Norton (Cheshire), Lewes (Sussex) and la Roche (=Roche, Yorks.) are allowed; and of these no less than six are Cistercian, viz.: Buildwas, Dore, Furness, Garendon, Cleeve and Roche. Thus 25 per cent. of the masons come from Abbey sites or Cathedral cities: and more than 25 per cent. of these have Cistercian connections. It is unfortunate that this building is so late—only eighteen years before the last of the Cistercian foundations, and nearly a century later than the bulk of them: had it been just that century earlier, we would have been in a better position to understand the significance of the place-names which occur in the lists. I would again venture to ask for a little more detail from Bro. Knoop, for I think it would be well worth while putting on record the names of any 'groups' of masons who joined or left the undertaking at about the same time.

I prefer to make no comment or suggestion as to Bro. Knoop's remarks on the rates of pay and on the matter of apprentices, except to say that I consider it an excellent piece of work to have stated the situation so clearly. In each case difficult problems are raised: and I do not think that we can arrive at any solutions until more such documents come to light and are analysed. Bro. Knoop's treatment of his material may well serve as a model to future students.

Bro. C. F. SYKES writes:—

I wish to thank very much the writers of this paper. They have succeeded in making very real to me the work of building at Vale Royal during the years concerned. It is most interesting and enlightening to be able to visualise with some approach to exactness the preparatory labours of gathering material for the building proper, the erection of dwellings and workshops for the artisans and labourers, the work in woods and quarries, carters with their waines, 'bairdores' with handbarrows and 'portehaches' carrying tools to be repaired or sharpened. It is an animated scene which has been reconstructed, and it seems as if over the centuries we can hear the voices of the workmen and the rattle of their labours.

In the table of Receipts and Expenses of Leonius son of Leonius, the cost of tools there entered cannot represent the whole expenditure under this item. Tools at a cost of 17s. 6d. were obtained from a local smith, 20 matchets and 48 carving irons were acquired from workmen arriving with their own tools, and Alexander de Norton's party were paid 5s. 6d. for their tools entered under 'necessary expenses.' Probably the item 'Miscellaneous' includes some expenses for tools.

Adopting the comparative value of money as given by the writers of the paper in the last sentence of the first paragraph, it is interesting to note what the wages of the masons would be in present currency. Walter of Hereford, the Master of the Work, would receive £22 10s. per week, or £1,146 12s. per year. The different classes of masons employed during the summer of 1280 would receive:—

Wages in			Value in	
pence per week			present currency	
			s.	d.
1	at	36	94.	6
1	„	34	89.	3
2	„	30	78.	9 each
1	„	29	76.	1½
10	„	28	73.	6 each
10	„	27	70.	10½ „
6	„	26	68.	3 „
10	„	24	63.	0 „
1	„	20	52.	6
2	„	18	47.	3 each
3	„	16	42.	0 „
1	„	12	31.	6

The very interesting and illuminating table given as an Appendix to the paper leads me to think that the standard wage for the average skilled cutter or hewer was 28d. per week, rather than 24d. as suggested by the writers of the paper.

Apparently we may deduce from the same table that in the first six months of 1278 the quarrymen were able to produce more stone than could be utilized on the building site. The numbers of this class of workmen then greatly decrease, but by August, 1279, their status improved, for whereas in 1278 the majority received 10d. per week, now the majority receive 12d. per week, and no one below that rate is employed.

It appears to have been otherwise with the diggers. When they were first employed the majority wage was 10d. per week, but by August, 1278, it dropped to 9d. per week. For nine months, September, 1278, to May, 1279, only diggers at this rate were employed. Then there appears a minority at 12d. per week. It looks as if during the period September, 1278, - May, 1279, the diggers had

given evidence of the need of supervision, and that after May, 1279, foremen were appointed.

The apprentice of Richard Winchcumbe employed on building operations at Adderbury I find somewhat difficult to understand as such. Winchcumbe's wages were 3s. 4d. per week, his apprentice's wages were 2s. 9d. per week. Thus the apprentice's wages were 82.5 per cent. of those of his master and 91.6 per cent. of those of the top grade of other masons employed there. Indeed, his wages were in excess of those of the journeyman T. Clark, who may, of course, have been of a lower grade—a layer or setter. However, as an apprentice his wages seem to have been inordinately high, even if he were near the end of his indentures.

The writers of the paper afford proof that at the period concerned the highly skilled masons travelled from job to job. Ninety to 95 per cent. came from near and far, and the case of Alexander de Norton shows that in some instances they travelled in groups or parties. Moreover, there is evidence of considerable coming and going, pointing to the freedom with which masons moved from place to place. The fact that some of the more highly-paid masons possessed horses and carts utilized for carting stone from quarry to building site, indicates the manner in which they and perhaps their parties moved about the country.

The paragraph relative to foreign workmen is welcome to me. I believe that after the Conquest very many foreign workmen were brought into England, and that architecture here was largely influenced thereby. At Vale Royal as late as the last quarter of the thirteenth century, 200 years after the Conquest, twelve masons were to be found—the majority of them of the higher-paid classes—bearing foreign names. I think it is probable that these men, if not foreign masons, were descendants of earlier imported workmen from the Continent, pursuing an ancestral trade; members of families who, though living at a period when surnames were fluid, yet patriotically retaining the name derived from the country of their family origin.

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BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

Assuming that the wages varied according to season, the type of work and the skill of the worker, and that it was a matter of chance which name of a group receiving the same rate of payment appeared in the record, the degree of specialisation must be too deeply hidden to be found out in the majority of cases. My own view is that at this time the best workmen were trained by the Church, and that any specialisation was due entirely to the vast amount of Church-building rendering it possible for each man to do the best work of which he was capable. Preliminary work at Vale Royal could be done by the employment of a big proportion of rough masons, but as the foundations rose above ground, many of these would be dispensed with and their place taken by workers in smooth ashlar.

My provisional reconstruction of events at Vale Royal is that when, in 1277, the King laid a foundation stone, the Queen laid two stones, one for herself and one for her son Alphonso, and the Earls of Cornwall, Gloucester and Warwick, with the other gentlemen accompanying the King, each laid a stone on the site of the great Altar, they were actually founding a branch of a religious guild of masons whose object was the building of the Abbey, and were themselves honorary masons. The professional members of the guild were then recruited from the various works and the Cistercian and Benedictine Lodges. The groups of masons that arrived from time to time I should regard as members of the Church-building guild attracted to Vale Royal when they had finished work elsewhere. The constant passage of messengers with bede-rolls would be a rapid method of disseminating the news that work was in progress at Vale Royal. The vow of the



King shows that the work was regarded as being done in the service of God, and I therefore do not think the masons were pressed men. The guild may have fixed payments by status and seniority.

As regards the training of masons, "one of the off-shoots of the Benedictine order was a congregation of monks and laymen founded in 1114 in the diocese of Chartres. The name of Thiron (Tiro) was given to the abbey from the tirones or apprentices which the founder united there to pursue their trades in the service of God. Closely akin to this was the Abbey of Savigny in the diocese of Avranches in 1112, which between that date and 1147 planted thirteen houses in England and Wales. When the order of Savigny was merged about 1147 in that of Citeaux its monasteries are said to belong to the Tironesian order."<sup>1</sup> Buildwas and Furness although regarded as Cistercian foundations were actually Savignac. The Tironesian Order merged into Benedictines, and if the policy of training apprentices at once ceased it is difficult to understand the steady progress made by English Gothic.

As to the employment of foreigners, the Church was a nationality to itself, but some of the names scarcely suggest that the owners were other than Englishmen. Castro suggests Castrodunum or Devizes, or perhaps novo Castro or Newcastle, as suggested by Mr. Brownbill. I might add that a John of Battle is among the masons who worked on the Eleanor Crosses in the same reign; he probably got his name from having worked at Battle Abbey.

I am inclined to the view that the Church masons were a distinct class of better workmen than the domestic masons, and that as the demand for better domestic work arose, the Church masons for a time specialised in the supply of prepared ashlar. When they commenced to compete with the layers and setters of London, the trouble which arose rendered necessary the intervention of the Mayor and Aldermen in 1356.

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Bro. KNOOP, in reply, writes:—

My colleague and I would wish in the first place to express our deep regret at the death of Bro. Gilbert W. Daynes, W.M., a few days after he occupied the Chair at the Lodge at which our paper was read. His comments on the paper must have been one of the last, if not actually the last, of his contributions to Masonic research, in the pursuit and promotion of which he had been so keen during his all too short Masonic career. In his final words he suggests the desirability of treating building accounts relating to castles in a manner similar to that adopted with the Vale Royal Accounts. This suggestion we have since attempted to carry out by making a study of castle building at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in the early fourteenth century, a paper on which subject was read before the Lodge in January, 1932.

In the second place, we wish to thank the Brethren who have commented on our paper. If we do not reply specifically to some of the questions, it is because neither the Building Account nor the Ledger Book provide information on which to base answers. They do not make it clear whether *conversi* were employed, why wages were generally paid on Sundays, how the workmen were fed, nor what the monks were doing between 1274 and 1281. With regard to the points raised by Bro. Sykes, he is quite right in his surmise that much of the outlay on tools is included under the heading *miscellaneous*: in preparing that statement we followed the allocation of items made in the Building Account. In what concerns Winchecumbe's apprentice at Adderbury, the wage received by the Master in respect of the apprentice's service, though very high in relation to other wage rates according to modern ideas, was quite normal according to

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Thompson, "English Monasteries."

mediæval practice. At Kirby Muxloe in 1481-3, Patrick Aker, the Master Mason's apprentice, received 3s. a week, the same rate as the top grade of masons; moreover, the London Masons' Ordinances of 1521 provide that a master shall not take for the wages of his apprentice "the whole wages of a mason" until he had served four years of his apprenticeship.<sup>1</sup> We know of no instance of a mediæval apprentice's wage being rated at less than one-third of the predominant rate. For a further discussion of this subject we may refer Bro. Sykes to our paper on *Masons and Apprenticeship in Mediæval England* (*Economic History Review*, April, 1932).

In reply to Bro. Poole's inquiry, we are quite satisfied that Walter of Hereford, mason, the Master of the Work at Vale Royal in 1278-80, and Walter of Hereford, Abbot of Vale Royal about 1294 (see *Ledger Book*, p. 20), were not one and the same man. It is quite true that the chief administrators of big building operations might be ecclesiastics, as, for example, at Eton College in 1448-49, when Roger Keys was Master of the Works; but at Vale Royal in 1278-80 it was Walter of Hereford, Master Mason, who was Master of the Work. He was Master Mason at Caernarvon Castle in 1288-89, and was probably in charge there until his death in 1315, though it would seem that he was not continuously occupied there, as there is evidence to show that in March, 1304, he was at Edinburgh, and that in 1306 he brought masons to London for "the Queen's Work." At Caernarvon his remuneration was 2s. a day, the same as the rate he received at Vale Royal.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to other points raised by Bro. Poole, we have now appended to our paper a list of masons employed at Vale Royal as shown in the Building Account, with the dates of arrival<sup>3</sup> and rates of pay. We cannot give the dates of departure, because, as we explain in the paper, the Account often gives only one name in each wage category, so that when, for example, the number of masons employed at 28d. a week shrank from 22 to 5 during the second half of 1278, we do not know which men left at any particular time. It is even possible that the numbers given include men of whose names we have no record, because they came and went within the period of six months for which full details are not available. Obviously groups of men who left the undertaking at the same time cannot be followed from the list: nothing but weekly or fortnightly wage registers, such as exist for certain years at Eton College, would permit of that being done. On the other hand, groups of men joining about the same time can be traced: such groups of new arrivals were very possibly the result of voluntary recruitment or free movement, but it is more probable, in connection with a royal work of that period, that they were the result of an active policy of impressment by the officers of the Crown.

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<sup>1</sup> *Letter Book N.*, fo. 176. Text printed in the Appendix to Bro. W. J. Williams' paper on "Masonry in the City of London," *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv.

<sup>2</sup> For references and more details see our paper *Castle Building in the Early Fourteenth Century at Beaumaris and Caernarvon*, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv.

<sup>3</sup> On April 28th, 1280, the number of masons employed increased from 41 to 51, but only two new names are given in the summarised list of masons. On November 3rd, 1280, when the number employed shrank to 38, ten new names appear in the full list of masons given on that occasion and we have assumed that eight of these arrived in April, and have entered them accordingly in Appendix II.

## NOTES ON THE LOCAL NUMBERING OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN LODGES.

BY BRO. W. JENKINSON, P.M. 623 (I.C.).



WO snares beset the feet of the student when dealing with the numbers of the Irish Warrants. One is the confusion arising from the method introduced by Seton in 1806 whereby Warrants bearing lapsed numbers were granted to erect new Lodges; the other, the system in existence throughout the second half of the eighteenth century whereby each Dublin civilian Lodge bore a local number in addition to that by which it was known on the register of the Grand Lodge. With this latter system of local enumeration, known as "the Dublin Numbers," these Notes are intended to deal.

During the fifty odd years ending with 1802 the number of a Dublin civilian Lodge is referred to in one of three ways:—

1. Both the local and Grand Lodge numbers may be given, *e.g.*, "26/584." Here the "26" is the local, and "584" the Warrant number. This double numeral system is met with in Grand Lodge Minutes, occasionally in the Grand Lodge register, and sometimes in the Minutes of subordinate Lodges.

2. The Warrant number only may be given. This is the method used in what may be termed official documents, such as Warrants, Master Mason Certificates, and Grand Lodge Minutes.

3. The local number only may be used, *e.g.*, "26." This is principally found in subordinate Lodge Minutes, and in some instances in those of Grand Lodge.

No. 3 is the class most liable to lead the student astray. When it is pointed out that from 1750 to 1802 a Dublin visitor to a sister City Lodge is seldom referred to other than by the local number of his Lodge, and that many early numbers on Series I. of the Grand Lodge register are blank, it can be seen how readily false conclusions may be drawn from old Minute references of the class just mentioned, particularly as the local numbers extend from 2 to 48. The following incident will illustrate the point.

When engaged in transcribing the Minutes of Lodge No. 207, Dublin (1763-1822), the compiler of these Notes found the following entry under date 30th May, 1768:—

"Bro. Samuel Scroges. (Visitor from) No. 40."

This was at once noted as evidence of a hitherto unidentified Lodge, for on Series I. of the G.L. register no entry has been preserved of the first grant of this Warrant, which was issued between November, 1734, and November, 1735. But subsequent investigation disclosed the fact that "No. 40" was the local number of No. 376, Dublin, in 1768, and an examination of the G.L. register showed Bro. Scroges to be a member of this Lodge.

# CHART OF LOCAL NUMBERS OF C

G.L. Register No.	Date when Warranted.	Date when Cancelled.	1750 to 1753	1754 to 1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764 to 1765	1766 to 1769
2	22nd May, 1727.		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
6	19th Septr. 1730.		3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
7	24th June 1731.		4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
54	2nd Aug. 1736. Dispensation, n.d. New Warrant. 6th Decr. 1770.	5th Novr. 1746. Dispensation destroyed 6 Decr. 1770 (?)	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
64	1st Febry. 1736/7.		27	26	26	25	24	23	22	22	21
97	27th Decr. 1738.	4th July 1799.	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
100	7th March 1738/9.		7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
118	12th April 1740.		8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
137	[—] Septr. 1743.		9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
141	6th Febry. 1743/4.		10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
146	8th May 1745.	3rd Septr. 1772.	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
150	20th Febry. 1745/6.	1801(c)	12	12	12	12	12 <sup>1</sup>	—	—	—	—
151	24th Octr. 1746.	5th June 1777.	13	13	13	13	13	12	12	12	12
153	4th Febry. 1746/7.		14	14	14	14	14	13	13	13	13
155	4th March, 1746/7.		15	15	15	15	15	14	14	14	14
157	7th May, 1747.	4th July 1776.	28	27	27	26	25	24	23	23	22
161(a)	Between 9th May & 6th July, 1747.	Before 1760.	16	16 <sup>2</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
166	6th Aug. 1747.	3rd Septr. 1772.	17	17	16	16	16	15	15	15	15
169	2nd Septr. 1747.	5th Septr. 1765.	18	18	17	17	17	16	16	16	—
171	7th Octr. 1747.		19	19	18	18	18	17	17	17	16
172	4th Novr. 1747.	6th March 1777.	20	20	19	19	19	18	18	18	17
173	4th Novr. 1747.	6th Jany. 1774.	21	21	20	20	20	19	19	19	18
177	6th May 1748.	4th July 1755.	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
181	7th Septr. 1748.	To Cootehill March 1760.	23	22	21	21	—	—	—	—	—
186	4th Jany. 1748/9.	1801(c)	24	23	22	22	21	20 <sup>3</sup>	—	—	—
188	1st Febry. 1748/9.	3rd Septr. 1772.	34	33	32	32	31	30	28	28	27
189	1st Febry. 1748/9.		25	24	23	23	22	21	20	20	19
190	1st Febry. 1748/9.	1st July 1815.	26	25	24	24	23	22	21	21	20
196	6th Septr. 1749.	6th May 1784.	29	28	27	27	26	25	24	24	23
198	4th October 1749.		30	29	28	28	27	26	25	25	24
202	6th Decr. 1749.		31	30	29	29	28	27	26	26	25
203	6th Decr. 1749.	1801(c)	32	31	30	30	29	28	—	—	—
206	4th April 1750.		33	32	31	31	30	29	27	27	26
207	4th April 1750.		35	34	33	33	32	31	29	29	28
208(b)	Between 4th April & 6th June 1750.	24th June 1774.	36	35	34	—	—	—	—	—	—
209	6th June 1750.		37	36	— <sup>4</sup>	47	46	44	42	39	38
216(a)	Between 7th Novr. & 27th Decr. 1750	Before 1760.	38	37 <sup>2</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
217	27th Decr. 1750.	7th Septr. 1767.	39	38	35	34	33 <sup>5</sup>	—	—	45	44
221	6th March 1750/1.	2nd May 1771.	40	39	36	35	34	32	30 <sup>6</sup>	—	—
225	4th Decr. 1751.	4th Octr. 1789.	41	40	37	36	35	33	31	30	29
241	7th Decr. 1753	4th Decr. 1777.	42	41	38	37	36	34	32	31	30

## TY OF DUBLIN LODGES, 1750 - 1802.

1768 to 1772A (e)	1772B to 1773B	1774	1775A to 1776A	1776B	1777A	1777B	1778A to 1780B	1781A to 1783A	1783B to 1784A	1784B to 1786A	1786B to 1787A	1787B	1788A to 1799A	1799B to 1802A	Observations.
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	
22	19	18	18	17	17	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	15	
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	—	
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	6	
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<sup>1</sup> Last registration 1759.
12	11	11	11	11	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
13	12	12	12	12	12	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	
14	13	13	13	13	13	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	
23	20	19	19	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<sup>2</sup> See Note (a) at foot.
15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
16	14	14	14	14	14	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	12	
17	15	15	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
18	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<sup>3</sup> Last registration 1759.
19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
20	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	13	
21	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	14	
24	21	20	20	19	18	17	17	17	17	—	—	—	—	—	
25	22	21	21	20	19	18	18	18	18	17	17	17	17	16	
26	23	22	22	21	20	19	19	19	19	18	18	18	18	17	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
27	24	23	23	22	21	20	20	20	20	19	19	19	19	18	
28	25	24	24	23	22	21	21	21	21	20	20	20	20	19	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
38	34	32	30	29	28	27	26	26	26	25	24	24	23	22	<sup>4</sup>

209	6th June 1750.		37	36	—	47	46	44	42	39	38
216(a)	Between 7th Novr. & 27th Decr. 1750	Before 1760.	38	37 <sup>2</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
217	27th Decr. 1750.	7th Septr. 1767.	39	38	35	34	33 <sup>5</sup>	—	—	45	44
221	6th March 1750/1.	2nd May 1771.	40	39	36	35	34	32	30 <sup>6</sup>	—	—
225	4th Decr. 1751.	4th Octr. 1789.	41	40	37	36	35	33	31	30	29
241	7th Decr. 1753.	4th Decr. 1777.	42	41	38	37	36	34	32	31	30
249	24th Aug. 1754.	1801(c)	—	42	39	38	37	35	33	—	—
263	10th Decr. 1755.	3. Feb. 1774.	—	43	40	39	38	36	34	32	31
282	7th July 1757.	3. Septr. 1772.	—	44	41	40	39	37	35	33	32
302	7th Septr. 1758.	24. June 1774.	—	45	42	41	40	38	36	34	33
311	5th April 1759.	1801(c)	—	—	43	42	41	39	37	—	—
319	3rd May 1759.	2nd Feby. 1786.	—	—	44	43	42	40	38	35	34
324	3rd May 1759.		—	—	45	44	43	41	39	36	35
339	{ 1st Novr. 1759. To Dublin, 7th April 1768. }	1st March 1787.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
348	{ 3rd July 1760. Duplicate War <sup>t</sup> . 5th Jany. 1797. }	6th March 1777.	—	—	—	45	44	42	40	37	36
353	2nd Octr. 1760.		—	—	—	46	45	44	41	38	37
375	1st Octr. 1761.	1801(c)	—	—	—	—	47	45	43	40	39
376	1st Octr. 1761.	4th Novr. 1773.	—	—	—	—	48	46	44	41	40
379	4th Feby. 1762.	1763.	—	—	—	—	—	47	45	—	—
382	7th Octr. 1762.	1st Novr. 1787.	—	—	—	—	—	48	46	42	41
402	6th Octr. 1763.		—	—	—	—	—	—	47	43	42
412	2nd Feby. 1764.	6th May 1784.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	43
440	6th June 1765.	1st March 1787.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	46	45
489	2nd May 1771.		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
492	5th Decr. 1771.	6th March 1777	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
500	1st April 1773.	1786.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
506	2nd Septr. 1773.		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
514	2nd June 1774.	Before 1807(d)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
518	2nd Feby. 1775.	1801(c)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
556	2nd April 1778.	5th Jany. 1786.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
584	1st March, 1781.	7th Octr. 1813.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
620	4th Septr. 1783.		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
709	4th Feby. 1790.	4th July 1799.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
792	6th Feby. 1794.	4th July 1799.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

- (a) Nos. 161 & 216—Lodges which must have been erased before 1760 and, therefore, do not appear on existing G.L. Register.  
(b) No. 208. A Dublin Lodge not on G.L. Register, but see Lepper & Crosslé I., p. 261.  
(c) "List of the Lodges erased from the Books of the G.L. of Ireland. Ordered to be printed November 5, 1801."  
(d) G.L. Circular, 12 months 24th June, 1806—24th June, 1807.  
(e) "A" and "B" respectively indicate the six months ending June and December of the various years.

38	34	32	30	29	28	27	26	26	26	25	24	24	23	22	<sup>9</sup> An apparent break between 1738 and 1760. On restoration in 1760 follows No. 353.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<sup>2</sup> See Note (a) at foot.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<sup>3</sup> Off local list from 1762—1764. On restoration in 1764 follows No. 412.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<sup>6</sup> Last registration 1759.
29	26	25	25	24	23	22	22	22	22	21	21	21	—	—	
30	27	26	26	25	24	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
31	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
33	29	27	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
34	30	28	27	26	25	24	23	23	23	22	—	—	—	—	
35	31	29	28	27	26	25	24	24	24	23	22	22	21	20	
45	41	38	36	35	33	32	31	31	31	29	28	—	—	—	
36	32	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	27	<sup>7</sup> From 1797A follows No. 792.
37	33	31	29	28	27	26	25	25	25	24	23	23	22	21	
39	35	33	31	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<sup>8</sup> Last registration 1774.
40	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
41	37	34	32	31	29	28	27	27	27	26	25	25	—	—	
42	38	35	33	32	30	29	28	28	28	27	26	26	24	23	
43	39	36	34	33	31	30	29	29	29	—	—	—	—	—	
44	40	37	35	34	32	31	30	30	30	28	27	—	—	—	
46	42	39	37	36	34	33	32	32	32	30	29	27	25	24	
47	43	40	38	37	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	44	41	39	38	36	34	33	33	33	31	—	—	—	—	
—	45	42	40	39	37	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	43	41	40	38	36	34	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	42	41	39	37	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	35	34	32	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	35	33	30	28	26	25	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	34	31	29	27	26	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	28	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	—	

Included on evidence of affiliations of members from these to other Lodges.

So much indeed had local numbers become part and parcel of Dublin Lodge life of the times that not only are they constantly met with in City Lodge Minutes, but occasionally in English Minutes as well. Thus:—

“Josh Ready late of No. 5 Dublin in Indigent circumstances through Misfortunes in Business and Sickness with Letter of recommendation from D.G.S. Ireland for want of a Certificate was rejected.”

Minutes, Grand Stewards Lodge, 17th July, 1805.

Bro. Ready was a member of No. 54, Dublin, of which the local number was 5 in the last official List (1802), yet three years after the cessation of the system we find him tenaciously clinging to habitual custom, and describing himself by the local number of his Mother Lodge.

Instances of the application of the principle of local numbering are to be found in other Constitutions, but such cases come within a different category. For example, the Pr.G.L. of Gibraltar (Andalusia) gave local numbers to the Lodges within its jurisdiction. Here, however, as in other cases of a similar nature, the enumeration was adopted to indicate the local precedence of civilian and military Lodges belonging to different Masonic Constitutions, and it was instituted by a Provincial Grand Lodge.

But the Dublin system was inaugurated by the G.L. of Ireland: it dealt exclusively with civilian Lodges<sup>1</sup> domiciled in the Irish Metropolis; it lasted for over fifty years, and from all points of view is without a parallel in any other Masonic Constitution.

These Notes owe their origin to the researches of Bro. J. Heron Lepper, who in 1925 compiled a list of the Dublin numbers for the years 1772, 1774, 1780, 1784, 1790, 1800 and 1802. For the purpose of extending Bro. Lepper's list and of ascertaining, if possible, the origin of the system, as well as tracing the entire period during which it operated, an extensive search has been made amongst all available documentary records. The results are now embodied in these Notes and the accompanying Chart.

Owing to the loss of the early records of the Grand Lodge the task of the investigator of Irish Masonic history is difficult, and in the subject under review the evidence submitted has been drawn from various sources.

#### *The Inception of the System.*

No official evidence which would fix the exact date when the Dublin numbers were first introduced has been discovered up to the present, and in consequence we can only draw an inference from the known facts.

A careful search amongst available records reveals the following information bearing on this subject:—

1. No local numbers are attached to the Dublin Lodges appearing on the list given in Smith's *Pocket Companion*, 1735.

2. The same remark applies to the *List of the regular Lodges in the City of Dublin* appended to Spratt's publication in 1744 of the Regulations of 1741.<sup>2</sup>

3. In John Fowler's *Memoranda, Grand Lodge of Ireland 1748-1789*, we find the following note:—

“On 17th May 1748 the D.G.S. Edward Spratt was ordered . . . to give Br. John Calder—afterwards D. Grand Secy—Senr. Warden of No. 181 a list of all the Lodges that should happen in his way as he travelled thro' Munster.”

Crosslé's *Masonic Notes*, viii., p. 387.

<sup>1</sup> Military Lodges when quartered in Dublin received no local number, although systematically noted by their G.L. number on the G.L. Roll books and the official “Dublin Sheets.”

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. II.



4. The Grand Master's Lodge was formed 3rd January, 1749/50, concerning which Spratt relates:—

“It may be justly said, that within these three last years Free-Masonry has arrived to the highest Perfection it ever was in Ireland, as is observed by many old Brothers who had neglected the Lodges, and lain rusty some Years past, now re-entering among their harmonious Brethren, and joining in Concord to strengthen their Cement. Lodges, who were become too numerous for one private Assembly, like the industrious Bees, forming themselves into new Regular Bodies, for more convenient Ease; many worthy Brethren, from several Parts of the Kingdom, applying to the Grand Master for his Lordship's Sanction to hold their Communities. One Instance more noble than any other, and more deserving perpetuation, I cannot forbear to mention, which I shall do in the Words of the Transaction, for the information of those Brethren who have not till now, perhaps, had the Opportunity of knowing it.

Wednesday 3d of January 1749. Grand Lodge in due Form, The Deputy Grand Master Putland acquainted the Grand Lodge, that our late Right Worshipful Grand Master Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, Bart., together with the Right Worshipful and Right Honourable the Lord Kingsborough our present Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens, and many other Gentlemen of Distinction, have formed themselves into a regular Lodge to consult the Good of the Craft, and, as far as in their Power lies, promote the Welfare of the Fraternity in general. . . .

Ordered.

That a Registry be opened in the Front of the Grand Register Book for the said Lodge, and that the same shall henceforth be distinguished and known by the Denomination of the GRAND MASTER's LODGE: and that all, or any of the Members thereof, who does at any Time think proper to visit the Grand Lodge, shall take place of every other Lodge on the Registry, or Roll Books of this Kingdom . . .”<sup>3</sup>

5. Rule viii. (New Regulations) of 1741 appears in Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751, somewhat amended and amplified. The original text and the amendments are set out in parallel columns:—

1741 Regulations.

VIII. . . .

“If any Lodge within the bills of mortality shall cease to meet regularly during twelve months successive, its name and place shall be erased out of (or discontinued in) the Grand Lodge Book: and if they petition to be again incerted and own'd as a regular Lodge, it must loose its former place and rank of precedency, and submit to a new constitution.”

1751 *Constitutions*.

VIII. . . .

“If any Lodge within the Limits of the City of Dublin shall cease to meet regularly, during twelve Months successive, and not keep up to the Rules and Orders of the Grand Lodge, its Number and Place shall be erased, or discontinued in the Grand Lodge-Books: and if they petition to be inserted, or owned as a regular Lodge, it must lose its former Place and Rank of Precedency, and submit to a new Constitution.”

<sup>3</sup> *Constitutions*, 1751, p. 134.

6. The system of local numbering was in operation in 1753:—

“ Brother (Mathew) Walsh formerly of Lodge No. 11 Dublin having  
din'd with us . . . Petition'd to be admitted a Brother & Member  
of this Lodge . . . ”

Minutes, Lodge No. 19, Youghal, 25th June, 1753.<sup>4</sup>

“ 11th Sept. 1754. We the undersigned subscribers and Members of  
Lodge No. 22 . . . ”

Minutes, Lodge No. 181, Dublin.<sup>5</sup>

Let us now review the evidence as set out above.

1. No conclusion can be arrived at from Smith. The List includes country as well as Dublin Lodges, and the numbers allotted to the different Warrants, with the exception of Nos. 2, 6 and 7, do not agree with what is left of our early Grand Lodge register.

2. Spratt's List of 1744. For the purpose of the present investigation this List is material; for, although the List is incomplete, nevertheless, so far as it goes it is consistent with our earliest extant G.L. register.

No local numbers are given in this List. It seems improbable that Spratt would have omitted these numbers if they had been in use in 1744, more especially as his List is exclusively City of Dublin, and overwhelming post-1750 evidence is available of the use of these numbers.

3. The reference to No. 181 in the John Fowler *Memoranda* under date 1748 is inconclusive when taken alone, but in conjunction with Spratt's List supports the view that local numbering had not commenced at the date of the extract.

4. The extensive spread of the Order from 1747 to 1749 and the formation of the Grand Master's Lodge in 1750.

Spratt (*ut supra*) tells us that many new lodges came into being during the three years ending 1749. From the G.L. register it appears that 49 Warrants were granted during this period. Of these 19 were for the City of Dublin, a total of 39 for that City up to the end of 1749, denoting how strong Masonry had grown in the Metropolis.<sup>6</sup>

The formation of the Grand Master's Lodge following hard on the increased number of City Lodges had far-reaching effects in the matter of precedence in Grand Lodge. It must be remembered that in 1749 few country Lodges can have been represented at Grand Lodge Communications. Although Grand Lodge consisted of the Masters and Wardens of all Lodges on the register, for many years before, and after the date mentioned above, the representatives of the Dublin Lodges administered the affairs of Grand Lodge. Country Lodges could not afford the expense of sending their Masters and Wardens to Dublin.

When the Grand Master's Lodge was given “place of every other Lodge on the Registry . . . of this Kingdom,” it thereby took precedence of at least 32 City Lodges all holding Warrants issued prior to the date of the resolution granting seniority to the new G.M. Lodge.<sup>7</sup> This would naturally raise the

<sup>4</sup> Extract furnished by Bro. P. Crosslé.

<sup>5</sup> Bro. Dr. F. C. Crosslé, *Masonic Notes*, viii., p. 226.

<sup>6</sup> On turning to Lane's *Masonic Records* we find that up to 1749 some 264 Lodges had been placed on the Register of the G.L. of England. For the corresponding period the Register of the G.L. of Ireland shows an issue of 205, a fact eloquent of the interest evinced in the Order in all parts of Ireland, and pointing clearly to something more than the mere adoption of a system recently imported from the sister Kingdom.

<sup>7</sup> Seven of the Dublin City Warrants included in the total of 39 granted up to the end of 1749 appear to have lapsed at some time after 1744, viz.:—Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 105 and 133. All these appear on Spratt's List of 1744, but are not recorded on Series I. of the existing G.L. Register.

question of a thorough investigation and adjustment of the status of the Dublin Lodges then on the G.L. register, particularly as some of these had not worked continuously from the date when warranted.

5. Which leads us directly to the next piece of evidence, namely, the amendment of Rule VIII. in the 1751 *Constitutions*.

Before dealing with the modification of this Rule, however, it is necessary to define the manner on which the precedence of Irish Lodges was determined.

The general principle operating amongst all Lodges then on the Irish register is contained in Rule III., Spratt, 1744:—

“The precedence of Lodges is grounded on the seniority of their constitution.”

In his analysis of Spratt's 1741 Regulations Crawley thus deals with Rule III.:—

“The distinction between the *Constitution* of the English, and the constitution of the Irish Code is something more than typographical. In the former Jurisdiction, the word meant the Ceremony on which depended the subsequent registration in the List of Regular Lodges. In the latter, the issue of a Charter alone could make the Lodge Regular.” *Caem. Hib. Fasc., ii.*

In English practice seniority thus depended on the date of constitution of the Lodge as recognised by Grand Lodge and entered on the Register of Lodges.

Under the Irish Constitution, as pointed out by Crawley, seniority of constitution meant seniority of Warrant. Up to 1806 this seniority was determined by *date* of Warrant. Thus we find Lodge VI., Dublin, on the 6th March, 1806, stating in a Memorial to Grand Lodge in a question of precedence between the members of No. VI. and those of the revived Lodge No. IV.:—

“ . . . they therefore pray that this Grand Lodge will order that Lodges take precedence as formerly according to Seniority of Date of their Warrants.”

Crosslé, *Temple Masonic Lodge No. VI., Dublin*, p. 6.

It may be observed in passing that the present Irish seniority, which ranks by *number* of Warrant, dates from 1810. (Lepper and Crosslé, i., p. 408.)

The wording of Spratt's 1741 Rule VIII. (New Regulations) is taken verbatim from Anderson, 1738, who framed the Rule on the Report of the Committee of Charity, adopted by the Grand Lodge of England on the 24th February, 1735, viz.:—

“That if any Lodge for the future within the Bills of Mortality shall not regularly meet for the space of one year such Lodge shall be erased out of the Book of Lodges, and in case they shall afterwards be desirous of meeting again as a Lodge they shall loose their former Rank and submitt themselves to a new Constitution.”

*Q.C.A., x., p. 245.*

Lane thus explains the cause for the adoption of this Regulation:—

“Legislation became necessary at an early period in order to deal with Lodges that had ceased to exist, or, in the case of London Lodges, that did not attend the Quarterly Communications.

Erasures were, from that and other causes, very frequent, and Lodges once erased forfeited their position. . . . Apparently this decision was acted upon in many cases, but some Lodges that had been erased were re-instated in their old positions.”

*Masonic Records*, 2nd Edn., p. 15.

Having thus far traced the English practice, a survey of Irish procedure next demands our attention. An examination of Pennell, 1730, and Spratt, 1744, shows that Rule VIII. of the latter Code is the sole provision for the cancellation of a Warrant, so that apparently prior to 1741—when these Regulations received the approval of the Grand Lodge of Ireland—no authority existed for the erasure of a Warrant.

The English Code of 1738, framed for the guidance of Lodges in and about the City of London, is followed literally in the wording of Spratt's Regulation VIII. (1744). The 1751 Constitutions, however, show a number of amendments. "The limits of the City of Dublin" is substituted for "bills of mortality," and the words "and not keep up to the Rules and Orders of the Grand Lodge" are inserted. The "Rules and Orders" doubtless refer to the Regulations adopted by the G.L. of Ireland in 1731 and 1733. (Lepper and Crosslé, i., p. 256.) A further amendment of "name and place" to "number and place" is made, as the Irish Lodges are always known by their number, and town or village where domiciled, not by the name of the tavern or inn at which they met.

Though defined as relating to City Lodges only, all these forms of Rule VIII. in practice must have extended to country Lodges as well.

The application of Rule VIII. in deciding the local precedence of Dublin Lodges was simple enough in the case of those which had ceased working, or had been cancelled prior to the coming into force of local numbering, and similarly in the case of those thus affected after 1750. A difficulty arose, however, regarding the local status of some senior numbers that had lapsed but were now working. As will appear later, this difficulty was solved by an ingenious application of Rule VIII., possible only to the fertile brain of an Irish Mason.

6. The instances of the actual use of local numbers in 1753 and 1754.

In the Youghal Minute of 1753 "No. 11, Dublin." must be the local number for that year, as G.L. No. 11 was a Military Warrant issued in November, 1732, to "First Battalion Royals." The Chart attached to these Notes shows that in 1753 the local "11" may have been, indeed most likely was, G.L. No. 146, Dublin, issued in 1745.

Although Bro. Walsh's name does not appear on the Register of this Lodge—the first entry being dated 1758—this by no means discounts the value of the evidence of the Youghal Minute. Indeed, prior to 1735 very few names appear on the Register of the G.L. of Ireland.

No doubt, however, exists regarding the "No. 22" appearing in the Minutes of Lodge No. 181, Dublin, and taken together these extracts show that the system of local numbering was in full force in 1754.

Summing up the evidence it is submitted that reasonable grounds exist for stating:—

1. Local numbers were not in existence in 1748.
2. The system probably was introduced in 1750 mainly as a result of the precedence conferred on the G.M.L.
3. The system was based on the provisions of Rule VIII., 1751.

*How the System of Local Numbering Operated.*

A typical example of the application of Rule VIII. is found in the position assigned to Lodge No. 64 on the Dublin Lists. This Lodge, warranted 1st February, 1736/7, should normally follow No. 54, warranted 2nd August, 1736. Instead we find it placed next after No. 190, warranted 1st February, 1748/9.

The Rule ingeniously applied by our Irish Brethren to local numbering thus meant that, when once a Lodge for any cause lapsed for over twelve months,

its warrant was not necessarily cancelled, but the Lodge lost the seniority accorded by its original constitution, and did not regain its former "place and precedence," but although retaining its Grand Lodge number, was placed on the local lists immediately below the Lodge whose Warrant was granted before the revival of the lapsed number, and in Grand Lodge its members took their status accordingly.

Consequently, although Grand Lodge records afford no information on the matter, it is evident from the local lists that No. 64 had a break in its working of over one year in duration, and although the date of commencement of the break cannot be ascertained, the Lodge was revived between the 4th January and 1st February, 1748/9, the respective dates of issue of Warrant numbered 186 and 189. Dublin.

The knowledge of this principle is valuable, for by it evidence is afforded, as in the case of No. 64, of the approximate date when a lapsed City number was revived, concerning which no information is available from Grand Lodge sources.

An instance where the Rule was not applied is No. 54, regarding which the following note appears on Series I., G.L. register:—

"The Original Warrant No. 54 being cancelled on the 6th Nov: 1746 & a Dispensation to sd. No. being returned to the Grand Lodge & Destroyed, they were pleased to order a Duplicate thereof to hold a Lodge in the City of Dublin to the following Bn. on their application. Decr. the 6th 1770."

In addition to the break in its history caused by the cancellation of the Warrant in 1746, Lodge No. 54 appears to have reached a very low ebb in its fortunes again about 1761, and the Duplicate Dispensation Warrant, ordered in 1770, was granted in the names of three Brethren who had affiliated in that year from Lodge No. 7, Dublin.

The fact of the original Warrant having been cancelled in 1746 should have put this Lodge out of place in the local lists, but instead, we find it taking the position accorded by the date of its original Warrant—2nd August, 1736—and ranking as No. 5 local right through the lists.

On the other hand, the law was strictly enforced in the case of No. 348, warranted 1760, and cancelled 1777. A Duplicate Warrant was granted 5th January, 1797, but following the revival at this date No. 348 ranked locally next after No. 620, the last extant Lodge warranted prior to 5th January, 1787.

One peculiar instance deserves mention—No. 188—which for some cause, now unknown, resumed its rightful place in 1768 although in 1763 it locally follows No. 206 on the evidence of the Minutes of Lodge No. 207, and has been placed accordingly from 1750 to 1767 on the Chart.

#### *Periods of Revision of the Local Lists.*

From scarcity of official data no definite statement on this point can be made as regards the period from 1750 to 1768. The Lists of local numbers may have been revised and the Lodges notified annually, or only from time to time as Warrants were cancelled.

From 1768, however, the position becomes clearer. Art. III. of the Grand Lodge Regulations, 1768, provides:—

"Every Lodge in the Kingdom of Ireland shall pay Ten Shillings and Ten-pence annually to the Grand Lodge for Relief of Sick and Distressed Brethren, and for defraying other incidental Charges of said Grand Lodge, which Contribution shall be brought and paid to the Grand Lodge, or to the Grand Treasurer, by the City Lodges on or before the first *Thursday* in *August* and *February* for the half-year ensuing; and in Default of such Payment on the Days aforesaid, no Master or Warden shall be suffered to sit in the Grand Lodge until such Contribution be paid: This annual payment . . . to com-

mence from the Twenty-seventh of *December* 1768, . . . Every Lodge refusing or neglecting to pay such Contribution aforesaid, shall be excluded all Benefit of the Grand Lodge, and their Names shall be struck out of the Grand Lodge Books, . . . (Original italics.)

This is the first extant Regulation dealing with annual payments by City Lodges, and it will be observed that "commencing from the 27th December, 1768," such payments were to be made on fixed dates upon pain of being struck off the register.

From the date of the passing of this enactment it would seem that a half-yearly revision of the local Lists became necessary, and although no official G.L. evidence is available, nevertheless, a careful scrutiny of the local numbers as recorded in extant Lodge Minutes goes to support the opinion that commencing with the six months ending the 24th June, 1769, half-yearly Lists were the rule. Of these, the earliest extant original, that for the six months ending 24th June, 1800, "Printed by Bro. Wm. O'Connor, Essex St. Dublin," and also the original List for the six months ending 24th June, 1802, are preserved in the records of the Lodge of Research, Dublin. These Lists were published in the form of a broadsheet, locally known as "The Dublin Sheets."

Official documentary evidence of a later date, but showing a half-yearly local enumeration, has been forthcoming through the courtesy of Bro. Crosslé, G.L. Librarian, who has supplied for the purpose of these Notes extracts from the extant Grand Lodge Roll Books, which record the attendance at Grand Lodge of G.L. officers, and the Masters and Wardens of Dublin Lodges, commencing with the second half of 1792. These Roll Books give the local as well as the Warrant numbers of Military Lodges quartered in Dublin.

Semi-official Lists of the Dublin Numbers were also published in the *Free Mason's Calendar*, Dublin, 1778, and in *The Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* for December, 1793, and June, 1794.

#### *When the System Ceased.*

The Grand Lodge Minute Book covering the period 1801-1806 is missing, and, therefore, no official evidence is available from which to date the cessation of local numbering, or to state why it ended.

Fortunately some of this information has been discovered elsewhere.

"Philanthropic Lodge No. 207, Dublin.

. . . The Worshipful Master has communicated to the Lodge the order of the Grand Lodge that the local No. 19 be extinct. Resolved . . . that the Lodge be henceforward called the *Philanthropic Lodge*." (Original italics.)

Minutes, Lodge 207, Dublin. 15/3/1802.

It thus appears that by order of the Grand Lodge of March, 1802, local numbers were abolished, and the Lodges permitted to adopt distinctive names.

The accuracy of the date contained in the Minute of 207 is verified by the Grand Lodge Roll Book, where the local numbers disappear after the first half of 1802, and also by the Minutes of Lodge No. 207, where, immediately after the 15th March, 1802, all visitors are identified by their Grand Lodge number alone.

#### *The Chart of the Dublin Numbers.*

Some explanation as to how this Chart has been compiled may not be out of place at this stage.

By means of the extract from the Minutes of Lodge No. 181 the 1754 List was verified to No. 22/181, and the remaining portion of that year built up

from the G.L. register. A table was then prepared from the Minute Books of Lodge No. 207, Dublin, from 1763-1802 setting out the date, name and local number of each visitor. This gave some 1,200 names. These were then traced, where possible, to the corresponding entry on the G.L. register, and the G.L. number of those found was thus ascertained.

Some names do not appear at all on the Register—a common occurrence in the early records—but the majority have been definitely identified after a prolonged search. By this means the numbers shown on the Chart from 1763-1802 have been verified, and the period 1780-1802 has been re-checked from a list of local numbers abstracted by Bro. Crosslé from G.L. Minutes, and also from the figures appearing in the G.L. Roll Books already mentioned.

For the period 1755-1762 the figures have been arrived at by comparing the 1754 List with that verified for the year 1763, subject to the necessary changes consequent on cancelled warrants, and working back from 1754, which is correct up to No. 22/181, Lists have been built up for 1750-1753 inclusive. It must be remembered, however, that for the period last mentioned the figures on the Chart are purely theoretical. No authentic evidence other than the Youghal Minute reference to "No. 11" is available, and that extract cannot be verified by the G.L. register.

The Chart was originally worked out in individual years and half-years, but for economy of space these have been combined into periods, although the numbers of some Lodges may not be applicable to every year included in the combined period. A reference to Cols. 2 and 3 "Date when warranted" and "Date when cancelled," and also to the observations appearing on the Chart, will, however, identify the particular year when a relevant change took place.

Where it is desired to identify a local number it will be found in the majority of cases that the Chart will give the exact reference to the correct G.L. register number, but two exceptions should be noted. These are (a) where a Brother who may have "declared off" his Lodge appears as a visitor to a sister Lodge, and (b) where a member of a cancelled Lodge appears in a similar way.

In either case the number usually given will be found to be the number by which the visiting brother's Lodge was locally known (a) when he "declared off" and not the number by which the Lodge may have been known at the date of the visit; and (b) the number borne by the Lodge at date of cancellation. Instances of either of these exceptions are usually minuted as "late of No. —," but sometimes these words are omitted, and confusion may arise as a result.

Identification of these instances cannot be satisfactorily carried out except by an actual inspection of the G.L. register in conjunction with the Chart.

Of how much is lacking in these Notes no person is more cognisant than the compiler, but they may help to throw some light on a section of Irish Masonry hitherto unexplored, and with this end in view are now offered to other Masonic students.

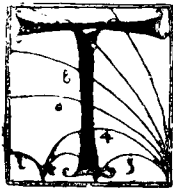
In conclusion, the compiler wishes to gratefully acknowledge the courtesy of Bro. H. C. Shellard, Grand Secretary, who readily afforded every facility for repeated inspections of the Grand Lodge Registers: also to place on record his indebtedness to Bro. J. Heron Lepper for fraternal permission to include the Lists compiled by him in the present Chart, as well as for constant advice and encouragement in its preparation; and last, but by no means least, to Bro. Philip Crosslé, Grand Librarian, who most generously supplied practically the entire material from which these Notes and the Chart of the Dublin Numbers have been compiled.

Without the fraternal assistance of these Brethren, so ungrudgingly rendered, the labours of the compiler would have been in vain, and he gladly returns grateful acknowledgements.

September, 1930.

## THE ISLAND OF ST. EUSTATIUS AND ITS LODGES.

BY BRO. Th. G. G. VALETTE, G.L. OF THE NETHERLANDS.



THE archives of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands contain records that throw considerable light on Masonry in the West Indies in the eighteenth century, and some of them are actually associated with the English Lodges and Provincial Grand Masters.

The Island of St. Eustatius is a case in point. For some reason this tiny place—for it is no more than eight square miles in area—was a considerable Masonic centre with three Modern and four Dutch Lodges, both the Moderns and the Dutch Grand Lodge having Provincial Grand Masters. There is also a record of an Antient Lodge, but all that is known of it is to be found at p. 57 of Lane (1895); the only mention of it is in the official List of Lodges in the 1813 *Ahimian Rezon*, where it appears as No. 30. The original No. 30 was a Lodge held at the Goat in St. James' Market, London, and founded in 1754; it lapsed about 1760. Of the Lodge of 1813 Lane says: "Very doubtful if it ever existed, there being no Entry in Minutes or Registers." By the Union it had disappeared, and there is no reference to it in the Dutch Grand Lodge archives. It is unknown to Dutch Masonic history.

The island had been occupied by the Dutch in 1634, at the same time as they colonised Curaçao, and in the eighteenth century it seems to have been a great centre of neutral trade, not always legitimate in character. In 1738 Governor Matthew was appointed English Provincial Grand Master of the Leeward Islands, of which he was Governor, and on 26th June, 1747, he issued a warrant for a Lodge at St. Eustatius, of which the first Master was to be Edward Gilliard. The actual document is in the archives of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands, and its text is as follows:—

St: CHRISTOPHERS

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT

WORSHIPFULL WILLIAM . . . MATHEW Capt'n  
General & Governor in Chief in & over all His Majestys  
Leeward Caribbee Islands, St. Christophers, Nevis, Montserat,  
Antigua, Barbouda, Anguilla, & the Rest of His Caribbee  
Islands in America lying and being to Leeward from  
Gaudeloup to the Islands of St. John de Porto Rico Chancel-  
lour Vice Admiral and Ordinary of the Same PROVINCIAL  
Grand Master of the Ancient & Honble SOCIETY of FREE  
& ACCEPTED MASONS in the said Leeward Islands &c.  
. . . &c. . . &c.


 Seal.

TO OUR Brother EDWARD GILLIARD And to Our Brethren.  
Andreas Ravens, Peter Puch, John Hifferman, John Godlieb, Frederick  
John, Peter Allier, John Amiel, Robert Steward, Charles Palmer, John  
Howell, Richard Howell, Cornelius Curvilje PZ. John Haly and other  
our Brethren in the Island of Sta. EUSTATIA. . . .

GREETING Thrice GREET you well. . . .

WE HAVING Taken into Our MATURE DELIBERATION the  
Request to Us made for Granting OUR DISPENSATION for Erecting



A lodge of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS in the Island of Ste. EUSTATIA By the Name of the LODGE OF FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS of Sta. EUSTATIA, AND HAVING by good Testimony of Our Brother EDWARD GILLIARD found him to be of good Morals & Great Skill True and Trusty and A lover of the whole Fraternity where-soever Dispers'd over the Face of the Earth THEREFORE WE have thought fitt to grant this OUR DISPENSATION for Erecting the said LODGE OF FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS in the Island of Sta. EUSTATIA Aforesaid By the name of the LODGE of FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS of Sta. EUSTATIA AND we do Hereby Constitute & Form these Good Brothers into this NEW LODGE Aforesaid. And Do Appoint you BROTHER EDWARD GILLIARD to be Master thereof not Doubting Your Capacity & Care to preserve the Cement of the Lodge &c. And you are to Submitt to the Charges as Masters have done in all Ages Cordially, And you are to Enter immediately upon the Exercise of this office Vizt. in Chusing your Wardens whom We are to Approve of & you are to Rehearse to them the Charges of each Warden And WE Do Hereby recommend to you that you Immediately Enter into the Lodge Book of the Lodge of Sta. EUSTATIA OUR DEPUTATION from our Right Worshipfull BROTHER HENRY Marquis of CARNARVAN Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath GRAND MASTER of the Ancient & Honourable SOCIETY of Free and Accepted MASONS of ENGLAND and WE do Hereby Give you all Joy and Do Recommend Harmony, Hoping your only Contention will be A Loudable Emulation in Cultivating the ROYAL ART and the Social Virtues AND for all you shall do Herein this Shall be to YOU OUR PLENARY and full DISPENSATION. IN WITNESS WHEREOF We have Hereunto from Our Residence in St. Christophers Affix'd OUR PROVINCIAL SEAL and Sign'd the Same with OUR HAND this Twenty Sixth day of June In the Vulgar Year of MASONRY 5747.

YOUR True and Faithfull Brother

WILLIAM MATHEW, P. G. M.

[Endorsement]

1st Deputation by the late Right  
Worshipfull P. G. M. the Honble.  
Wm. Mathew Esqr. General &  
Commander in chief, in and over  
all the Brittish Leeward Charribbee  
Islands.

This is definitely a Lodge Warrant and not a Deputation, notwithstanding that the word "Deputation" occurs in the body of the text. It precedes the earliest Modern Warrant hitherto known to have been issued by a Provincial Grand Master by seven years. The phraseology does not seem to be derived from either Irish or Scottish sources, but it should be compared with the Irish and Scottish Warrants, and with the earliest warrant issued by a Provincial Grand Master in England, which are all printed at *A.Q.C.* xli., 51-53. It is an intermediate form between the Deputation and the formal Warrants that were first issued by the Moderns Grand Lodge in 1757.

In 1754 the Province was split up and separate Provincial Grand Masters were appointed for Barbados and the Windward Islands and for Antigua. The Marquis of Carnarvon, Grand Master, also issued a Patent of appointment to Edward Galliard for St. Eustatius, Saba and St. Martin, "Dutch Carribbee Islands in America." This document is now in the archives of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands.

The Minutes of the proceedings of the Provincial Grand Lodge are in these same archives, and from them we learn that the Lodge decided, in March, 1755, to form two Lodges. The Minute is as follows:—

AT A MEETING QUARTERLY COMMUNICATION OF THE  
GRAND LODGE HELD THIS 25 DAY MARCH 5755:

PRESENT

Rt. W:	W: Edward Gilliard	D: G: M:
	W: Nicholas Heyligers	S: G: W:
	W: John Hiffdman	" J: G: W:
	Ralph Sampson	" G: Treasr.
	John Aertsen	" G: Secy.
	John Annan	" Mr. of Mastrs. Lodge.
	Samuel Wells	" Mr. of Fellow Craft's Lodge.
	G: Aertsen	" S: W: of Mastrs. Lodge.
	Wm. Elding Cox	" J: W: of Fellow Craft's Lodge.

THE Lodge being duly Opened We Proceed to Business. It Was Resolved by Unanimous Consent, that we Form Ourselves into two different Lodges. The Older by the Name of the Lodge of St. Eustatia, the other No. 2 of St. Eustatia: And Samuel Wells is Chosen Master, Guiliam Aertsen S: W. James Maybeng Junr. Warden, & Joseph Lynch Secy. of No. 1. & John Annan, Mastr, Wm. Elding Cox Senr. Warden, Nicholas Steel Junr. Warden, John Boone Secy. of No. 2.—Lewis Puech Treasr. of No. 1 & 2.

JOHN BOONE. Secy.

The description given of the Officers is somewhat difficult to follow. But the new Lodge lasted barely six months. The Minute of 12th August in the same year reads as follows:—

AT A MEETING QUARTERLY COMMUNICATION OF THE  
GRAND LODGE HELD THE 12th AUGUST 5755.

PRESENT.

Right Worshipful,	Worshipful,	Edward Gilliard	D: G: M:
	Worshipful	" Nicholas Heyliger	" Senr. G: W:
	Wors.	" John Annan	" Protempora J: G: W:
		Sal. Wells	" Mastr. of the Lodge No. 1.
		Wm. Aertsen	" Senr. Warden of Do. —
		Wm. Elding Cox	" Junr. Warden of No. 2.

& the rest of the Brethren of the Lodges No. 1 & 2. Have Applied to this Grand Lodge, that both Lodges should be Permitted, as it has been apparent from the constant neglect of each & several of the Members not attending the Lodge Days, which if continued, the Craft must be reduced to nothing. It's Resolved In Consequence of the above application—To Reunite the two Lodges No. 1 & 2 & the Members present have unanimously Chosen the Following Officers: John Annan Mastr., Wm. Aertsen S: W: Wm. Elding Cox J: W:, Lewis Puech Treasr., & John Boone Secy.

JOHN BOONE Secy.

[Endorsement]

Minutes of ye Lodge of  
the 25th. of March and of  
the 12th. of August A: M: 5755.

In 1757 a Dutch Lodge had been formed, by the name of St. Pieter's, apparently in an unconstitutional manner. And in 1759 Jacobus Meykel was

appointed Provincial Grand Master under the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands. The date given for the first appointment of this officer by the *Allgemeines Handbuch* (Leipzig, 1900), 1777, is incorrect.

But Bro. Meykel appears to have taken up the appointment only in consultation with Bro. Gilliard, who resigned in his favour, and the English Lodge gave in its allegiance to the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands. It contained many members of Dutch nationality. The letter in which it announced this determination is in the Grand Lodge archives, and it refers to the St. Pieter's Lodge as a spurious body.

A certain Bro. Huet Duplessis had formed a Lodge, *Les Parfaits Maçons*, in 1758, and this also appears to have given in its allegiance to the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands. In 1760 there was constituted a Dutch Lodge, St. Jan den Dooper (St. John the Evangelist). From now onwards St. Eustatius passes out of English Freemasonry, with one exception to be now noted. Politically the island suffered vicissitudes. In 1781 Rodney captured it: it was described as a great centre of neutral trade, frequented by rebellious American colonists. Its later history is confused, but by the Treaty of Amiens in 1813 it finally became a Dutch possession.

Lane's references to the Lodge of St. Eustatius are as follows:—

p. 90. A New Lodge. Island of St. Eustatius [Dutch Island].  
Date of warrant or Constitution 6th June 1747. Not in List until 1755. *Erased in 1813.*

p. 104. No. 2. Island of St. Eustatius [a Dutch Island].  
Date of Warrant or Constitution—1754. Not in List until 1755.  
*Erased in 1813.*

As will be seen, this can now be amended. The correct date for the Warrant of No. 1, the "New Lodge," is 26th June, and No. 2 can be dated 25th March. We also know that No. 2 only lived six months. The earlier Lodge received the number 268, and No. 2 became 269. In fact, they were both reported together, and at the Quarterly Communion of 24th July, 1755, they paid a joint amount of five guineas for a Constitution, which was when their numbers were allotted.

But Lane has a reference to yet one more Lodge. On p. 180 we find:—

Union Lodge, named in 1774. Island of St. Eustatious. Date of Warrant or Constitution 1772. *Erased in 1813.*

Of this Lodge nothing is known in Dutch Masonic history: it is not in any list of the G.L. of the Netherlands. It must therefore have been a Lodge under the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), but erected in fact within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Grand Master under the G.L. of the Netherlands. It was in this year that Nicolaas Huet Duplessis, referred to above, was appointed Prov. Grand Master of St. Eustatius, Saba and St. Martin, exactly the same jurisdiction as that of Edward Galliard. In 1793 the three Lodges were all erased, and a new Lodge *Concordia* was founded, and seven years later *The Reunion* (1800). At present there are four Lodges only in the Dutch West Indies: one at Paramaribo, one at Aruba and two at Curaçao.

I finish this paper by expressing my gratitude to Bro. Lionel Vibert for comparing the documents about St. Eustatius with the Register of the Grand Lodge of England, and to Bro. W. N. Arntzenius, Conservator of the Archives of the G.L. of the N., for his kindness in bringing these old documents to my notice.

THE HAGUE (Netherlands).

## DUTCH LODGES MENTIONED IN LANE'S MASONIC RECORDS (LONDON 1895).

BY BRO. Th. G. G. VALETTE, Past D.G.M. of  
Netherlands' East India.

(Throughout this paper I first quote the reference in Lane, and then append my own Notes. The order of the Lodges is that in which they appear in Lane.)

### I. IN THE NETHERLANDS.

#### 1. P. 68. . . . THE HAGUE, Holland, 1735.

Doubtless the Lodge known in Dutch Masonic History, established 24 Oct. 1735, afterwards known as "Lodge Le Véritable Zèle." It soon became dormant, but was revived in 1744, and with other Lodges formed the G.L. of the Netherlands in 1756.

Erased in 1769.

*Note.*—The first Lodge in the United Provinces of Holland was founded in the Hague by Vincent la Chapelle 8 Nov. 1734, under the title "Loge du Grand Maître des Provinces Unies et du ressort de la Généralité." In a document of the Archives of G.L.N. (Grand Lodge of the Netherlands), not signed, but very likely written by Louis Dagrán and printed as an annex of the Minutes of G.L.N. in 1854,<sup>1</sup> it is stated under No. 3 that on 23 Nov. 1734, François Liégeois went to London to ask for a Warrant of Constitution and that this Bro. sent in March 1735, "une légitime constitution de la Grande Loge de Londres signée dans toutes les formes" together with Anderson's Constitutions. It *did not change* its title to "Le Véritable Zèle," as Bro. Lane supposes, but according to the List of G.L.N. (1931) to "L'Union"; about 1752 it took the title "La Sincérité," afterwards again the title "L'Union." On 31 March it amalgamated with "La Royale," and since then it exists as "L'Union ROYALE Lodge," now No. 1 on List of G.L.N.

The second Lodge in Holland "De la Paix" was established in 1735 at Amsterdam under a Scottish Constitution,<sup>2</sup> now No. 4 on List of G.L.N.

The third Lodge in Holland, the *second* in the Hague, was "Le Véritable Zèle," consecrated by Jean Corneille Radermacher on 24 Oct. 1735. In the document above named he is called on p. 59: "le Premier Grand Maître de notre illustre Ordre." The first W. Master of this Lodge was Louis Dagrán.

These three Lodges were closed by the orders of the Dutch authorities in December, 1735, but re-opened on 22 March, 1744. With the consent of the G.M. Radermacher the D.G.M. Louis Dagrán was W.M. of the two Lodges in the Hague.

<sup>1</sup> RESOLUTIE van het Groot Oosten der Orde van Vrijmetselaren in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden Etc., 5854. Bijlage H. p. 57-61 (1734-1756).

<sup>2</sup> Gould, *History* iii., p. 203, calls the "Concordia Vincit Animos" "the only Lodge of Scottish origin ever warranted in Holland." In the list G.L.N. (1931) it is stated that "De la Paix" got a Constitution through Bro. H. Lijslager after having received the consent of Scotland.

## 2. P. 71. . . . AMSTERDAM, Holland . . .

This only appears in the List in *Ahiman Rezon* of 1813, as "Constituted in Amsterdam." but nothing is known of it. There are no entries respecting it in Minute Books or Registers.

*Note.*—As neither name nor date is given, it is not easy to say which Lodge may be meant here. Nevertheless, there is every probability that it is "Het Heeren Logement Lodge," founded in 1749 under Dutch Constitution. In the List of G.L.N. it is said that it received a Constitution Warrant from England on 30 Nov. 1753, and that it then took the name of "La Fidélité." In the Records I find neither the latter name nor the former. The first W.M. of this Lodge was Daniel Hogguer.

## 3. P. 92. LODGE OF ORANGE. City of ROTTERDAM, Holland 5 May 1749.

Did not join G.L. of Holland. Must have died about 1756.

Erased from English Register in 1769.

*Note.*—Dutch Constitution 25 May, 1748, English Constitution 5 May 1749.<sup>1</sup> It had a large number of members belonging to the English, Scottish, Dutch, French and German nations. After the departure of the founder and first W.M., Bro. Schomberg, the members could not agree as to the choice of his successor. The Scottish members were the first to separate; they met among themselves without Constitution, but for a short time only. The Lodge must have died before 1756.

## 4. P. 97. . . . THE HAGUE, Holland 1752.

No trace of this Lodge in Dutch Masonic History.

Erased in 1769.

*Note.*—Here as with No. 2 it is difficult to say with certainty which Lodge may be meant. Very likely it was "La Royale," which is said to have received an English W. of C. (G.M. Carysfort) on 22 Nov. 1752. After acknowledging the authority of the D.G.M., G.M. *ad interim*, Louis Dagrau, it invited the other Dutch Lodges to be present at a meeting on 25 Dec. 1756, to discuss the proposed founding of a Grand Lodge of the Netherlands on the following day. It was one of the 10 foundation Lodges. (See also Note to No. 1.)

## 5. P. 100. LODGE LA BIEN AIMÉE. AMSTERDAM, Holland 30 Nov. 1753.

Joined Grand Lodge of Holland in 1757, but was kept on our Register until 1769. Now No. 4 on Reg. of G.L. of Holland.

*Note.*—This Lodge is one of the 10 foundation Lodges of the G.L.N. 1756. Now No. 2 on Register of G.L.N.

## 6. P. 101. SINGULAR ANCIENT LODGE. AMSTERDAM, Holland 18 Nov. 1762.

No records after 1762, and like No. 48 (A) it appears in *Ahiman Rezon* of 1813 without any justification.

*Note.*—In the List of G.L.N. (1931) are mentioned on p. 16-17 two Lodges opened in Amsterdam 1762: "Les Sept Frères Réunis" and "Virtutis

<sup>1</sup> *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje voor Vrijmetselaren* 1889, p. 160.

et Artis Amici." (See No. 11 and No. 12.) It is not possible to say which Lodge may be meant here.

7. P. 109. LODGE OF CHARITY. AMSTERDAM, Holland 24 June 1755.

Joined the Grand Lodge of Holland in 1757, but was not removed from English Reg. until 1769. Now No. 3 on Reg. of G.L. of Holland.

*Note.*—Was in existence, and known as "La Charité," before this date, and certainly on 15 Feb. 1753. One of the 10 foundation Lodges of G.L. 1756 and now No. 6 on Reg. of G.L.N. A Copy of the Deputation by D.G.M. Manningham is in the Archives of G.L.N.

8. P. 112. LODGE OF PEACE. AMSTERDAM, Holland 23 Sept. 1756.

Joined G.L. of Holland in 1757, but was retained on English Register until 1769. Now No. 2 on Reg. of G.L. of Holland.

*Note.*—Also mentioned in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1774), but not known in Dutch Masonic History. The List of G.L.N. mentions two Lodges with similar titles: (a) "De la Paix" under the Scottish Constitution since 1735; it took the name of "La Bien Aimée" after the re-opening on 20 Dec. 1754. It is one of the 10 foundation Lodges 1756 and now No. 2 in the List of G.L.N. (b) "La Paix" under the Dutch Constitution since 21 Feb. 1755. Also one of the 10 foundation Lodges, now No. 4 on Reg. of G.L.N.

9. P. 116. LODGE OF REGULARITY. AMSTERDAM, Holland 21 Nov. 1757.

Erased in 1769.

*Note.*—Also mentioned in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1774), but not known in Dutch Masonic History, nor is it mentioned in the List of G.L.N.

10. P. 124. ROYAL FREDERICK LODGE. City of ROTTERDAM, Holland 25 Jan. 1762.

No trace of its existence after 1767. It does not appear to have joined the G.L. of Holland.

Erased from English Reg. in 1813.

*Note.*—This Lodge was established in 1759 and joined G.L.N. in 1765, but on a difference about some formalities in relation to the initiations, some members sent the Warrant back to the G.L.N. and applied for a fresh Warrant to the Moderns G.L. The other members begged to have the Warrant returned to them, and this was granted by G.L.N. on 20 June 1762, with permission to take the title of "La Persévérance," and then the "Frédéric Royal" was erased from Reg. G.L.N.<sup>1</sup> It remained working, however, under English Constitution, but joined Dutch G.L. again in 1786. About 1857 it closed for a very short time, and re-opened in 1858. Now No. 8 on the Reg. G.L.N.

11. P. 128. LODGE OF SEVEN UNITED BRETHREN } AMSTERDAM,  
"LA LOGE DES FRÈRES RÉUNIS" } Holland  
16 June 1762.

Nothing more is known of this Lodge. It was erased in 1769.

*Note.*—Mentioned in the List of G.L.N. under the title of "Les Sept Frères Réunis," but in Dutch Masonic History nothing is known of this Lodge.

<sup>1</sup> H. Maarschalk: *Geschiedenis van de Orde der Vrijmetselaren, onderhoorige Koloniën en Landen* (Breda 1872), p. 65.

12. P. 129. VIRTUTES ET ARTIS AMICI. AMSTERDAM, Holland  
16 Sept. 1762.

Erased in 1769.

*Note.*—After 1762 it worked as a section of the Lodge “Concordia Vincit Animos” (1757)<sup>1</sup> under Dutch Constitution, but soon disagreements arose between the different members. G.L.N. had called a Committee on 31 July 1763 to examine the differences and to restore peace. As they did not succeed the old members of “Virtutes et Artis Amici” separated from the Lodge “Concordia V.A.” and got a proper Dutch Warrant. Declared vacant in 1778.<sup>2</sup>

13. P. 1433. LODGE OF PERSEVERANCE. AMSTERDAM, Holland  
1765.

Erased in 1769.

*Note.*—Not known in Dutch Masonic History, nor is it mentioned in the List G.L.N.

14. P. 157. BRITISH UNION. City of ROTTERDAM, Holland 1 Aug.  
1767.

Was kept on Register until 1813, and then erased.

*Note.*—Mentioned in the *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje* of 1860 (p. 178) and in that of 1867 (p. 99), but nothing is known of it in Dutch Masonic History. Must have died before 1807, for it is not mentioned in the List of the 39 Lodges then existing.<sup>3</sup>

15. P. 157. LODGE OF THE THREE PILLARS. City of ROTTERDAM,  
Holland. 21 Aug. 1767.

Retained on Register until 1813, and then erased. Still exists on Reg. of G. Orient of the Netherlands.

*Note.*—It remained under English Constitution till 1783. Since then it has worked under Dutch Constitution under the name of “De Drie Kolommen” and is now No. 13 on Reg. G.L.N.

16. P. 161. LA VICTORIE. } City of ROTTERDAM, Holland  
“Le Victorie,” 1768-78. } 17 March 1768.

No return since 1781. Was kept on Register until 1813. Does not appear to have joined the G.L. of Holland.

*Note.*—It is mentioned in the *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje* of 1860 (178) and in that of 1867 (p. 99); also in the *Engraved List of 1776*, but not in the Dutch List of 1807 of the then existing Lodges.

17. P. 165. SUN LODGE. FLUSHING (Prov. of Zealand), Holland 3 Feb.  
1769.

Erased in 1813. Nothing more is known of the Lodge.

*Note.*—Mentioned in the *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje* of 1867 (p. 99) and in that of 1889 (p. 168). The choice was given to this Lodge to join the G.L. of

<sup>1</sup> *Almanach des Freres Maçons pour 1779.*

<sup>2</sup> H. Maarschalk, *op. cit.*, p. 66 and p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> H. Maarschalk, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

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### A. ISLANDS.

- <sup>2</sup> The Handbuch calls St. Eustatius a DANISH Island!



Carpentier Alting's *Woordenboek voor Vrijmetselaren* (Haarlem, 1881) are mentioned:—

- (a) Union Lodge, erected 1780 (now dormant) and
- (b) Igualdad Lodge, erected 1855,

“both English Lodges.”

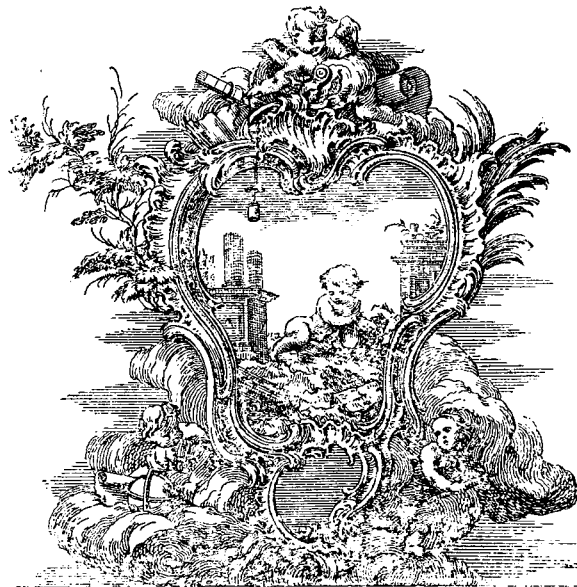
#### B. SURINAM.

P. 483. . . . Dutch Guiana. SURINAM. 1761.

(Not registered in the Books of G.L. of England.)

*Note.*—The Lodge “Concordia” in Paramaribo (Surinam), was officially opened on 17 Sept. 1761, but had been working for some time before. It remained working until 19 Aug. 1770, when it became dormant for want of a sufficient number of members.<sup>1</sup> It was re-opened in August 1773, and is now No. 9 in the List of G.L.N. (1931).

<sup>1</sup> H. Maarschalk, *op. cit.*, p. 402.



FRIDAY, 6th MARCH, 1931.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M., as W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D. Ireland, P.M., as I.P.M.; W. J. Williams, S.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; B. Telepneff, I.G.; and Bro. George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. W. Pryce Jones, H. Johnson, S. J. Fenton, G. D. Hindley, W. T. Dillon, P.A.G.Pt., F. J. Asbury, P.A.G.D.C., W. W. Woodman, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., W. H. Edwards, E. Eyles, J. F. Tarrant, H. F. Mawley, L. G. Wearing, R. W. Strickland, J. F. H. Gilbard, Geo. C. Williams, Fred. Underwood, A. W. Hare, J. W. V. Mason, H. Spencer, R. E. Stubington, F. Vuillermoz, R. Sandland, E. J. Pocock, Lambert Peterson, H. G. P. Rees, W. E. Heaton, P.G.St.B., Allan Ramsay, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.Pt., G. Kennedy Barnes, G. W. South, W. Brinkworth, Barry S. Anderson, Lewis Edwards, F. A. M. Taylor, B. Ivanoff, A. Sice, W. T. Osborne, and T. E. Johnston.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. Clarke Storey, Gallery Lodge No. 1928; G. Priston, Regent Park Lodge No. 2202; H. W. Montague, Beverley Lodge No. 5006; A. S. Hill-Reid, Royal Kew Lodge No. 3012; H. M. Ridge, P.M., Prometheus Lodge No. 4209; Harry Jacobs, Pr.P.G.W., Warwicks.; C. A. Mac. Clymont, W.M., Old Pauline Lodge No. 3969; W. H. Giles and J. C. Hillyer, L.R., Old Sinjins Lodge No. 3232; M. Patrick, Empress Lodge No. 2581; and Brig.-Gen. M. Quayle Jones, Dep.Pr.G.M., Warwickshire.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; F. W. J. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; A. Heiron; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.Dis.G.W., Bengal, J.D.; and John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.

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#### IN MEMORIAM.

The Acting Master reported with very deep sorrow the death of the Master, W. Bro. GILBERT WILLIAM DAYNES, which took place suddenly on Friday, 9th January, 1931, and mentioned the great loss that the Lodge and the Craft had sustained. A recital of his life and career had so recently been listened to (*A.Q.C.* xliii., p. 253) that it was unnecessary to repeat it. Alike in his civic, legal, military and Masonic duties, he was distinguished by steadfastness, perseverance, clear insight, and a keen appreciation of the great things of life, and an unswerving devotion to the Great Architect of the Universe. To the widow and children our heartfelt sympathy goes out in their great bereavement.

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One Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction, and Forty-seven Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. F. A. GREENE.

Rose Croix Jewel, silver-gilt, French, probably early nineteenth century. An irradiated cross with an open-work crown above it, both ornamented with brilliants. In the centre a device set with brilliants, a pelican on the obverse, and Rosicrucian emblems on the reverse. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. J. T. THORP.

An Original Copy of the Proclamation issued by the Magistrates at the Hague on 12th December, 1735, forbidding Masonic Lodges and Freemasonry.

*Translation:—*

A Proclamation. By the President and Council of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland. Whereas information has reached us from the Court that there are certain persons here at the Hague who under a specious pretence of belonging to a so-called Fraternity of Freemasons, meeting together under a Grand Master, have arranged, under that pretext, to hold and gather together in illegal assemblies; and that moreover from various circumstances it has been made to appear to the Court that it is in no way to be supposed that the study of architecture is the sole or principal object of their meetings; and furthermore that such illegal Fraternities or Colleges, that are not founded with the sanction of the Government, but on the contrary are introduced as a mere novelty, are always observed by the authorities to be false schools dealing in faction and debauch.

We, therefore, are inspired with a righteous indignation thereat, and that anyone should be willing thus to disregard the Law, and in pursuance of and by the authority of the Mandate and Ordinance of the Honourable Government of the States of Holland and West Friesland, of this last 30 Novr. and 5 Decr. forbid most strictly and categorically all and sundry, whoever they may be, and interdict by these presents the holding or frequenting of any such improper gatherings, be they under the style and designation of Freemasons, or under any other specious designation, denouncing them all alike as illegal. Moreover we forbid all and sundry to hire, let or allow the use of any house, room, loft, cellar or barn or other place, be it public or private, directly or by an agent, for the holding of any such illegal gathering or assembly.

And in order once and for all to put a stop to the aforesaid Fraternity which calls itself the Freemasons, we order and direct our Advocate Fiscal and Procurator General of the Court in the strictest manner, to keep the aforesaid illegal assemblies and gatherings under observation, and to proceed against all such individuals or any assembly of persons who will presume not to submit to and obey the purport of this Proclamation, as against disturbers of the public peace; and disobedient subjects, and to present them before the Magistrate.

[To be published and posted up in the customary manner by the Court officials.]

Given at the Council on 12 December 1735.

Signed.

Jan Parker.

By Bro. BÄELZ.

A German publication: *200 Jahre Freimaurerische Gebrauchs Graphik*. A collection of specimens, some from original plates, of engraved summonses, bookplates, etc., illustrating German Masonic art and design.

By Bro. J. HERON LEPPER.

Junior Warden's Collar Jewel, silver with emblems engraved on it, and inscribed:  
*Bro. J<sup>s</sup>. Brush Dub. Fecit. On Reverse: Tullehern, No. 618.*

By Bro. T. E. JOHNSTON.

Certificates, Irish Constitution, of John Cox.

Craft; G.L. of Ireland. Lodge 379 Maghera. 11 April 1815.

R.A. Printed. Chapter No. 450 Drogheda. 2 Feb. 1818.

(This has the imprint: Sold by Br. Wm. F. Graham 139 Capel Street Dublin. There was a seal, now missing, on a red ribbon.)

K.T. and Malta. Engraved with black wax seal on black ribbon. Drogheda Encampment 2 Feb. 1818. (The same imprint as the R.A. Cert.)

Red Cross. Manuscript. Held under the sanction of Lodge No. 450 Drogheda. 8 June 1818. Red wax seal on a blue and red ribbon, and a smoke seal.

By Bro. J. S. FENTON.

Jewel, engraved gold plate set in paste. Inscription: *Presented by the members present at the Moira Lodge on the 12th of March 1804. J. Dodd Sec.* Design of Faith, Hope and Charity. On Reverse, emblematic design.

Five Jewels, from the Grand Master's Lodge.

Three Past Grand Stewards' Jewels.

Four Grand Stewards' Jewels, Hogarth pattern.

Oval engraved plate, silver. Cornucopia between pillars. *Oeconomy Prudence.*

All these from the Warwickshire Provincial Grand Lodge Museum.

Records of the Orthes Regiment.

Copy of Constitutions of 1827.

Preston 1829 edition with inscription.

Officers' Collar; no jewel but a chain of Indian work.

Apron with regimental badge.

Tracing Cloths.

Correspondence Book, and By-Laws of 1835 and 1862.

Maul.

A pedestal, collapsible.

By Bro. GORDON P. G. HILLS, from the Library of Grand Lodge.

Warrant of Lodge No. 7 Province of Andalusia. Antients.

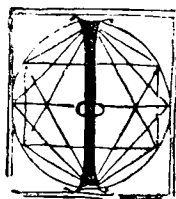
Warrant of Lodge No. 689, Moderns.

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Bro. S. J. FENTON read the following paper:—

## RECORDS OF THE "ORTHES" LODGE IN THE ROYAL WARWICKSHIRE REGIMENT OF FOOT.

BY BRO. S. J. FENTON.



IN 1923, on the occasion of my Installation as Master of the Warwickshire Installed Masters' Lodge No. 4538. I made the subject of my Inaugural Address "The Lost Lodges of Warwickshire"; and whilst searching for records of Lodges which have ceased to exist in the Province of Warwickshire, and there have been about 20 warrants or dispensations granted to Brethren in that Province prior to 1811, that do not now appear on the Roll of the United Grand Lodge of England, I was fortunate in collecting some records regarding the "Orthes" Lodge, which, although it was never under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire, and never held a Lodge Meeting in the Province, is, nevertheless, a Lodge of particular interest to Warwickshire Freemasons, for the reason that it was held in the Warwickshire Regiment, and is described in its Bye-Laws of 1835 as:

No. 445 or The Orthes Lodge.

On the Register of the Grand Lodge of England held in  
His Majesty's 6th or Royal (1st) Warwickshire Regiment  
of Foot.

The History of the Sixth or Royal 1st Warwickshire Regiment has been recorded officially, and is one of the volumes of *Historical Records of the British Army*, published by command of His Majesty William IV., and printed in 1839. It is generally known as Cannon's *Historical Records of the Sixth Foot*, and contains the official history of the Regiment from 1674 to 1830.

A later history has been published, entitled *The Story of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment (Formerly the Sixth Foot)*, edited by Chas. L. Kingsford, who brings the records up to 1919, with details of the Great War.

From these two books I have been able to obtain the names of the places where the Regiment has been stationed and the dates, and also particulars of the careers of some of the members of the Lodge, but there are no Masonic references in them.

In addition to the foregoing, I must express thanks for the great assistance received from Brigadier General M. Quayle-Jones, C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., D.L., P.G.D.Eng., Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Warwickshire, who commanded a Battalion of the Regiment in the Nile campaign of 1897 and also during the South African War. It was during his command of the 6th Regimental District at Budbrooke Barracks, Warwick, in 1903, that he discovered in the *Depôt* a box containing the Regalia and other property of the Lodge, which had not functioned since 1870, 33 years previously. This box contained almost everything except the Minute Book, but the most useful item, and one of exceptional value to the historian, was a book, in which are pasted copies of all the letters sent by the Lodge to Grand Lodge, and the original letters received in reply, together with various other particulars from 1830 to 1837, and from these the notes for that period have been compiled. I have also to acknowledge my appreciation of help

from Bro. Major N. Collins, commanding the Depôt at Warwick 1929-30: Wor. Bro. F. Taylor, at Grand Lodge Library: Bros. J. Heron Lepper and Philip Crosslé for information regarding the Lodge whilst in Ireland: Bro. V. Harris, Grand Historian, Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia, and many other Freemasons, who I hope will find this paper interesting and proof that their kindness in hunting up old records is appreciated.

Some day, perhaps, the Minute Books will be found—I have exhausted all the possible hiding places I can think of—and then more details will be available, and perhaps the statements I have made will be confirmed—or otherwise.

The Regiment dates from 1674 and after lengthy service in Holland went to Ireland in 1690 where it remained two years: during the next few years it saw service in Holland, Belgium, and again in Ireland in 1698. In 1702 it was at Cadiz, in 1703 for a short time in the West Indies, and, after being in Spain and again in the West Indies and Ireland, returned to England in 1742, and proceeded to Scotland.

It is in 1744 that we find the first Masonic reference, which is very interesting and has often been quoted. It originally appeared in Ross's *Freemasonry in Inverness*, 1877, page 41, and has been re-printed in Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, vol. 3, page 54, and elsewhere, as an extract from the Minutes of St. John's Old Kilwinning Lodge under the date of December 14th, 1744:—

"David Holland, present Master of the Lodge of Free Masons in the "Honble. Brigadier Guise's Regt. [6th Foot] now lying at Inverness, Fort "George, visited us this day, and had his proper place assigned him in our "procession; he appears to be No. 45. Mrs. of that Lodge."

The official records of the Regiment for the period 1720 to 1758 are very incomplete, but it was certainly stationed in Ireland early in 1720, and there is nothing to show it left Ireland until 1738. In the November of that year, Lieut.-Col. John Guise became Colonel of the Regiment. It is therefore fairly certain that the earliest records of a Lodge in this Regiment are to be looked for in Ireland. The Regiment remained there eighteen years (1720-1738), and, if the statement in this Scottish record refers to the 45th Master in 1744, it will, on the supposition that a Master was elected each St. John's day, date the constitution of the Lodge to 1722.

In 1745 the headquarters of the Regiment were at Aberdeen, with two companies at Inverness and three companies at Fort Augustus, which fact confirms the statement of the Regiment being in Inverness on 14th December, 1744.

On the 21st September, 1745, the Regiment took part in the battle of Prestonpans near Edinburgh, in which the rebels were victorious, and as the official records state that "the two companies had nearly every man either killed, wounded or taken prisoner," it is hardly surprising that we find no further record of Masonic activities in the Regiment for a number of years.

John Guise was appointed Colonel of the Regiment on November 1st, 1738, having previously served over 30 years in the Guards. Horace Walpole describes him as "A very brave officer, but apt to romance." Whilst under his command, the Regiment is said to have received the nickname of "Guise's Geese." He was Colonel of the 6th Foot from 1738 to 1765. I have been unable to trace any Masonic record of this officer.

The wording of the original reference to the Lodge on 14th December, 1744, is peculiar:—"David Holland . . . appears to be No. 45 Mrs. of that Lodge."

Bro. J. Heron Lepper, who has enthusiastically searched the Irish Records for me, writes:—

My personal opinion is that there was a Warrant No. 45 in the 6th Foot, granted by G.L. of Ireland (probably in 1735, but not later than April 1736). No. 45 is left a blank in our oldest register (which was copied about 1761 from an original).

The Lodge referred to in the Kilwinning Minutes was certainly not an English one. Scots Lodges were not numbered at that date, so if we assume that No. 45 was the number of the Lodge, as I do, the Lodge must have been Irish.

A further reference from *Paulkner's Dublin Journal*, March, 1753:—

On Wednesday last the Printer hereof received One Pound four shillings from the gentlemen of Lodge No. 45 of Free and Accepted Masons in Barrack Street, etc.

The above may be the correct interpretation of the "No. 45" in the Kilwinning Minutes, and if it is so, it goes some way to prove that the Irish Warrant in this Regiment is of earlier origin than had previously been recorded.

From the Regimental History, however, I cannot get any confirmation that the Regiment was in Dublin in 1753. In 1752 they marched from Berwick to Guildford in Surrey in 23 days, where they arrived in October, wintered in Sussex, and at the end of March, 1753, received orders to embark at Portsmouth for Gibraltar, where they remained ten years.

The foregoing are the only details I can give of the original reference to the Masonic activities in Brig. Guise's Regiment. The Irish suggestion by Bro. Lepper is a valuable one, and may perhaps eventually be confirmed.

From 1745 to 1785 I have been unable to find any Masonic record which could be placed to the credit of the Regiment, but I think it necessary now to give a short outline of the history of the 6th Foot up to 1806, in order that the reader may be able to follow its wanderings, and as there was a Lodge from 1785 which travelled with the Regiment part of that time, further particulars may be found in hitherto unrecorded places.

In 1772 the Regiment was ordered to St. Vincent (West Indies) to quell disturbances which had arisen there, and remained four years.

On the outbreak of war with America, the Regiment received orders in November, 1776, to proceed to New York, and they must have had some small share in the fighting, as it is recorded that they had seven men taken prisoners by the enemy.

They only remained there a month, when they were ordered home, owing to bad health contracted in the West Indies, and only 158 of all ranks landed in England early in 1777.

The next twelve months were spent in recruiting. In 1778 we find them in Warwickshire, one of the very few occasions when the Regiment had any actual connection with the County. At that period there were three companies at Warwick, three at Coventry, two at Stratford, and four in Birmingham. In 1781 they were at Jersey, and in 1782 the Regiment, which had hitherto been known as the 6th Foot, became the 1st Warwickshire, and took as its Regimental March the tune "Warwickshire Lads and Lasses," a tune composed by Chas. Dibdin to words traditionally ascribed to Garrick.

In 1778 there were only three Lodges in Warwickshire, one in Coventry, and two in Birmingham, but, there being no Lodge in the Regiment, it is impossible to trace any visitors from the Regiment in Warwickshire Lodges. (The Minutes of only one of the three Lodges exist to-day, *i.e.*, St. Paul's Lodge No. 43.)

They settled in Ireland (Dublin) in May, 1784, but in less than two years, on May 5th, 1786, embarked for America, where they remained for seven years, first at Nova Scotia, and in 1791 at Fredericton, New Brunswick. 1793 saw the Regiment in the West Indies (Barbadoes) and later at Martinique, but what was left of the Regiment returned to England and eventually to Ireland in 1796, in time for the Rebellion in 1798.

During the Irish Rebellion, the 6th Foot took part in one of those incidents in English History which seem to be expurgated from History Books at school and elsewhere. On August 22nd, 1798, a small French Force landed in County Mayo, and a small detachment of the Regiment hastily assembled with other available troops to oppose them, but it is recorded that the British Troops turned and fled in panic before the first charge of the French. It is also recorded regarding this encounter, that "The Sixth behaved well and had the rest done the same, the day would have been ours." The French eventually surrendered to Lord Cornwallis—the Viceroy.

The Regiment spent the winter of 1798 in Athlone and in June, 1799, sailed from Cork to North America. In 1803 they were at Quebec; they spent two years at Montreal, and eventually returned to England in September, 1806.

It is during their stay in Ireland from May, 1784, to May, 1786, that we are again able with certainty to pick up the threads of the Masonic activities in the Regiment, and these threads are, at least, two in number, and so complicated that it is no easy job to untangle them after nearly 150 years, and here again I am indebted to Bro. J. H. Lepper for valuable assistance. On February 10th, 1785, two Warrants were issued by the Grand Lodge of Ireland to Brethren in the 6th Foot.

They are recorded as follows:—

No. 643. Held in the 6th Regt. of Foot  
dated Feby. 10, 1785.

- |                   |                                       |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Joseph Allen   | } 10 Feby. 1785.                      |
| 2. Roger Robinson |                                       |
| 3. Joseph Webster |                                       |
| 4. Wm. Martyn     | 218 <sup>1</sup> (? Joined from 218). |
| 5. Robt. Sutteron | 218 <sup>1</sup> ( do. do. ).         |
| 6. Thos. Clarke   | certificate 26 Dec. 1785.             |
| 7. Saml. Baldwin  | do.                                   |
| 8. Rodk. McKenzie | do.                                   |

and No. 646. Held in the 6th Regt. of Foot  
dated Feby. 10, 1785.

- |                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. Joseph Allen   | } 10 Feby. 1785. |
| 2. Roger Robinson |                  |
| 3. Joseph Webster |                  |
| 4. Wm. Philips    | 26 May 1785.     |

Why two Warrants were issued on the same day, to the same petitioners. I can make no suggestion.

I will refer to the second Warrant No. 646 first, because there is very little known about it at present. In fact, it is marked in Grand Lodge of Ireland records as cancelled July 1818, without any intermediate reference.

The other Warrant No. 643, is important, and quite a number of definite records are available during the next fifteen years, although not any of them refer to the Lodge working in Ireland. I have traced it in Nova Scotia from 1786 to 1793, and I think research in New Brunswick, Barbadoes and Martinique might reveal further particulars. The Regiment eventually returned to Ireland in 1796.

The final reference to this Warrant is taken from the G.L. of Ireland records, which inform us that on 6th February, 1800, the Grand Lodge of Ireland heard the petition of Capt. Rowan, William Moore and Capt. John Todd, who prayed for a revival of No. 643.

They were ordered to return the Warrant (which was apparently in their possession), and if they did so, another might be granted. On the 3rd April,

<sup>1</sup> No. 218 I.C. in the 48th Regt. of Foot. Warranted 27th December, 1750; Cancelled 3rd December, 1858. This Lodge was the Mother Lodge of Australia. When serving in Sydney, N.S.W., it initiated some young Colonials, and after obtained for them a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which was the first regular Lodge in that Continent.



1800, the same petitioners were informed that no duplicate of the Warrant could be granted, and they were referred to Grand Lodge rule of 1776, forbidding re-issue of numbers. Warrant No. 643 was cancelled on April 3rd, 1800, and destroyed.

It is probable that the Lodge had been extinct for some time and these petitioners had obtained the Warrant by some means and wanted to work under it, instead of one bearing a more junior number.

It is recorded that the Regiment sailed from Cork in June, 1799, for North America, so that apparently the petitioners of 1800 were not connected with it.

Whilst in Nova Scotia, 1786 to 1793, the Lodge was active and appears to have been actually under the jurisdiction of the Prov. G.L. of Nova Scotia, acting on behalf of the Antients Grand Lodge of England, and this is the first connection I find of the Lodge with the Grand Lodge. The Prov. G. Secretary of Nova Scotia, in a letter of 9th July, 1793, to Leslie, G.S., in which he deals with the affairs of the Province generally, writes:—

We have also to report that Brother William Munro, who was expelled from Lodge No. 643, held in the 6th Regiment, has been readmitted as a Member of said Lodge, which for reasons assigned, was approved of by our Right Worshipful Grand Lodge.<sup>1</sup>

A somewhat extraordinary position, for this Lodge, working in North America, and recognising, apparently, the authority of the Provincial Grand Lodge, is in an English regiment, with an Irish Warrant.

Bro. Reginald V. Harris, Grand Historian of the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia, informs me that "Lodge No. 643 Irish Registry, in the 6th or Royal First Warwickshire Regiment of Foot, was in Nova Scotia from 1786 to 1793. Whilst in Nova Scotia they were quartered at Shelburne until 1791, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Whyte. In 1791, the Regiment was transferred to Fredericton, New Brunswick. We have the complete returns made by the Lodge during the period of its residence in Nova Scotia," and he also has kindly supplied me with the following returns of the Lodge whilst in the Colony, and writes that: "It was the custom in those days, when a Military Lodge came within an overseas jurisdiction to make returns to Grand Lodge, in return for the privilege of participating on Masonic occasions. A considerable number of Military Lodges took out Local Warrants particularly in Nova Scotia and India."

The first return is dated Shelburn, 25th February, 1788, and gives us the earliest known record of the Officers of the Lodge.

For the half-year prior to St. John's Day, 27th December, 1787, they were:—

Jos. Webster	W.M.
Wm. Phillips	S.W.
Wm. Hague	J.W.

It will be noted that Jos. Webster was one of the original petitioners for the Warrant No. 643, on February 10th, 1785, and Wm. Phillips was a joining member (or an initiate) of No. 646 on 26th May, 1785.

At the installation on 27th December, 1787, we get a full list of the members:—

Jos. Allen	W.M.
Jos. Webster	P.M. & Treasurer.
Wm. Hague	S.W.
Rod. McKenzie	J.W.
Roger Robinson	Sec.
Geo. Rooke	S.D.
Wm. Munro	J.D.
John McLean	Tyler.

<sup>1</sup> From the original letter in the Nova Scotia (Antients) File, in the archives at Grand Lodge.

Nich. Bale, H. L. Earle, Wm. Phillips, Wm. Martin. Thos. Clarke,  
Robt. Sutton, Saml. Baldwin members and  
John Perfect admitted 29 Jan. 1788.  
Thos. Welch ,, 4 Feb. 1788.

In making these returns the Secretary adds:—

Hope you will not think me troublesome in requesting to know if any  
dues for Registration etc., are due, and what sum, according to rule  
for Army Lodges;

so that it is obvious that this was the first return made by the Lodge to the  
Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia and shows 17 members.

Returns were made annually during their stay in Nova Scotia, and the  
list for 27th December, 1792, is interesting as it also gives the Military standing  
of some of the members at that date.

Returns to P.G.L. of Nova Scotia:—

Lieut.	Harmon Jones	W.M. & P.M.
Lieut.	Edward Thong	S.W.
	William Martin	J.W.
Qr.-Master	Wm. Hague	P.M.
	Roger Robinson	P.M. & Secretary.
	Joseph Allen	P.M. & Treasurer.
Capt.	A. Adolp. Dalley	S.D.
	Wm. Phillips	J.D.
	Joseph Webster	P.M.
Lieut.	E. Leon Earle	P.M.
Capt.	Thos. Welch	
Capt.	Walter Sharpe	
Ensign	John Ekins	
Ensign	James Stoppford	
	Thoms. Clarke	
	Wm. Munro	
	John McLeane	
	Rodk. McKenzie	P.M.
	Archd. Wier	
	Sam <sup>l</sup> . Baldwin	

1807—1822.

In May, 1807, the 1st Battalion—over 1,000 strong—embarked for  
Gibraltar, and although they fought many battles during the next two years,  
they were also performing their Masonic duties, and obtained a Warrant under  
the Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia, which is now in the archives at  
Grand Lodge in London.

The Warrant was issued in the following form:—

JOHN WINTER ESQUIRE PROV. G. MASTER.

James Dunbar P.G.S.W. Andrew Patterson P.G.I.W.

No. 7.

We, the Grand Lodge of the Most Antient and Honorable Fraternity of  
Free and Accepted Masons according to the Old Constitutions granted by His  
Royal Highness, Prince Edwin at York Anno Domini Nine Hundred and twenty  
six, and in the year of Masonry Four Thousand Nine hundred and Twenty Six,  
in ample form assembled, the Right Worshipful John Winter Esq., Grand Master  
of Masons in that Part of Spain in the Province of ANDALUSIA and Masonical  
Jurisdiction thereunto belonging. The Right Worshipful James Dunbar, Senior  
Grand Warden and the Right Worshipful Andrew Patterson, Junior Grand

Warden, with the Approbation and Consent of the Warranted Lodges held in the TOWN AND GARRISON OF GIBRALTAR. Do hereby Authorise and Impower Our Trusty and Well Beloved Brethren . . .

Thomas Whitehead, one of our Master Masons.

John Percey, his Senior Warden.

John Scales, his Junior Warden.

To hold and form a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in his Majesty's 6th REGIMENT OF FOOT in the Garrison of Gibraltar, or elsewhere throughout the World. [etc., etc.]

Given under our hand and seal.

Gibraltar 28 Dec. 1807.

After the Battle of Corunna in 1809, they returned to England, with only 491 men.

Within three years they were back at Corunna, under the Duke of Wellington, and after brilliant services at Vittoria and elsewhere, particularly distinguished themselves at the Battle of ORTHES on 27th February, 1814.

It was in commemoration of this victory that the Lodge, in 1820, applied for the name of ORTHES to be added to their Warrant, as will be seen from correspondence referred to later.

Soon after the Battle of Orthes, they went to Canada, but not for a long stay. Napoleon had rekindled the flame of war in Europe, and from Canada they sailed to Ostend, in May, 1815, eventually marched to Paris and were part of the Army of Occupation after the treaty of peace, remaining there until the end of 1818.

Whilst in France, the Lodge was again re-organized and the Andalusian Warrant surrendered, as is shown in the following letter—(in G.L. Library):—

<sup>1</sup> Camp Harflaut in France 22 Aug. 1816.

Sir and Bro.

Upon receipt of yours of the 24th July, We immediately Called a Committee of the Members of Lodge No. 7 and communicated the contents to them as we were out of the limits of our P.G. Lodge and not able to hold correspondence with them. It is the unanimous consent and wishes of the Brethren to come under the sanction of the United Grand Lodge of England and according to your desire I have transmitted our Warrant together with a complete list of the Brethren that have been initiated under it.

Since it has been in the Regiment, which is since the 28 day of December 1807.

We have also got the Approbation of our Commanding officer which you will see by his Signature.

I have sent you the names of some of the Brothers that have not been initiated under this Warrant but has lodged their certificates and become members from other Lodges which you will see by the remarks I have made in the List.

Dear Sir, I have to observe to you as an amendment that I have not in compliance with your request answered yours, but being ordered to Encamp was the cause of the Detainment. If theres anything Else Required it Shall be immediately Complied with by Sir & Brother.  
Yours sincerely

<sup>2</sup> A. Campbell  
6th Regt.

David Treasy	W.M.
John Bolton	S.W.
Chas. Bromley	J.W.

<sup>1</sup> Helfaut Heath, near St. Omer (Summer Camp of the Regiment, see page 83. *Story of the Royal Warwickshire Reg.*).

<sup>2</sup> Major-General Archibald Campbell, B.C., was in command of the Regiment for many years. He became Lieut.-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Jersey in 1835, and died there in 1838, aged 64, and although he approved of the Lodge being held in the Regiment, and endorsed the letter of 22nd August, 1816, I have been unable to trace him as a Freemason.

This letter is followed by two Lists. The first is a List of 44 members who joined from 6th January, 1808, to 4th May, 1810. It gives trades as well as military rank, and in it we find:—

David Treasy	Private.	
John Bolton	C. Serg.	Tinplate worker.
Chas. Bromley	C.S.	joined from 350 England.

The second List gives the actual signatures of the members and their rank, and it also notes joining members from the following Lodges, all Irish:—

562.	Royal Tyrone Militia	1797-1830.
157.	Stranocum, Co. Antrim	1810-1851.
857.	Queens' County Militia	1797-1833.
791.	Westmeath Militia	1793-1826.
427.	Maze Bridge, Co. Down	1765-1825.
784.	Garvachey, Co. Antrim	1793-1822.
846.	Tyrone Militia	1796-1818.

A dispensation dated 7th July, 1817, numbering the Lodge No. 689 on the Register of the Grand Lodge of England, was granted for a period of twelve months from that date.

Fortunately this document is preserved at Grand Lodge.

It is written on paper, bears the signature of "Augustus Frederick" as G.M., and is to the following effect:—

No. 689.

Petition of	David Treasy	Chas. Bromley
	John Bolton	James Doyle
	Geo. Gallagher	John Rothwell
	Richd. Pilkerton	Wm. Ford & others

all belonging to the sixth Regiment of Foot . . . [etc.]

We hereby authorize and empower our said Brothers to congregate and assemble at some convenient place wherever the said regiment may be stationed and enter pass and raise freemasons [etc.] . . .

David Treasy is appointed W.M., John Bolton S.W., Chas. Bromley J.W. of same and their successors to continue in the said offices until such time as a dormant Warrant can be transferred under the seal of Grand Lodge. And for doing so this dispensation shall be their sufficient Authority to be in force for the space of twelve months from the date hereof.

Given under our hand and seal at Kensington this seventh day of July 1817.

Wm. White	} G.Secs.
Ed. Harper	

The Richard Pilkerton of this document should be Richard Pilkington. In the list of Members initiated in the Lodge as No. 7, at Gibraltar, since December, 1807, we find Richd. Pilkington, on 7th January, 1809, who is clearly the same Brother.

He was eventually Master of the Lodge from 1822 to 1829, and signed the Grand Lodge returns as W.M. in 1831. At that date he was a Sergeant in the Regiment, and apparently the senior member of the Lodge, as his name appears at the top of the list of members.

The Lodge undoubtedly worked in France and in 1817 made returns from the "White Horse," Lillers, France. W.M., John Bolton; S.W., Jas. Vickers; J.W., Ed. Casham. In 1819 (March 6th) they were meeting at Phoenix Hall, Sunderland, with Jas. Vickers as W.M. In 1819, July 19th, their returns are made from Edinburgh Castle.

In 1820 they were at the "White Swan" (Bro. Kirkham's), Leeds, and from this town we get some exceedingly interesting letters which are to-day in the archives of Grand Lodge. The first is:—

Leeds 1st March 1820.

I, James Vickers, the W. Master, Requests you will Either Send us the Warrant or a Second Disspensation as You onley Authorised us to work 12 months on the one you sent Last and the date of the Disspensation was 7 July 1817.

Jas. Vickers.  
W.M.

Next we have:—

LEEDS. 28 March 1820.

Sir,

It is Requested that you will have the Goodness to Spake to the Grand Master to favour Lodge 689 Held hin his Majestes 6th Regiment of Foot with The name of ORTHIES to the Warrant as the Regiment Had the Honor of Being at the Head of that Glorious action Fought on Sunday 27th Feby 1814 In France as the Regiment as The name of Orthes as a Bag of Honor For that day so whe Request you will do your Indeavor to Give Hour Lodg the Same name and By so doing you will for ever oblige your welwishing Brothers of 689.

Jas Vickers	W.M.
Jas Doyle	S.W.
Ed Cashour	J.W.
G Gallaghour	S.T.

If you send us an account of the Expenses For the name to the Warrant whe Shal Remit you the Same along with Hour Quarterly Communication

This letter shows the enthusiasm of the applicants, if at the same time it points out the lack of education on the part of the writer. "Bag," in this instance, should be pronounced with a soft "g" and refers to the "Badge" of Honor, which they had on their Regimental Flag.

The next letter, dated two months later, seems to indicate that Wor. Bro. Jas. Vickers was the writer of the previous request, but he appears to have passed the request stage, and emphatically demands the "worrent" under threats to take the matter to the Grand Master:—

Leeds, 13th May 1820.

Sir,

I onst more request you will have the goodness to Send down houre warrent or an answer weather whe are to have one or not. I Can assure you that the Bretheren of this Body finds them Selves very much agrived as we do not receive what whe have duly with Patience been wating for Since June 1817. you have Debard us of even meeting this Two Last months Back on account of you requesting hour Disspencetion to fill up the Warrant by and now whe are under-orders to march on the Latter Part of this Month. and it is Expected that whe Shal be ordred on foren Service in the Course of this Summer. It is requested that the name of Orthes will be Granted to the Lodge.

I ham further more desired by the Body of the Lodge to write to the Grand master Stating Hour Case and that whe think that it is a Part of Neglect on Your Side which I Ham Determined to Do if I Dont Receive the worrent or Sum Sattisfractery Account Before the 30th Instant.

James Vickers.  
W.M. of 689  
in the 6th foot

The original letter is endorsed by a Grand Lodge official (probably Thos. Harper):—

689  
in reference to Warrant  
in lieu of dispensation  
15 May 1820  
Ansd. 18th, Warrant made out  
and waiting signature

On this Warrant, which was undoubtedly sent to them, they worked until it was deposited with Grand Lodge in 1844. Soon after obtaining their much desired Warrant in 1820, the Regiment was again ordered on Foreign Service, arriving at Cape Town in November. During 1822 and 1823, their headquarters were at Grahamstown, from which town we are able to collect some correspondence, amongst which the following shows that the Masons in the Regiment objected to one of their comrades being initiated into another regimental Lodge, on the ground that they had a Lodge of their own, and in their innocence, whispered in the ear of the Grand Lodge of England, asking them to adjudicate on what they conceived to be irregularities of a Lodge under the Grand Lodge of Ireland:—

Grahams Town, South Africa  
18 November 1822.

Sir,

It is with extreme anxiety that we have to report to the Grand Lodge what we conceive irregularities committed by Lodge 441 (held in the 38th Regiment of Infantry under the Grand Lodge of Ireland) in the initiation of a Candidate Viz That on our arrival in Cape Town the Lodge 441<sup>1</sup> held in the 38th Regiment of Infantry was then in that place (but since gone to India) and a few days after we landed the said Lodge 441 made Passed and Raised at one and the same Lodge meeting. Ensign B. Yelverton, of the 6th Regiment, this being a breach of the articles of Constitution (as we have them from the Grand Lodge of England) both in respect to the time allowed between each initiation, and also in admitting a Candidate from another Regiment in which there was already a regular Lodge established: we therefore applied to the said Lodge 441 for an explanation of their conduct in this case: and received in answer, that belonging to the Grand Lodge of Ireland they were therefore Authorised to Make Pass and Raise Candidates at one and the same Lodge meeting and also to admit Candidates from any other Regiment wether there was a Regular Established Lodge held in it or not,—Not being satisfied with this answer we consulted on the subject with the principal officer of the other Lodges in Cape Town who recommended us to refer the same to the Ear of our own Grand Lodge to determine wether Lodge 441 of Ireland held in the 38th Regiment of Infantry had infringed on the rights and Regulations of Masonry or not.

We reman

Sir and Brother,

Richd Pilkington      W.M.  
William Mason      Secy

Also in Grand Lodge Library is the following letter:—

Grahamstown,  
South Africa,  
16th Novr. 1822.

Sir and Brother,

We at length embrace the opportunity of rendering to you (for the information of Grand Lodge) an account of the Orthes Lodge No. 689, held in the 6th Regiment of Infantry up to June 1822.

<sup>1</sup> No. 441 I.C. 38th Regt. Foot, 1765-1871 (about). Cancelled 1885.

You will see by the accompanying list the amount of dues to the fund of Benevolence is £2-4-0, the amount of the Registry fees and certificates £1-6-0, which together make £3-10-0 to cover which we enclose an order on Greenwood Cox & Co. for £3-10-0, this being added to the 5/6d credit on our last gives £3-15-6, and will consequently leave 5/6 in our favour, which you will be kind enough to charge Postages, errors or other incidental Expenses and please inform us how we stand in your next Communication to us.

We are very sorry to inform you that in consequence of the detached state of our Regiment, we have not been able to hold our regular Lodge meetings as heretofore, nor is there any likelihood of so doing whilst we remain on the frontier. We shall here give a list of our members now present in the Colony, with names of their stations and distance from Grahamstown, and hope you will give us such advice as may be necessary for our future guidance should we remain long in so detached a state as at present.

Brothers	Whatnough Pilkington Ford Blackman Mason Mullaby Reith	}	At Grahamstown, the headquarters of the Regiment, but are very often and at uncertain times sent on command to other parts of the frontier.	
Brothers	Bolton Vickers Key	}	At Fort Beaufort,	50 miles from Grahamstown
	Sanders Rothwell	}	Willshire Barracks,	47 miles do.
	Bromley		Bathurst	25 miles do.
	McDonough Thornton	}	Caffre Drift	37 miles do.
	Bentley		Caffre Clay Pits	20 miles do.
	Coulan		On survey duty, place uncertain.	

The fact of the matter probably was that the Orthes Lodge was not working at that date, and very likely this particular incident brought the dormant masons in the Regiment into Masonic activity.

Richard Pilkington is recorded as W.M. from 1822 to 1829, apparently without an Installation meeting, the Lodge being in South Africa till 1825, and then in India.

#### 1829—1842.

It was in 1825 that the Regiment went to India, where it remained for seventeen years, and where we find some unique records of Freemasonry.

I have not been able to trace any Masonic activity on the part of the Orthes Lodge until October, 1829. The first four years in India appear to have been strenuous ones in various parts of the country.

The Lodge, from some accounts which have been preserved, seems to have been revived on 14th October, 1829, and the details of its finances for the next three years are explained in the following report:—

## ORTHESE LODGE, No. 689.

Proceedings of a Committee held by Order of the Worshipful Master on the 4th day of November 1832, at Camp near Poona, East Indies.

Brother	Pilkington	President
..	Horrocks	Members
..	Duan	..
..	Sharpe	..
..	Rafferty	..

The Committee having assembled proceeded to Inspect the accompts of the said Lodge and the President submitted a statement thereof, during the period (viz. from October 1829 to October 1832) that he has been Acting Secretary & Acting Treasurer, which statement is here enclosed, and appears to the committee to be correct, with the exception of a trifling sum of Rupees 6, 3, 83, which cannot be discovered through the Intricate manner which the books of the Lodge has generally been made up, as on reference to them, it would appear that, *two Nights proceedings*, have not been closed, in One Persons handwriting, and very frequently, *the same period* has been thrown into one account.

The Committee therefore humbly recommend to the favourable consideration of the Worshipful Master and the Members of this Lodge that the books before alluded to, be now closed with this nights proceedings and kept merely on Record, and that a New Set, be immediately furnished for future use.

The Members of the Committee cannot close their proceedings without returning thanks to the President, for the very great facility he afforded them in their researches, as from the irregular manner in which the accompts of this Lodge has generally been closed, it would have been impossible for the Committee to have complied with the Worshipful Masters directions without the explanations and information of Brother Pilkington.

Richard Pilkington	President.
Robt Horrocks	Member
John Duan	..
C. W. Sharpe	..
Geo W Rafferty	..
	Entered. J.B.

The following are items of interest in the Accounts from October 14th, 1829, to October 11th, 1832:—

			Rp.
1830.	Jan. 11.	12 Tumblers	11. 0. 0.
	.. 27.	Bill on Army Agent in London to the G.L.	243. 2. 04. <sup>1</sup>
	Jun. 10.	Schooling of the late Bro. Wilson's Children	16. 0. 0.
	.. 24.	Part Payment of Candlesticks	63. 0. 0.
	Sep. 9.	Brass Columns	40. 0. 0.
1831.	Apr. 12.	Ballotting Box	4. 0. 0.
	Jul. 7.	Hall Rent	50. 0. 0.
	Jul. 14.	Square and level, weight of Silver and making	17. 0. 0.
	Aug. 11.	Jewels and making of the same	18. 1. 0.
	Oct. 13.	10 Yards Silver Chain	39. 1. 0.
1832.	Feb. 13.	Shades	30. 2. 33.
	Jan. 7.	Bill on the Army Agent in London to the Grand Lodge	95. 0. 33. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> = £20.<sup>2</sup> = £8.



May 10.	Hall Rent	30.	0.	0.
Aug. 9.	Engraving a Medal	6.	0.	0.
Oct. 11.	Candles	4.	3.	59.
..	Dungaree for Chest	3.	0.	0.
..	Oil, Turpentine and Paint	4.	3.	0.
..	Robe	7.	0.	0.
..	Medal	34.	2.	0.

On the Credit side of the Account appears the amount of Nightly Dues and Subscriptions. The latter are interesting, showing that very few paid fully on initiation, the amount of which was apparently R 42.

The usual entries are as follows:—

Bro.	—————	1st Instalment	R 10.
do.		2nd „	R 10.
do.		3rd „	R 10.
do.		4th „	R 12.

One Brother paid in five instalments.

There is an entry of R 10 forfeiture of candidate who did not come forward when due for initiation.

The total receipts for the period covered by these accounts, three years, amounted to R 2112. 1. 12. and showed a balance in hand of R 246. 1. 53.

The square and level shown as purchased on July 14th, 1831, for 17 rupees, are still preserved at Budbrooke Barracks, Warwick, and I have had photographs made of them to accompany this paper. And with regard to the item:—

Oct. 13. 1831. 10 yards Silver Chain”.

there are still seven officers’ collars preserved, each having a narrow silver chain fastened down the centre.—this is most probably the silver chain referred to.

On the credit side of the account appear the subscriptions, and on November 30th, 1829, we find “Bro. Crofton’s Entrance fee R. 42.” This brother became W.M. in 1830/31 (we hope he duly served full twelve months as Warden, but we cannot prove that he did), and there is not much doubt that the entry of October 11th, 1832—“Medal R. 34. 2. 0.”—refers to a medal presented to him in 1833, in appreciation of which he addresses a letter to his successor as follows:—

1833.

My dear brother,

I had the pleasure to receive yesterday, the splendid medal voted to me, by the Lodge of our Regiment, and though, on the occasion of that vote, I faintly endeavoured to express what I felt sensibly, I must request of you, when next you meet the Brethren, to communicate to them my continued sense of the honor they so unexpectedly conferred upon their former Master in the Chair, and of which not all my vanity can persuade me to have been deserving.

That Gift, for which I then returned thanks to the *Living*, I must now look on in part as a bequest from the *Dead*. Alas! How many of those Brethren who that night stood around me are no more! Do, my dear brother, communicate these sentiments to the Lodge and assure all and each that I shall ever look on the Medal, with which they have too partially honored me, as a stimulus to future exertions for the good of the Craft, rather than as a reward for the very trivial services it was ever in my power to confer on Lodge 689.

Though absent upon duty, at present, I look forward with a proud pleasure, to the day when in rejoining my Corps, I shall not only be restored to my friends and fellow soldiers, but have the delight of renewing my masonic intercourse with the valued and beloved Members of the Orthes Lodge.

It may gratify the feelings of the Lodge to know, that since my separation from it, this day year at Poona, I have met with

numerous Masters and Fellows, from all of whom I have received fraternal tokens of recognition and regard, thus adding one more instance to the many, that the broad World is but a larger Lodge, and that, in it, a true Mason will always find friends and fellows ready to hail him, and give him the right hand of fraternal fellowships.

That *He* may guide, guard and govern, the minds, morals and measures of the Lodge over which you now preside, is the fervent prayers and hope of

My Worthy Brother,

Your obliged friend,

Cutch Bhooj,

J. Crofton.<sup>1</sup>

Aug. 10th. A.L. 5833.

P.M.M.M.L.O. 689.<sup>2</sup>

The following letter is interesting in showing that the Lodges did not accept joining members without thorough investigation:—

Lodge Perseverance,

Bombay 27th April 1832.

Worshipful Sir and Brother,

I am directed by the Worshipful Master of Lodge Perseverance No. 818, to request you will be kind enough to favor him with a copy of Brother Davis' address to you, relative to his non-admittance as a Member of our Lodge, and your reply thereto. A copy of Brother Davis' letter has been perused by one or more of our members, and it has been brought to the notice of our Worshipful Master, that there are aspersions upon our Lodge which require immediate investigation. The Worshipful Master will, therefore, feel obliged by your favoring the brethren of Lodge Perseverance with as early a reply as convenient. In conclusion allow me to convey to you the hearty good wishes of the brethren of Perseverance for the prosperity of Orthes Lodge.

I remain,

Worshipful Sir & Brother,

Yours fraternally.

Secretary to L.P.

The Worshipful Master of Lodge Orthes no. 689 Poonah.

Bro. Davis (James) is marked on the G.L. returns of December 31st. 1831, as "Left for Bombay. 1831."

Another letter indicates that the Benevolence of the Lodge was not restricted to purely Masonic Charities:—

Dessa Nov 28 1835

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of a donation (50 rupees) from the Masonic Lodge Orthes No. 445, held in His Majesty's 6th Regiment of Infantry, which I shall in compliance with their request, forward to the Secretary of the Society for the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay, to be applied in aid of their Funds and have in the name of the Society to return my thankful acknowledgment of same.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obt Servt

George P—————<sup>3</sup>

To the Secretary

Chaplain.

of the Masonic Lodge Orthes No 445.

<sup>1</sup> Lieut.-General John Folliott Crofton. Joined the Regiment as an Ensign in 1824; was initiated in the Lodge in November, 1829. He served 24 years with the Regiment, and as Colonel, commanded the Regiment in 1869. He died in 1885.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably *Past Master Masonic Military Lodge Orthes 689*.

<sup>3</sup> Not legible in original.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

In the G.L. archives there is still preserved the record of the correspondence with the Lodge at this period, and the letters and extracts which I now reproduce are interesting as showing the useful power which Grand Lodge exercised over Lodges in distant parts of the Empire 100 years ago. Every item is Masonic history. In 1830, it is to be noted that Grand Lodge plainly hint that the Lodge will be erased from the Register if it violates rules regarding the period between passing and raising, and in 1834, on the same subject, the W.M. writes to London "that it cannot be contemplated to withhold indulgence" for breaking such rules under the special conditions which Military Lodges are subject to.

The difficulty and irregularity of communication with Grand Lodge is well shown, and no doubt in 1830/1840, many mails to India were sunk or even captured by enemies. Still, it will be observed that "we firmly adhere to the mode of work in which we were instructed under the Union." This statement is made in 1831 by Wor. Bro. Pilkington, who was a petitioner for the Warrant granted in 1817 and was made a Freemason in the Lodge in 1809, and his appreciation of the fact that the ritual had altered, is well expressed in this letter, wherein he "laments our distance from the original source whence we "could draw fresh instructions and correct such errors as time and distance may "have caused." In 1833, we find that a weekly Lodge of Instruction was held, and in 1834 brethren arriving from England stated, that "Some alterations have "taken place in the method of working the Lodge . . . but we continued to "work according to the methods of our Forefathers": and although they had gleaned some information, they declined to act on it until they had confirmation from London.

I think it specially interesting to compare the copy of the Circular dated 27th January, 1835, with the elaborate circulars or summonses issued by Lodges in 1930. This particular specimen is written on a sheet of Foolscap and was marked "To be receipted." It was duly "circulated," and signed by each brother who read it. Such a procedure is of course impossible in Lodges to-day, where the members are scattered, but as this Lodge was in a regiment, it was probably the usual method of summoning the brethren. It is the recognized method of sending round notices in any Indian up-country station to-day, to have only one copy, in an envelope which each person in turn initials when the notice is brought to him by the messenger.

On 1st January, 1831, the returns show 18 Initiations between Nov. 26th, 1829, and October 7th, 1830.

In a letter dated: Poonah, 5th January, 1830, to the G. Sec. London, we have the following:—

List of Members of the Orthes Lodge No. 689, held in His Majesty's 6th Regt of Infantry at the Masonic [Hall] Poonah. 27th December 1829, and also of Masons made and brothers joined since last return:—

Vickers	discharged
Bolton	dead
Ford	discharged
Rothwell	"
Reith	"
Howell	"
Conlan	"
Kay	"
Thornton	"
Whatnough	dead
Mullaby	"
Blomeby	discharged
Mason	"

Bentley	dead
McDonough	"
Moore	"
Baxter	"
Friends	discharged
R. Pilkington	1.
P. Sanders	4.
C. Heed	2.
J. Blackman	3.
J. Sharpin	.
J. Crofton	12 Nov. 1829. 26 Nov. 1829. 12 Dec 1829.
J. Atherton	
J. Davis.	

The letter goes on to say:—

it was unanimously agreed to carry on our Labours as we had done heretofore, although in a very weak state of members of whom I have to name only four Brethren present, the cause of our decrease I am sorry to say was that the hand of Providence has taken many worthy members from us and others have left through long service.

N.B.

The rapid manner in which Brother Crofton has been raised may seem contrary to the Constitution, but it is hoped the measure will be considered as one of the greatest Emergency and authorising a deviation in consequence of absolute want of members for the good of the Craft.

(The Grand Secretary's note on this was:—"No returns from this Lodge since Feb. 1823.")

The correspondence is thus continued:—

London. 22nd September 1830.

W. Master.

We have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th January last, inclosing a list of the members of your lodge with a remittance for the amount of the register dues and Contributions to the funds of the Grand Lodge which is accordingly placed to the Credit of the Lodge.

It is to be regretted that any circumstance should for so long a period have interrupted the regular meetings: but now that they are resumed it is to be hoped that the Lodge will improve, not only in numbers but respectability. Nothing can more tend to the accomplishment of this object than a due observance of the Laws and Regulations of the Society as contained in the Book of Constitutions.

We are led to this observation by remarking that in some instances you have not adhered to the Law respecting the period to be observed in passing and raising your newly initiated Brethren. It will be seen that a violation of that particular Law will subject the lodge offending to erasure, because no emergency can be allowed as a justification. Vide Const p 88 & 92.

Inclosed herewith you will receive 3 Grand Lodge Certificates as required and a ruled form whereon to make your Returns of Members for registration. Therein it will appear that in all cases of Brethren joining the Lodge the name and number of their former Lodge must be stated and where it happens to be a Lodge under the Grand Lodge of Scotland or Ireland, or any other Foreign Lodge, and they are consequently *not* previously recorded upon our *Grand*

*Lodge Books.* the fee for registry must be the same as for a newly admitted brother.

With fraternal regard,

I am for Bro White and self

W. Master

Faithfully Yours,

Edw Harper, G.S.

Sergt Richard Pilkington.  
Orthes Lodge No 689  
6th Regiment of Foot

London 18 July 1831.

W. Sir & Brother,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 18th December last enclosing a return of members as also a Bill on Messrs Greenwood & Co for Twenty Pounds. which sum I have accordingly placed to the credit of your Lodge.

Enclosed herewith I beg to hand you sixteen G Lodge Certificates as required. Those for John Gordon and Andrew Byrne shall be forwarded as soon as we are furnished with the dates of their attaining the third degree.

It affords the utmost satisfaction to learn of the increase and popularity of your Lodge. which we trust may continue to flourish. And it will at all times tend materially to the promotion and success of your Lodge. as well as the facility of our Correspondence. that your returns for Members for registry, and remittance for dues, be rendered at stated periods and not less than once in every year.

I remain with due regard

W Master

Your faithful Servt & Bro

Edw Harper. G.S.

I also enclose a bound copy of the last edition of the Laws & Regulations of the Craft. for which you are debited 7/6

To L<sup>t</sup>. John Crofton.

Orthes Lodge No 689

6th Regt Foot. Poona.

Camp near City of Poona.

December 28th 1831

Sir and Brother,

I have the honour to inform you of my Election to the Chair of Lodge Orthes No. 689, held in the 6th Regiment of Foot. Since the last Annual Communication of 1830, made by my predecessor, the increase of members has been trifling, five only have been initiated during the last 12 months and two have been expelled. the addition to our members will appear but three. Annexed hereto, is a List of Members. now composing the Lodge, with remarks explanatory of their leaving or being otherwise disposed of. For each Brother initiated. and for each member present. I enclose a Bill on Messrs Greenwood Cox & Co for £8. 0. 0. to meet the Registry Fees of the former and the sum due to the Fund of Benevolence from the latter. The balance I request you will be pleased to carry to our credit.

I beg leave respectfully to acquaint you that no Quarterly Communication has reached the Orthes Lodge since 1829 and we are. consequently in ignorance of your having received our contributions since we arrived in Poonah. In this distant Country a communication from our Grand Lodge is cheering and assures us of having met approbation. We therefore eagerly request that you will favour us with a regular Quarterly Communication and as the postage may be

requisite, we beg that you will appropriate part of the Balance in your hands to that purpose.

The Lodges here working, are under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and we, therefore, have no opportunity of seeing a Quarterly Communication from the United Grand Lodge of England. We have firmly adhered, "thro' evil and good report" to the mode of work in which we were instructed under the Union, but we have deeply to lament our distance from the original source, whence we could draw fresh Instruction and correct such errors as time and distance may have caused.

I have to apologise for the length of this letter and the intrusion on your valuable time. In conclusion I have only to add on the part of myself and every Brother of the Lodge, our Prayers for the Good of Masonry. May the Great Architect of the Universe prosper the Grand Lodge in all its laudable undertakings and guide us in our researches thro the paths of Nature and Science.

I have the honor to be

Sir & Brother

Richd Pilkington

W Master. Lodge Orthez 689

6th Regiment of Foot

London 9th June 1832.

W.Sir and Brother.

Your favor of the 23rd January last, in acknowledgement of ours addressed you on the 13th July 1831 I had the pleasure to receive a few days since, and am exceedingly surprised, as well as disappointed, to learn thereby, that the packet addressed to your Worshipful Master containing three G.L. Certificates on 22nd September, 1830, had not then been received. Through the medium of a Brother in the Adjutant General's Office, it was undertaken to be sent out, and he assures me it was despatched by the official bag at that time, but no further particulars can I now obtain from him.

I have therefore caused duplicates of the Certificates to be issued, which are forwarded by this conveyance, together with six other Certificates, as required per return of 28th December, 1831, all which, I trust, will safely reach their destination.

I sincerely regret the disappointment that has been thus occasioned, and will take care by every possible means in my power to avoid occurrence of the like.

By the "Upton Castle," through which it appears you received my former letter, a packet containing sixteen Grand Lodge Certificates, as per your return for the year 1830, was forwarded although it was named in your last letter, it was, I trust, duly received.

With sentiments of fraternal regards,

I remain,

W. Sir,

Your very obedient servant and  
Brother

Edw. Harper G.S.

John Crofton Esq.,  
Orthes Lodge No. 689.  
6th Reg. Foot.

Camp near Deesa. 23rd Sept 1833.

Worthy Sir & Brother

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communications dated the 30th day of May & 9th day of June 1832, the latter of which enclosed the Duplicate of a letter dated the 22nd day of Sept 1830, which upon enquiry and strict search, it appears the

original never reached its destination, but your letter dated the 18th day of July 1831, enclosing sixteen Certificates arrived safe, and it must have been a mere oversight of my predecessor, Bro. J. Crofton, (at present employed on official duties at Bhooj) in not acknowledging the receipt in our last communication. I feel happy in performing our usual Customs agreeable to the Constitution and herewith transmit the Annual proceedings of the Orthese Lodge No 689, it being the first opportunity afforded to us since the departure of the Regiment from Poonah and regret to state that from the want of an adequate place of Meeting in this distant part of the Globe, we are under the necessity of suspending our labours for some time. Since the last Communication, made by my predecessor, the increase of members have been considerable, fourteen having been initiated and one joined.

I enclose a Bill on Messrs. Greenwood Cox & Co for the sum of £ <sup>1</sup> to meet the Registration Fees due by our newly initiated Brethren and to cover the amount due to the Fund of Benevolence, the remainder you will have the goodness to place to the Credit of the Lodge and expend it on such New Books of Instruction that you may deem necessary.

I regret to inform you that a similar meeting was convened a short time previous to the Regiment leaving Poonah, which is so particularly stated to be avoided, in the duplicate of your letter dated the 22nd September 1830, and had the Lodge Orthese, been so fortunate to receive the Original, none such would have taken place. I must however refer you to our newly initiated brothers name; Benjamin White, Asst Surgeon to the 17th of Native Infantry, our departure from Poonah, (at which place Brother White continues to perform his duties, with his Regiment) together with the anxiety which prevailed in securing a Member of such abilities and every willingness on his part to become an enlightened Mason, was the sole cause of the *Emergent Meeting*. I have however placed the duplicate of the letter before mentioned on record, and in such a conspicuous manner that it will be in future read at every Monthly Meeting, which will prevent the Lodge Orthese from again committing this gross error.

I cannot conclude without acquainting you, that during the period that I have filled the Worshipful Mastership of this Lodge, the 6th Regiment, laying at that time at Poonah, I have held weekly meetings for the purpose of Instruction, and which shall be renewed, immediately we are enabled to resume our labours in the East. I have only to add on the part of my Brethren and self, our prayers for the good of Masonry and may the Great Architect of the Universe prosper the Grand Lodge in all its laudable undertakings and guide us in our researches through the paths of Nature & Science.

[The original is unsigned; the Master at this date was H. Forster. But the copy of the Grand Secretary's reply of 30th June, 1834, which is in the Letter Book at Grand Lodge, shows that the bill was for £15, and that the letter was sent by John Grey Wilson.]

Camp Deesa.

8th November 1833.

To the Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England.

Dear Sir & Brother.

Considerable difference of opinion exist in the Lodge over which I have the honor to preside, respecting our competence to remit, under circumstances of emergency, a portion of the period prescribed

<sup>1</sup> Blank in original.

by the book of Constitutions as necessary to elapse between conferring the higher grades of our most antient & Honorable Order.

I have deemed it expedient, as well for the satisfaction of the Brethren of the Lodge, as in furtherance of the object and interest of the Craft, to make this reference on the subject, for the consideration and decision of the Grand Lodge of England, and at the same time to request, that the precise extent of the Authority vested in the Worshipful Master, by Article 6, under the head of Private Lodges, may be explained. Article 3, of proposing Members, authorizes the initiation of a Candidate, under circumstances of Emergency, seven days after his proposal, and when it is considered that we are 16,000 miles removed from the Grand Lodge of England and have not the advantage of a Provincial Grand Lodge to which to apply for a dispensation.

I humbly conceive that it cannot be contemplated to withhold indulgence of a similar nature (but to a more limited extent) from a *well known* and *tried Brother*, who may have received *the first and the second degrees* but, who from unforeseen circumstances, may be compelled to leave the Station within a few days of his becoming entitled to the full benefits of Masonry. Instances of this nature are of very frequent occurrence in this country, and however anxious the individual so circumstanced may be to attain knowledge, he in all probability never enjoys another opportunity of advancing himself in the Mysteries of the Craft, or of receiving any of those benefits for the prospect of which, agreeable to the Bye Laws of this Lodge, he is obliged to pay in advance.

Trusting that this application will be favourably received,

I have the honor to remain

Dear Sir and Brother

H Forster

W.M. Lodge Orthes, in the 6th Regt of Foot

(?) December 1834.

I have the honor to inform you that since my last communication, we have been enabled to procure a convenient place for our regular Monthly Meetings, and I am happy to state that 16 Brethren have been initiated from other Lodges, for whom the requisite fees are herewith sent, and annexed a list of Members of the Lodge, from whom the sum due to the Fund of Benevolence is forwarded. Both amount to £———, to defray this is a Bill on Messrs. Greenwood & Co, our Regimental Agents, and the surplus you will be pleased to apply to the purchase of the Masonic Works, of which we will feel obliged by your forwarding to us along with the G.L. Certificates, viz., The Masonic Calender and Preston's Illustrations, Dr. Hall's Masonry and Webb's Monitor.

I have the honor to acquaint you that I have resigned the chair of the Orthes Lodge in the favor of Br. John Duan, who has been duly elected, and have only to add on the part, self, and every Brother in the Lodge our prayers for the good of the Masonry. May the Great Architect of the Universe prosper the Grand Lodge in all its laudable undertakings and guide in our researches through the Paths of Nature and Science.

I cannot, however, conclude this letter without regretting the disadvantage under which we labour from the distance we are from the fountain of Knowledge, the more particularly as some members who have lately arrived from the Mother Country, have stated that some alterations have taken place in the method of working the Lodge, but from their inability to give us the necessary instructions, we continue to work according to the methods of our Forefathers, and we



have, however, been able to glean something of the first degree, but decline putting it in practice, until we are acquainted with the others.

I am, Sir and Brother,

Yours fraternally,

John Grey Wilson.

W.M. Orthes Lodge

N. 445.

Messrs. Harper & White.

Grand Secretaries, .

Freemason's Hall,

Gt. Queen Street.

LONDON.

Camp Deesa Jan. 23rd 1835.

Dear Sirs and Brothers.

For the information of the Grand Lodge of England, I have the pleasure to report that on the 24th day of June 1834, I was unanimously elected Worshipful Master, by the Brethren of the Lodge Orthez, held in H.M. 6th Foot in the British Camp at Deesa, in succession to past Master Duan.

Herewith, I beg to enclose a list of the members together with a bill on Messrs. Cox & Co. for £17, which you will please place to the credit of the Lodge.

With a sincere regard for our Antient Honorable Fraternity allow me to subscribe myself, yours ever.

H. Forster.

Messrs. White & Harper.

London, 31 Janry 1835

W Master.

We have to acknowledge receipt of your letter covering a return of Members to December 1833 and a bill for £17.

Enclosed herewith we beg to hand you Nine G Lodge Certificates, the remainder shall be forwarded as soon as the date of raising may be supplied.

With reference to the Books you require, those of "Hall's Masonry" and "Webb's Monitor" are not to be met with in London. You will however receive herewith three books on Masonry, as also two copies of the Masonic Calendar for the current year, which we trust will prove useful and instructive. In our last was forwarded a Masonic Calendar for 1833, which owing to the Stamp duty having been since taken off, is now rendered at 3/- each.

We are, Your faithful Servts & Bros

William H White

Edw Harper

G.S.

Lieut J Grey Wilson

Orthes Lodge 445

6th Foot Bombay

Jan 31 1835.

To Prestons Illustrations of Masonry

in calf and lettered ...

12. 6<sup>1</sup>

Signs & Symbols by Oliver

15. 6

A short View of Masonry by Sandys

3. 0

2 Masonic Calendars in tuck cases

6. 0

£1. 17. 0

"The Star in the East," as also another work by Bro Oliver, is out of print, another Edition is promised, when published it shall be forwarded to you.

<sup>1</sup> This copy of Preston's *Illustrations*, 14th Edition, 1829, which has written on the Fly leaf: "Orthes Lodge, No. 445. Recd. from Grand Lodge 7 Novr. 1835. Camp Deesa," is still in existence, and in almost perfect condition.

The following letter was sent to London on 10th March, 1835:—

Dear Sir & Brother,

In consequence of many of the Brethren of this Lodge being greatly in debt to the same on account of their monthly dues and indeed I am ashamed to say, their entrance fees, as also their non attendance for months past, though repeatedly warned against the consequences such infringements of our Laws and Regulations would naturally call for, and never having assigned any excuse for such irregularities, nor evinced the slightest inclination either to liquidate their debts or attend our monthly meetings. I have deemed it expedient for the Good Fellowship of our Lodge, as well as for the respectability of our Institution, with the unanimous consent of my suspend

Brethren, to ~~expel~~ the whole of the members that have thus acted, from the Lodge, until the decision of the Grand Lodge of England may be received on the subject. Enclosed is a list of the names of the suspended brethren together with a copy of the circular sent to each.

With my best wishes to our antient and honourable institution, allow me to subscribe myself,

Yours fraternally

H. Forster

W.M. Orthes

#### COPY OF CIRCULAR.

Camp Decsa.

27 January 1835.

Dear Brothers,

I am desired by the Worshipful Master to circulate for your information the annexed circular and to request your particular attention to it.

G. W. Rafferty.

Secretary Orthes Lodge.

#### CIRCULAR.

It is with regret that I have observed lately that there appears to exist an impression on the minds of many of the Brethren of the Lodge Orthes, that there is no necessity to pay either their Monthly dues or Fees, the brethren must be too well aware of the numerous debts due the Lodge, they must be also aware of the urgent necessity as good Masons to liquidate those debts. I know that you are all well able to do it, and I earnestly beseech of you all, both as men and Masons, to put them in such a train of liquidation immediately, as shall enable the Treasurer to make a favourable report to me at our next Meeting, and by the meeting in March. I shall expect to see the whole of them liquidated, on the other hand. I am determined for the Respectability of our Lodge to expunge the names of every Member so offending from our Lodge, and record his conduct in the Minute Book.

H. Forster.

Worshipful Master.

Lodge Orthes.

This Circular bears the following:—

To be Receipted,

and bears the signatures:—

A. Crofts  
J. M. Hamilton  
A. Lorny  
J. Dalton  
A. Gilles  
—. Rogers  
J. Brooks  
P. Carr

Circulated

28th and 29th January 1835

Geo W. Rafferty.

Secy.

The correspondence closes with the two letters from the Grand Lodge which follow. What is alluded to in the letter of 28th January, 1837, where it speaks of a *renewal* of the Warrant, I am unable to explain.

London, 11th August 1835.

W Sir & Brother,

We have the satisfaction to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 23rd January last, enclosing a return of Members together with a Bill for £17, to cover amount of dues therein stated.

Herewith inclosed we beg to hand you 8 G Lodge Certificates being for those who are reported to have taken the Masters Degree, the remainder shall be issued and forwarded as soon as the dates of their raising may be supplied.

With reference to the case of Brother Mc Credie, who appears to have been suspended from his masonic functions and "having satisfactorily arranged matters" with the Individuals concerned, should the Brethren agree in permitting him to resume his station in the Lodge, there can be no objection to his being reinstated, more especially as the suspension does not appear to have been reported in any Communication by the Lodge.

In respect to the application by the Lodge to be allowed to pass and raise Brethren at a less period than is required by the Laws. We have to state that the rule is a general one, and admits of no deviation, neither can any dispensation be granted under any Circumstances, as a departure from the strict observance thereof, Vide Const under the Head Proposing &c. p. 88.

Brother Crofton has lately visited London, whereby an opportunity has been afforded of witnessing and improving himself in the workings of the various Ceremonies of the Craft degrees and We have not doubt, but, upon his return to the Lodge he will be able to afford considerable Instruction to the Members generally.

We remain, with due regard,

W Master

Yours very Obedt Servts & Brothers

William H White

Edw Harper

G S

Henry Forster Esq  
Orthes Lodge 445  
Deesa.

London, 28th January 1837

W. Master.

We have the satisfaction to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 24th June last, inclosing the annual return of your Lodge with a remittance for the amount stated £7. 4. 0 to cover that, as well as the purchase of some Masonic Books.

Enclosed we hand as required, 2 G Lodge Certificates also the 12 numbers of the Masonic Quarterly review, neatly bound in three volumes, with three Masonic Calendars for the Current year. The works of Brother Oliver which have been some time in the Press are not yet completed, when they are, a copy of each shall be forwarded you.

In order to effect a renewal of your Warrant of Constitution, it will be requisite to state in the form of a petition to the M.W. Grand Master, the circumstance that calls for the renewal, and signed by, at least seven Members, being the present and Past Officers of the Lodge, to which We doubt not the acquiescence of His Royal Highness the Grand Master, the charge for which will be two Guineas.

I am, from Bro White and Self

W Master,

Your faithful servt & Brother

Edw Harper. G.S.

Serjt Robt Horrocks  
6th Foot.  
Bombay

#### BY-LAWS OF THE LODGE.

It is very fortunate that there is still in existence a copy of the By-Laws of the Lodge, showing the conditions of membership, etc., during its domicile in India.

This copy is not dated, but it is certain that it was issued during the Mastership of Bro. H. Forster, who was in the Chair in 1835. It was printed in India—on paper bearing watermark J. GREEN & SON. 1833. There are 24 pages (two blank at end) size  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ ; the printing only occupying  $4 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$  inches. It has marbled paper cover.

The By-Laws are 24 in number, and occupy 14 pages. The remaining pages contain the "Charge of an Entered Apprentice" and "Charge of a Fellow Craft Mason."

I have been unable to trace any printed By-Laws previous to 1835: but in 1831 the By-Laws were certainly read upon the initiation of a Brother or on the occasion of a Joining member being admitted,<sup>1</sup> and although the Title-Page reads: "Bye Laws or Rules and Regulations of Lodge No. 445 or the 'Orthese Lodge' on the Registry of the Grand Lodge of England, held in His Majesty's 6th or Royal (1st) Warwickshire Regiment of Foot, bearing date, the seventh day of July, One thousand eight hundred and seventeen," each separate regulation is described as an "Article."

Articles Nos. 1 to 17 and No. 24 are By-Laws specially made for this particular Lodge, but Nos. 18 to 23 are extracts from the Book of Constitutions, and stated as such.

The Edition of the Book of Constitutions from which these regulations are copied is that of 1827. Published by Authority of the United Grand Lodge by William Williams Esq. Prov. G. Master of Dorset and described as "Part the Second."

The letter from the Grand Secretary dated 18th July, 1831, printed above has the note:—"I also enclose a bound copy of the last edition of the Laws and Regulations of the Craft, for which you are debited 7/6.," and it is particularly interesting that this identical book is still in existence and in very good condition. On the first page is written:—

"Lodge 689. 6th Foot"

and the paragraphs reprinted in the By-Laws are marked with pencil—apparently for the printer to copy.

<sup>1</sup> See report of Committee, May 7th, 1831.

The By-Laws commence with a PREAMBLE:—

In order to prevent, all feuds and controversies, illegal arguments or debates which might in any way disturb or make void the meaning of this our unanimous conjunction. We, the Masters, Wardens, Secretary, Treasurer and Deacons, together with the rest of the Members of our Lodge Orthes No. 445 held in His Majesty's 6th or Royal (1st) Warwickshire Regiment of Infantry, have thought proper to Establish the following Rules.

*Article 1st.*

Resolved unanimously that Our Lodge meet monthly on a day to be fixed on from time to time as most convenient: and that a Summons be sent to each Member specifying the time and place of meeting. The non-attendance of a Member cannot be considered to excuse the payment of monthly dues, nor is any Member to absent himself without sending an apology in writing or by a Member of the Lodge. If absent three times the offending brother's case shall be tried and determined on, unless the cause he may have stated appears to have been urgent.

This rule was carried out strictly regarding non-attendance. (See Report of Committee May 7th, 1831.)

*Article 2nd.*

All Brethren shall appear in clean and decent apparel in Lodge and conduct themselves respectfully to the Worshipful Master in the Chair and with propriety to all the Brethren. Any Brother guilty of profanation, cursing, swearing, backbiting, whispering or other unbecoming conduct shall for the first offence be fined one Rupee, for the second two Rupees and for the third turned out of the Lodge, and not re-admitted without suffering such punishment as the Worshipful Master may direct. This rule is to be considered in force, both after the Lodge is closed and before it be opened. Any member who shall enter or appear in the Lodge in a state of inebriety shall be fined two Rupees for the first offence; for the second four Rupees and for the third excluded and reported to Grand Lodge.

The most unusual point of this By-Law is the clause which states: "This Rule is to be considered in force both after the Lodge is closed and before it be opened," from which it would almost appear to be ineffective whilst the Lodge was in Session.

That this particular law operated outside the Lodge, we see from the Investigation into the case against Bro. Hirst on 7th May, 1831, where as a result of his "conduct unbecoming of a Mason . . . in the presence of the whole of the noncommissioned officers of the Regiment," he was expelled from the Lodge.

*Article 3rd.*

States that:

Ten Rupees must accompany the Memorial of a Candidate which amount on Initiation will be considered part of the Fee of Forty-two Rupees, for a less sum than which no person except as a serving Brother, shall be Initiated in our Lodge, if a candidate wilfully fail to come forward on the day fixed for his Initiation the Deposit shall be forfeited but if a ballot take place and he be rejected, the Deposit of ten Rupees shall be returned to him.

The expression "wilfully" is unusual.

*Article 4th.*

Is short and at present I am unable to give a satisfactory explanation of its meaning:—

Any brother who may join our Lodge shall deliver his Certificates (if any he may have) and two Rupees into the Secretary's hands, one of which is to go to the Tyler, the remainder to the Lodge Chest.

There is no other By-Law which provides for Joining Members, and Two Rupees seems a very trivial fee—especially when One Rupee is a perquisite of the Tyler.

*Article 5th.*

Is important, and is here given in full:—

Every member of our Lodge shall pay his dues monthly in person, unless prevented by duty, sickness or other evident necessity. This is not to be considered as excusing the ultimate payment of the Dues, but in cases of Sickness only half the Dues will be required. Every member on being made shall pay his Fee of Registry and all dues must be paid up prior to the Half Yearly Festivals in June and December, to enable the Master to render a correct account to his Successor to whom he is to deliver all the money and property of the Lodge on the day of Installation. No Brother shall be passed until he has paid one half at least of his Initiation Fee and not raised to the Sublime Degree till he has paid up the whole together with his monthly Dues. Every Brother who may be passed the Chair shall pay the Sum of two Rupees to the Lodge Chest:

Article 6th tells us that the monthly dues were one Rupee.

The handing over of accounts twice a year, I think suggests that these rules were copied from a very much earlier edition, because in 1835 the Bi-annual election of Master had long been superseded by the present system of one W.M. per year.

The Methods of Finance are curious:—

Initiation on payment of Fees of Registration which I think was the ten Rupees referred to in Article 3rd. Passing when half Initiation fees had been paid. Raising only when all dues had been paid. On referring to the accounts for this period we find the majority of members paid in Instalments.

This is the only set of By-Laws in which I have found provision and a fee charged for "passing the Chair," a ceremony which, at that period, was very prevalent for allowing a brother to go through the ceremony of Installation for the purpose of entering more advanced degrees in Free Masonry.

*Article 6th.*

Every member belonging to the Lodge shall pay one Rupee monthly dues—but if absent from sickness or any duty detached from the Regiment, only half shall be demanded. In any case of a Member's non-attendance without showing good cause he shall be fined one Rupee, proof being given that he was Summoned.

(See specimen Summons, of 27th January, 1835, for method of proof of a brother having seen a summons.)

*Article 7th.*

Visitors from other Lodges can be admitted, but once free; after the first visit they will be expected to contribute the monthly Dues. No visitor unregistered as a Member of some regular Lodge, can be permitted to repeat his visit. No brother under the degree of a Master shall be admitted to visit the Lodge unless with the unanimous consent of the Lodge. But all Officers of Lodges are

privileged to visit our Lodge at all times free of Charge and every Brother of this Lodge may introduce another at any time at his own expense and for each Brother thus invited the Sum of One Rupee is to be paid.

This "Article" is very complicated. Unattached brethren are only permitted one visit to the Lodge—which is provided for in the Book of Constitutions of 1827, as follows:—

A Brother, who is not a subscribing member to some Lodge, shall not be permitted to visit any one Lodge in the town or place where he resides more than once during his secession from the Craft.

No brother under the degree of a "Master," refers to "Master Mason"—not Worshipful Master. "Every Brother" may introduce another brother "at any time" on payment of One Rupee, shows that visiting was encouraged.

*Article 8th.*

No member or visitor to our Lodge shall reveal the Transactions of the Lodge, to any one not belonging to it. A member so offending to be fined by the Master at his discretion and a visitor so offending to be precluded entrance to the Lodge in future. No Brother shall speak disrespectfully of another present or absent under such penalty as the Majority of the Lodge shall award.

*Article 9th.*

Our Lodge shall consist of a Master, two Wardens, two deacons, a Secretary, a Treasurer and as many members as the Master and Majority shall deem proper and for preservation of Secrecy, a Brother skilled in the Master's duty shall be appointed Tyler, if more than one be required the Master has the power to nominate a Master Mason to assist in that duty for that day, but not to call on the same individual twice successively.

*Article 10th.*

Seems to indicate that these By-Laws were not originally made in India, since in that country it was unworkable. The text is:—

The Master shall cause the Representatives of this Lodge to attend the Grand Lodge and Monthly Committees when summoned by the Grand Secretary. When in Grand Lodge these representatives shall have the full power to transact all matters relative to Lodge 445 as if the whole Body were present. Any brother refusing to serve as representative shall forfeit such sum as the majority shall deem Adequate.

*Article 11th.*

Refers to the Installation of the W.M. on St. John's Day, but if that day shall be impracticable the Master shall assemble the lodge as soon as possible after for the celebration of the Festivals.

*Article 12th.*

States that all members must attend Emergency Meetings under Penalty laid down in Rule 6.

The Expense of the Lodge at Emergency Meetings is to be defrayed by the individual for whom the meeting is called, unless it be the wish of the Brethren to dispense with it.

*Article 13th.*

The Secretary shall register all the Members and keep Minutes of such Transactions as are fit to be written, that they may be laid

before the Grand Lodge if required. He will also take care that every Member be summoned when the Lodge is to meet. He will call the Roll of the Lodge and receive the dues as soon after the Opening of Lodge as possible.

The Secretary had to use his discretion as to what was "fit to be written" in the Minutes, and it is evident from various incidents recorded in the correspondence that he had opportunities of using that discretion, of which we get an instance, given later on. on 7th May, 1731.

*Article 14th.*

Refers to "Grand Lodge Fund or General Charity for the relief of Distressed Free Masons."

*Article 15th.*

The Junior Warden is to assist the Senior in his duty. The Senior Warden will be held responsible, that on no occasion more than two thirds of each night's collection be consumed on refreshment, and as the number of members is known and the probable number of visitors, there can be few occasions when he may not be able to calculate on the quantity requisite for the purpose of refreshment, to the Exclusion of intemperance. The Deacons will aid the Senior Warden in this duty.

*Article 16th.*

The Selection and Installation of Officers must be at all times in conformity to the Rules of the Constitution as also all interior management of the Lodge.

*Article 17th.*

All improprieties may be noticed by the Master though not here specified, and such fine inflicted as the nature of the offence may deserve, any Member can however appeal if he thinks he has been harshly dealt with, but this we trust is not a case likely to occur.

This rule covers all the "Unwritten Laws of Freemasonry."

The following are exact copies of the Book of Constitutions, 1827 Edition, previously referred to:—

*Article 18th.* *Vide* Article 3. Page 89 Constitution.

<i>19th</i>	..	2	..	93	..
<i>20th</i>	..	12	..	86	..
<i>21st</i>	..	9	..	85	..
<i>22nd</i>	..	3	..	83	..

*Article 23rd.*

Directs that the Master of the Lodge shall be addressed by the title of "Worshipful" and all others by the Masonic Appellation of "Brother."

*Article 24th.*

These Laws are to be read to every Candidate either before or immediately after being initiated and occasionally in Lodge.

(Signed)	H. Forster.	W.M.
	Daniel E. Mills	S.W.
	William Sadler	J.W.
	William Venner	S.D.
	John C. Hartley	J.D.
	John Blakeman	T.
	G. W. Rafferty	Secty



The manner in which the By-Laws of the Lodge were carried out would, perhaps, be considered very severe to-day, but we must remember that Laws and Regulations in the Army are carried out to the letter, and, naturally, the soldier would expect the By-Laws of his Regimental Masonic Lodge to be equally binding. On the other hand, it is doubtful if any non-military Lodge can produce such evidence of the enforcement of its rules, or records of punishment meted out to its members, for breaking moral obligations outside the Lodge, such as the case of Bro. Sadler, the details of which follow:—

Camp Poonah,

Sunday, 8th August 1830.

Proceedings of a Committee ordered to be assembled by the Worshipful Master for the purpose of enquiring into a complaint against Brother Sadler.

President. Brother Pilkington.

Members. Brothers Horrocks and Shipley.

Brother Shipley stated to the Committee that on Tuesday 3rd August, 4 Rupees tied in the corner of a handkerchief, which had been found, was brought to me to be restored to the owner; a few minutes elapsed when Brother Sadler came claiming the above Rupees and Handkerchief, stating that they were his property, which he without any scruple, gave him, since which period Brother Sadler has marked the Handkerchief with his Brother Sadler's name, which handkerchief and 4 Rupees was claimed by a Muccadum of the Regiment in the presence of the Commanding officer and the claim admitted to be just.

Brother Sadler, being called in the presence of the Committee acknowledges making a false claim and also to marking the handkerchief, but trusts to the well-known generous feelings of the Worshipful Master and Brothers of 689, that they will kindly take into consideration his previous Character and look at the situation in which he was placed, in charge of the Sergeant's Liquor, as one of the most seducing and dangerous to Virtue and sobriety and is sure his character would have remained without a blemish, had he not been trusted with that which is the ruin of thousands.

The Committee having considered the whole of the circumstances connected with Brother Sadler and his acknowledgement of guilt in making a false claim to property belonging to another, also his appeal as to character, which they believe to have been previously good, cannot upon mature deliberation and for the good of Masonry, but think such an act, with the approval of the Worshipful Master and Brothers of 689, should expel him a Society in which Honor, Honesty and Good Faith have ever been its firmest Basis.

Signed.

Brother Shipley	}	Members.
Brother Horrocks		
Brother Pilkington.		President.

These proceedings approved and confirmed by the whole Lodge on the evening of the 12th August 1830.

J. Strong

Secretary.

Seal  
of  
Lodge

Doubtless, the ritual the Lodge worked in India, contained the injunction that the members were to practise outside the Lodge, those virtues they had been taught in it and also that "Temperance is a Virtue."

The Defendant's plea for mercy, in explaining the situation, in which he was placed, had no effect on his judges, who "upon mature deliberation," advised the Lodge to pass the utmost penalty, which they did.

The sequel to this is interesting and is in the form of an undated petition for reinstatement, probably written in 1834:—

"To the Worshipful Master Wardens and Brethren of Orthez Lodge No. 689.

The Humble Petition of Brother William Sadler of the aforesaid Lodge, Humbly Sheweth,—

That your petitioner being under the influence of liquor sometime previous to 3rd August 1830, did commit himself in a manner (the nature of which your petitioner thinks it needless to detail, as it is well known to the majority of the Brethren) contrary to the dictates of Masonry, which your petitioner shall never cease to regret, for which offence your petitioner was prohibited from attending the meetings of the Lodge for now nearly a period of four years.

Your petitioner emboldened by the promised support of several of the brethren whom he has spoken to on the subject and hoping that the brethren will take into their kind consideration the length of time your petitioner has been in a manner estranged from the Lodge, as some atonement for his indiscretion, now comes forward humbly hoping to be admitted to his former place in the Lodge.

For which your petitioner will ever pray."

During his four years' exclusion from the Lodge, this brother apparently redeemed his character, as there is a note written on his petition for reinstatement, that it was "Agreed to" "G. Rafferty, Sec."

Poonah, 7th May 1831.

Proceedings of a Committee ordered to assemble by the Worshipful Master, Orthes Lodge No. 689 to investigate and enquire into the conduct of Brothers Sanigear, Mc.Credie and Hirst.

Brother Davis.	President.	
Brother Horrocks	Brother Shipley	} Members.
Brother Bruce.	Brother Duann	

*Charge 1st.*

The Lodge then proceeded to investigate the first charge against fellow craft John Sanigear for repeated neglect of his Masonic duties in being absent from his Lodge without just cause and Non payment of his monthly dues for a considerable period.

After due examination, the committee find that Br. Sanigear had absented himself from the Lodge Orthes Monthly Meeting from 19th August 1830 to the 14th April 1831 and also that the monthly dues during that period have not been paid.

*Defence.*

Brother Sanigear in defence of the above states that pecuniary difficulties kept him from attending the Lodge, but acknowledges that had he known the Monthly dues would have been received without paying the whole of the entrance money he would willingly have attended as it would not, in that case, have been injurious to himself.

*Question from the Committee.*

Have you not heard the bye laws of the Lodge read?

*Answer.*

I have not.

The Committee calls upon Brother Kennedy, knowing that Brother Sanigear to have been present at his, Brother Kennedy's being admitted a Member of Lodge Orthes 689.

*Question to Sergt. Kennedy.*

Was Brother Sanigear present at your initiation?

*Answer.*

I am positive he was.

*Question.*

On that evening were the bye laws of the Lodge read?

*Answer.*

They were.

The Committee considers that his, Brother Sanigear's excuse with regard to the bye laws, to be a mere subterfuge to cover inattention, they knowing the bye laws to be read upon every stranger being admitted as a member.

The Committee after due consideration, find Brother Sanigear Guilty of every part of the charge preferred against him and recommend, with the approbation of the Worshipful Master, and the members of the Lodge Orthes 689 that he Brother Sanigear be expelled the Lodge.

### *2nd Charge.*

With regard to charge the 2nd preferred by the Worshipful Master against Master Mason John Mc.Credie for grossly violating his duties as Master Mason in a transaction between Brothers Walker and Pilkington. Brother Mc.Credie being called and the above charge read, had nothing to state in his defence or in extenuation of the violation of so serious a part of his obligation, only that about 15 months ago the sum of 115 rupees was taken from his box. But he, Brother Mc.Credie, having no proof of this and the money transaction with Brothers Walker and Pilkington, being three times that amount, the committee cannot credit any part of the above defence and do therefore recommend with the approbation of the Worshipful Master and members of 689 that Brother Mc.Credie for so great a breach of trust be expelled the Lodge.

### *3rd Charge.*

With regard to the 3rd charge against Brother Master Mason William Hirst for conduct unbecoming to a Master Mason on a series of instances which are not named, but which the committee are ordered to enquire into.

After duly investigating the first part of the 3rd charge, preferred by Brother Pilkington, the committee think this charge has not been sufficiently substantiated in consequence of its delicacy together with want of Evidence, which could not be called before the committee; with regard to the 2nd part of the 3rd charge preferred by Brother Shipley for being guilty of unbecoming conduct as a Mason and in total want of respect in presuming to approach a Brother, an officer of H.M. 6th Regiment, and the orderly officer of the day in a most unsoldierlike manner in the presence of the whole of the non-commissioned officers of the Regt. thereby taking advantage, either, through ignorance or presumption, which in either case would bring discredit on the craft. With regard to the 3rd part of the 3rd charge preferred by Brother Shipley charging Brother Master Mason Hirst, with knowing swearing by his God to a gross falsehood.

The committee having duly investigated the 2nd part of the 3rd charge are of an opinion that he, Brother Hirst, is Guilty of the 2nd part of the 3rd charge, and with regard to the 3rd part of the 3rd charge, the committee are of opinion that he is also guilty.

The committee, having concluded what to them has been a very painful task cannot but remark it is with the deepest feelings of regret they have been compelled to recommend the expulsion of the three Brothers of 689, but sincerely hope and trust that these are the last occurrences of any similar nature that may ever happen in a society where good faith and Integrity are its brightest ornaments.

Signed.	J. Davis.	President.	
	R. Horrocks,	G. Bruce,	} Members.
	J. Shipley.	J. Duan.	

The "Court Martial" or "Enquiry" of May 7th, 1831, is particularly interesting, because it suggests that there were no printed By-Laws of the Lodge at that date (although they were printed in 1835), and that the By-Laws were read at Initiations and when a Brother joined the Lodge.

Fellow Craft John Sanigear paid the penalty for inattention in either not listening to, or not remembering, the reading of the By-Laws of the Lodge. How many Freemasons to-day would come out of a similar enquiry with honour.

if asked if they know the By-Laws of their own Lodge and carried them out, particularly regarding payment of subscriptions, and he was only eight months in arrears?

The Charges against Master Mason William Hirst appear to be three in number. The first was, evidently, of such a nature as would raise a blush on the ruddy countenance of a soldier in India, but having two further charges against him, the committee passed the first charge, on account of its "delicacy."

The second charge plainly showed that the By-Laws of the Lodge were in force "after the Lodge is closed and before it is opened." Finally this Brother was found lacking in another Masonic virtue—truth.

It is rather curious that in the copy of the returns to the Grand Lodge, made up to December 1831, Wm. Hirst and John Mc.Credie are marked "Expelled The Lodge 12 May, 1831." but no reference is made to Fellow Craft John Sanigear; probably as he was never made a Master Mason, he was not reported to Grand Lodge.

From the accounts he appears to have been initiated in November, 1829. and passed in June, 1830, and paid R 33 fees to the Lodge.

Three years later, Bro. Mc.Credie appealed to the Lodge for reinstatement:—

No date, but probably 1834.

To the Worshipful Master, Wardens, Officers and Brethren of  
Orthes Lodge No. 445

The Humble petition of Brother John Mc.Credie. Humbly  
Sheweth:—

That your petitioner being entrusted with some money, the property of Brother Walker in the year 1831, unfortunately mis-applied same, which your petitioner shall never cease to regret, for which offence your petitioner was expelled the Lodge for now nearly a period of three years.

Your petitioner, having satisfactorily arranged matters with Brother Walker in the year 1832, humbly hopes the Brethren of Orthes Lodge in that spirit of Charity which has ever been the characteristic of Masonry, will take his Case into their kind consideration and permit him to resume his place in the Lodge which is (and always has been) his heartfelt desire.

For which your petitioner will ever pray.

The W.M. apparently wrote to Grand Lodge in London for instructions on the subject: unfortunately the letter cannot now be traced, but the Grand Secretary replied on August 11th, 1835:—

With reference to the case of Brother Mc.Credie who appears to have been suspended from his Masonic functions and "Having satisfactorily arranged matters" with the individuals concerned, should the brethren agree in permitting him to resume his station in the Lodge, there can be no objection to his being reinstated. more especially as the suspension does not appear to have been reported in any Communication from the Lodge.

There is no available information as to whether he ever regained admission to his Mother Lodge.

That the previously mentioned Brethren were not the only members expelled from the Lodge, and that any members expelled were not readily forgiven, is shown by the two following petitions from the same Brother; unfortunately, neither is dated, and I cannot say whether the "punishment fitted the Crime." John Magee adds "R.A.M." after his name on one petition, but I do not think this is Royal Arch Mason, or any other Masonic degree:—

The humble petition of John Magee of the above named Corps  
Most Humbly begs leave to lay before the Worshipful Master Wardens

and Brothers of the above named Lodge, that he, your petitioner, did on the Night Previous to the Departure of the late Qr. Master Sergt. Pilkington in the Lodge Orthese, Act with conduct Highly unbecoming and Degrading the Mason and the Soldier, etc., etc.

Your petitioner begs leave to State to the community that it was the first offence of the Kind he has Ever been Guilty of and all owing to Insobriety which can, undoubtedly, be of no Excuse whatever and Ever since the occurrence took place he labours under the Most Painful Mortification and considers himself unworthy to be looked upon by any of the Society.

Your Petitioner, Notwithstanding the depridation he has been Guilty of, begs to Solicit the Forgiveness of the community and taken into their humane consideration In hopes that he may again be Admitted and he would Truly undergo any punishment they might think proper to inflict.

Your petitioner Therefore Places a Reliance In the Worshipful Master, Wardens and Brothers of the Orthese Lodge and awaits your Favourable Answer.

And as in Duty Bound will Ever feel Greatful.

John Magee, R.A.M.

The second appeal reads:—

The humble petition of John Magee most humbly sheweth that your petitioner once more emboldens himself by taking the liberty of again petitioning the Worshipful Master Wardens and Brethren to be again admitted into the community which he, your petitioner, has been a member of for so long a time, and further states that he will undergo any punishment the community may think it proper to inflict for the misdemeanour he has been guilty of, which he stated in the former petition. Your petitioner awaits your favourable answer and will ever feel greatful.

John Magee

Petitions made to the Lodge for assistance, had to be adjudicated by a Committee, and the appeal of Bro. Carr met with a very plain hint regarding the moral aspect of Freemasonry:—

To the Worshipful Master, Wardens and Members of Lodge Orthes No. 689.

I, Peter Carr, member of the above Lodge, begs leave to state my present circumstances.

Statement.

	Rs.	As.
To Mrs. Lupton for nursing the infant	10	0
To Sergeant Witton for keeping the two girls	10	0
Total Charge	20	0
Deduct Government allowance	6	0
Remaining	14	0

There are few of the brethren who are not aware of a sergt's pay and the expences attached to that situation, for instance, Messing Twelve Rupees per month. I leave you to judge after furnishing necessaries and unavoidable requisits, what can be spared.

N.B.—I owe the Lodge  $16\frac{1}{4}$  Rupees, which I intend to pay by the next meeting.

Peter Carr,  
Member.

Proceedings of the Committee 14 Novbr 1833.

The Committee, having considered the claim, which after most patient investigation are decidedly of the opinion that the claim of the said Brother is entirely inadmissable so long as he continues to conduct himself improperly, as the committee has every reason to believe is the case, at present, and has been so, for some time back.

The Committee, having thus far performed a painful, but necessary duty, begs leave to remark that, provided Bro. Carr will surrender a certain portion of his Pay Monthly and place the children at the disposal of the Brethren, the Committee have no objection to some relief from the Funds of the Society for a certain period, which will be named hereafter by the Brethren at large.

The Committee, having taken into its most serious consideration a communication from the Worshipful Master, relative to Widows and Orphans of Masons, fixes that the following sums may be given monthly in cases of real distress.

To Widows	Rps. 4
To Orphans	do. 2

This resolution not to apply to any person that may be receiving relief at present.

Rd. Pilkington.	}	President.
Thos. Reynolds		Members.
G. W. Rafferty		
John Duan		
R. Hurrocks		

To John Grey Wilson, Esq.,  
W.M. Orthes Lodge,  
No. 689.

The foregoing completes all the details that I have been able to gather regarding the Lodge in India. But I think the following extract from an address by Dr. Burnes to the Lodge of Humility and Fortitude, at Fort William, Calcutta, in 1840, is interesting (Gould *Military Lodges*, p. 197):—

On last St. John's Day, I had the honour of being supported by Brigadier Valiant, commanding the Garrison at Bombay, and Colonel Griffith, Commandant of the Artillery, two distinguished officers and Masons, who asserted, in the presence of the Military Lodge *Orthes* (6th Foot) that Masonic Brethren had invariably been the best conducted soldiers

and perhaps I might add the well-known lines of Bro. Rudyard Kipling, in reference to the conduct of the Lodge:—

"We knew the Antient Landmarks  
An' we kep' 'em to a hair."

1842—1870.

The final Chapter of the history of this Lodge commences in 1842, and is interesting in showing that, whilst abroad in many parts of the world, the Regiment was able to maintain a Masonic Lodge, its efforts to do so in England were not so successful.

In January, 1842, the Regiment arrived at Gravesend after twenty-one years' foreign service, only three of the original men, who went abroad with it in 1821, returning.

It was stationed at Portsmouth until 1843, and had detachments at Chester and in Lancashire and the Isle of Man until the end of 1844, when its headquarters were successively at Dublin, Mullingar and Athlone. In 1846, with a

total strength of 1,127, it was divided into two Battalions and also had a reserve Battalion in Canada under Lieut.-Col. Crofton,<sup>1</sup> but by the end of the year, the entire Regiment was abroad again. The Regiment was too scattered and too frequently moving during the years 1842-1846 to form a successful Lodge, but the Masonic instinct in the Regiment made a praiseworthy effort soon after it came "in proximity with the source of Masonic Knowledge," as will be seen from the following letter to Grand Lodge, signed by Wor. Bro. Morris Hall, who is recorded as W. Master for 1840 & 1841:—

Barracks,

Portsmouth, 9th December 1842.

Dear Sir & Brother,

After long service abroad, since the year 1821, we once more have reached our Native Land, and though the communications with the Grand Lodge have been sadly interrupted by the dispersed state of the Members of the Orthes Lodge, we have never failed when opportunity was offered, to meet regularly. We have served at the Cape of Good Hope, in India, and in Arabia, and many of our late Members have died in those countries, or have left the Service.

We rejoice in coming again in proximity with the sources of Masonic knowledge, and we rejoice to find that our work, though suspended long, was conducted on the proper plan, and that we can unite with our Brethren here, without change or alteration, so unchanging and unalterable has Masonry been preserved, even in the remotest Provinces of India, and the Deserts of Arabia.

The cordial and Fraternal reception we have met with from our Brethren here, merits our acknowledgements, but we beg to present our still deeper obligations to the Grand Lodge for the indulgence, and consideration we have experienced, in being ever ready to make allowance for our failings, our errors, and our non communications, all solely arising out of the peculiar nature of the Lodge, and the Military duties of its Members.

Having now only been enabled to assemble our long dispersed Members, we fervently hope under the Blessing of the Most High, and the favour of our Grand Master to renew our work, to instruct our long absent craftsmen, and increase our Members, by holding out, by our example in, life and conduct, that steady light which may lead those who are in darkness into the paths of Virtue and Knowledge.

I herewith transmit the sums due to the Grand Lodge since December 1841, together with the Roll of the Lodge Orthes, as it is now constituted.

I am,

Dear Sir and Brother,

Yours Fraternally,

Morris Hall.

W.M. Lodge Orthes.

No. 445.

To

The Grand Secretary,  
Freemason's Hall,  
LONDON.

This letter intimates that the Lodge has been working in Arabia. I have been unable to collect any details of its activities in that country, but the Regiment appears to have been stationed at Aden from August, 1840, to October, 1841.

Bro. S. B. Horne is recorded as Worshipful Master in 1842. Beyond this fact I have not been able to trace any Minutes or meetings. That the Lodge

<sup>1</sup> Initiated in India.

was unable to continue is shown by the fact that in December, 1844, the W.M. deposited the Warrant at Grand Lodge:—

until time or circumstances may enable us to renew our meetings, and from that date until 1862, it is very certain that the Lodge was in abeyance.

In the Bye-Laws of 1862, in the List of Masters, it is recorded:—

1842-1862. During this period, until 1862, the existence of the Lodge was little more than nominal. It was, however, preserved from extinction.

I must, therefore, pass over the eighteen years' non-masonic history of the Regiment, 1844-1862, sixteen years of which were spent abroad. I may here mention that one officer and 58 men of the Regiment were on board the ill-fated *Birkenhead*, which foundered in 1852. The officer and 47 men were amongst those heroes whose fate has been an example of obedience to orders in time of emergency, although an unfortunate episode in the records of transport of British Troops. Only eleven members of the 6th were saved. From Africa, the Regiment went to India in 1858, arriving after the crisis of the Mutiny, and they were too fully occupied during the next few years in small wars in that country and Arabia to be able to start the Lodge again. Besides, they had deposited their Warrant with Grand Lodge before they went abroad.

It is fortunate that some important papers are still in existence regarding the final revival of the Lodge. The Book of By-Laws dated 1862, contains valuable data in addition to the rules; and a few letters to and from Grand Lodge, have enabled me to record one of the most extraordinary Masonic adventures of the nineteenth century.

In January, 1862, the Regiment was ordered home from India, but over 300 of its members volunteered for further service in other regiments stationed in the East. The remainder arrived at Gosport on 24th May, 1862.

On June 28th, just about a month after arrival in England, we find that the Orthes Lodge held a meeting at Gosport under the following extraordinary conditions:—

1. They were not in possession of a Warrant.
2. There was only one member present, Bro. J. E. Robertson, who had been initiated in the Lodge twenty-four years previously (1838).
3. He personally proposed and seconded ten joining members, and unanimously elected them, there being nobody to vote otherwise.
4. Presumably, after the above election, the M. for the ensuing year, one of the joining members, A.W.O. Saunders was elected, and the officers appointed. (The original member did not take any office.)
5. Two of the joining members propose a candidate.

Such a meeting seems impossible under to-day's strict supervision, but the following details confirm my statements.

In 1862, Grand Lodge revised the List of Lodges under its jurisdiction and renumbered the surviving Lodges.

The following is an extract from Grand Lodge Minutes:—

#### UNITED GRAND LODGE.

At a quarterly Communication holden at Freemason's Hall, London, on Wednesday the 4th June, 1862.

Present. The Right Hon. the Earl of Zetland, M.W. Grand Master, on the Throne.

The following Lodges, having for a considerable time past, neglected to make any returns or communication to the Grand Lodge, notwith-



standing repeated notices, requiring the same, and the Master and Wardens having been peremptorily called upon by summons to make such returns, or in default thereof, to show cause at the Quarterly Communication, holden on the 5th March last, why their Lodges should not be erased, and no notice having been taken of such summons, it was, on motion duly made, resolved—That the said Lodges be erased out of the list of Lodges with their Warrants declared forfeited, viz:

[Amongst others]

445, Orthes Lodge, H.M.'s. 6th Regiment of Foot.

It is possible that Brother Lieut.-Col. J. E. Robertson had seen a copy of the Business Paper for this Quarterly Communication after his arrival in England in May, and we must remember that the Warrant had been deposited at Grand Lodge in 1844, eighteen years previously. In that case the action he took was a military one, on the theory that "the best method of defence is to attack." He therefore attacked the awkward position with energy and commendable initiative, and "carried on"; perhaps, like Nelson, he put his Masonic telescope to his blind eye. On the other hand, he may have been perfectly ignorant of the edict of Grand Lodge of June 4th, 1862. But however that may be, the meeting of 28th June was actually held nearly a month after the Lodge had ceased to exist on the Register of the Grand Lodge.

I have traced the ten joining members as being on the Roll of the 6th Royal 1st Warwickshire Regiment at that date. They were of the following Lodges:—

	Member of	
A. Austin	No. 99 (now 84)	Doyles Fellowship Lodge Guernsey
W. Bennett	„ 998 ( „ 697)	United Lodge, Colchester
E. Blankley	„ 65 ( „ 57)	Humber Lodge, Hull
R. Bolton	„ 80 ( „ 67)	Star in the East, Calcutta
W. Maloney	do.	do.
A. Saunders	do.	do.
J. Claus	„ 1150 (now extinct)	St. Lukes Lodge, Calcutta
J. G. Cockburn	do.	do.
J. B. Hopkins	do.	do.
P. B. Simpson	No. 2	Scotland

The situation is really humorous. I have proof that Bro. Lieut.-Col. Robertson was not a Past Master of the Lodge, and I have strong grounds for concluding that he had not been Master or even a member of any other Lodge. Anyway, he was the only member of the Lodge present. Seven days later, July 5th, 1862, the new Wor. Master was duly installed, the officers invested and a candidate initiated. (Lieut. D. K. Evans, who eventually commanded the 1st Battalion in 1883/6.)

At this installation meeting, there is some evidence that they were supported by the W.M. and two P.M.'s of the Phoenix Lodge, No. 319 (now 257). On July 10th, 1862, after these two meetings had been held, the W.M. wrote to Grand Lodge and asked if they might have their Warrant returned to them—a somewhat delicate request, considering he had been installed and a candidate initiated in a Lodge which had been struck off the Grand Lodge register over one month previously:—

New Barracks, Gosport,

TO GRAND LODGE.

10 July, 1862.

Dear Sir and Brother,

After an absence of nearly 16 years on foreign service, we have returned to England and I am happy to inform you that we have succeeded in re-establishing the ORTHES LODGE in the 6th Royal First Warwickshire Regiment, with the full permission and sanction of Lieut. Colonel J. E. Robertson, commanding the battalion.

On the 5th inst, I was regularly installed as Master of the Lodge, when I appointed the officers for the ensuing year and afterwards initiated Lieut. D. K. Evans an officer of the Regiment, into the mysteries of Freemasonry.

From a copy of a communication addressed to the then Grand Secretary, W. H. White, Esq., and dated "Stockport, 1st Dec. 1844," I beg to send the following extract with reference to the Warrant, viz:

"According to the advice I recd from the M.W. the Grand Master, through you, when in London, I have this day forwarded the warrant of the Military Lodge 'Orthes' No. 445, for the purpose of being deposited in the Grand Lodge, until time or circumstances may enable us to renew our meetings."

(Signed)

J. B. Home.

W.M.

May I therefore request you will be kind enough to return the warrant, which has now so long been in abeyance, "time and circumstances having enabled us to renew our meetings."

We all feel a deep debt of gratitude to the Grand Lodge for the consideration with which the "Orthes" Lodge has been treated, and I humbly but sincerely trust that the future will prove that the kindness has not been undeservedly bestowed. No exertions on my part will be wanting to ensure the success of the Lodge and it is my firm trust that in the execution of the responsible duties connected with its government, I will be warmly supported by the officers and brethren.

The cordial and fraternal support which we have received from the brethren here, but more particularly from the "Phoenix" Lodge No. 319, merit our warmest acknowledgments, and I avail myself of this opportunity of recording our sense of the same.

The Orthes at present consists of 12 members, I shall do myself the pleasure of calling on you with a list of their names and paying all fees due to Grand Lodge on the 12th inst.

I am, Dear Sir & Brother,

Yours truly and fraternally,

Aubrey Saunders,

W.M. "Orthes" No. 445.

Bro. W. Gray Clarke, G.S.  
LONDON.

The reply from Grand Lodge to this letter should be interesting reading.—unfortunately, it does not exist. I am under the impression that there must have been a visit to London. The next record is dated Sept. 4th, 1862:—

Freemasons Hall. London. Sept 4 1862.

To Brother Aubrey Saunders.

(Orthes Lodge No 445)

New Barracks. Gosport.

Dear Sir & Brother,

I have much pleasure in informing you that at the Meeting of Grand Lodge holden last night, it was resolved that so much of the minutes of the previous Quarterly Communication as had reference to the proposed erasure of the Orthes Lodge No 445, be not confirmed. Your Lodge is consequently duly re-instated and the return you proposed to send in of your recently admitted members can now be received and their names registered.

As regard the Warrant, which by your letter of the 10th July last would appear to have been sent to this office in the year 1844,

but of which no trace can now be found, it would be better to apply to the M.W. Grand Master for a Warrant of Confirmation so soon as the names of yourself, your wardens and others who have joined shall be registered as members.

The application or petition should briefly set forth the fact of the Warrant having been sent in here and adapting the ordinary form of petition which is given on page 121 of the Book of Constitutions should then pray for a Warrant of Confirmation. . . . No doubt under the circumstances the Grand Master will order the fresh warrant to be made out for the usual charge of 2 guineas.

I am Dear Sir & Brother

Yours faithfully & fraternally.

W. Gray Clarke. G.S.

This letter really proves the position to be worse than anticipated, because the Warrant was not even in existence when the meeting was held on June 28th, 1862, and application had to be made for a new one.

The letter however, is most valuable, because it re-instates the Lodge on the Register and although it does not state the fact, it thereby forgives all their sins.

A Warrant of Confirmation was provided, dated 22nd October, 1862, and this document is now framed and preserved in the Regimental Museum at Budbrooke Barracks, Warwick. The material portions of it are as follows:—

Whereas it appears by the records of our Grand Lodge that a Dispensation bearing date, the 7th day of July 1817, was issued under the Seal of Masonry authorising and empowering certain Brethren therein named, to open and hold a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in H.M. Sixth Regiment of Foot and which Lodge was then No. 689.

And whereas the Brethren now composing the said Lodge have, by their Memorial represented to us that the warrant, which was issued subsequently to granting the aforesaid Dispensation, has been lost or mislaid and have prayed us to grant them a Warrant of Confirmation. Now know ye that we, being satisfied of the reasonableness of the said request, do hereby grant this Our Warrant of Confirmation unto, [etc.] . . . authorizing and empowering them to continue to assemble and hold a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in the aforesaid Regiment [etc.]

Having secured their new Warrant (of Confirmation) dated 22nd October, 1862, no further time was lost and with the characteristic "do it now," the Lodge held a meeting next day, October 23rd, and initiated another candidate and also passed Bro. Evans.

The following day, October 24th, 1862, Grand Lodge gave them a dispensation to initiate Sgt. J. Haines as Tyler, but they were not in a great hurry for him apparently, as he did not get initiated until the following February.

The Lodge Declaration book from 1862 to 1870 is the most important evidence of its work during that period, and that book has not been kept with all the details necessary, as it does not show the dates of the ceremonies in every instance. The details are given in the Appendix, and it will be noted that a month did not always elapse between the ceremonies.

The Regiment appears to have been unsettled even whilst on Home Service and the 1st Battalion was stationed in:—

1863	at	Aldershot
1864	at	Devonport
1865	in the	Channel Islands
1866	in	Ireland
1867	in	India

and the Second Battalion at Aldershot, Gibraltar, and Corfu, and in the West Indies. In 1868/9 they were at Aldershot and in South Wales, 1870 in Ireland, but they must have had Masonic Headquarters during 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869 and 1870, even if they only met occasionally.

The By-Laws printed in 1862 at Portsmouth do not show any great originality, but state that the Lodge was:—

Established under the Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia, 28th December, A.L. 5807, A.D. 1807, transferred to the Grand Registry of England on the 7th July A.L. 5817, A.D. 1817.

The Fees in 1862 were:—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Initiation Fee	3	3	0			
Entrance Fee		10	6			
Grand Lodge Registration & Certificate		17	0			
To Tyler		2	6			
Copy of Constitutions & By-Laws		4	0	4	17	0
Passing or Fellow Craft Fee					10	6
Raising or Master Mason Fee					10	6
					£5	18 0
Present or Subscribing Members						
per quarter.						
Lodge		6	6			
St. John's Box		1	0			
Grand Lodge of England			6			
		8	0			

In 1910, Brigadier General M. Quayle-Jones, who was in command of the Regiment at Budbrooke Barracks, Warwick, endeavoured to collect the records of the Old Lodge. He was at that date P.Pr.G.S.W. of Guernsey and Alderney, and has since become Deputy Prov. G. Master of Warwickshire, which office he still holds (1930), and with his permission I print extracts from a letter he received in 1910 from one of the joining members at the revival meeting of the Lodge on June 28th, 1862:—

When the 1st Battalion returned from India in 1862, at Gosport, Saunders, Cockburn and Col. Robertson, myself and others resuscitated the Old Lodge, which had been in abeyance for a long time, I cannot say how long, but Col. Robertson still remained an original member, I think the only one. The Grand Lodge renewed the Charter, permitted the Lodge to continue its existence from its first beginning, and allowed it to retain its position of seniority of origin and use its old number.

Cockburn was the principal member who kept it up, especially correspondence with the Grand Lodge and its returns. We worked the Lodge in most of the places where the Battalion was quartered and at times I dare say we had 17 or 18 officers members and one Staff Sergt. elected as a working Brother. Saunders was the first Master in 1862 and we had several others. I was Master in 1868 to 1869 when I returned to England, and in 1872 I attended meetings at Peshawar, where there was a Station Lodge, which I think was resuscitated by Cockburn and our Lodge.

Whether we worked there as "Peshawar Station Lodge" or as the "Orthes," I cannot quite remember, but am inclined to say as the Station Lodge.

After Peshawar, the Lodge was never worked, or rather I think not, and suppose no one continued the communications with the Grand Lodge.

I know how the Lodge obtained the name of Orthes.

At the battle of that name, where the Sixth are supposed to have distinguished themselves, they unfortunately had their baggage captured by the French, who discovered amongst the capture, the Regalia and Paraphernalia of the Lodge, which, falling into the hands, I suppose, of French Brothers, the French returned the Lodge property under a guard of Honour, Flag of Truce, but retained the rest of the loot. The jewels of the Lodge now at the Depot are those returned by the French.

With all respect to Bro. Quayle-Jones' account of how the Lodge obtained the name "Orthes," we have seen the letter to Grand Lodge applying for the name (28th March, 1820), and the legend of the captured regalia is interesting, but is only one of many similar legends attached to most regiments with Masonic Lodges.<sup>1</sup>

I do not believe that the incident took place at the Battle of Orthes, for the reason that the 6th Foot distinguished themselves so much in this particular engagement, which was a decisive victory for the British Troops, that it is hardly likely that the enemy captured the baggage and returned it under a Guard of Honour and Flag of Truce and "retained the rest of the loot." The defeated enemy is not usually allowed to retain "the rest of the loot." There may, however, be some foundation for the statement, particularly as Marshal Soult was in command of the French at this Battle, and it is recorded in Gould's *Military Lodges*, page 202, that: "Marshal Soult was himself a Freemason, and his Diploma (or certificate) found in his tent after the battle of Vittoria, which afterwards fell into the possession of a Scottish Lodge, was returned to him through the British Ambassador in 1851."

The Battle of Vittoria was fought on June 21st, 1813, eight months before the Battle of Orthes.

This letter is the only evidence there is of the Lodge being at work as late as 1872.

"Made no returns after 1869. Erased in 1890" is the brief obituary notice at p. 248 of Lane (1895).

Thus ends the record of a unique Military Lodge. But this effort to bring before Masonic students details of its history may result in further information coming to light.

By an agreement between the Regiment and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire made in 1930, the majority of the regalia is now deposited in the Prov. G. Lodge of Warwickshire Masonic Museum and Library in Birmingham, until such time as a Masonic Lodge shall be revived in the Regiment.

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<sup>1</sup> Similar records of Regalia belonging to English Regimental Lodges being captured in Battle and returned by the enemy are to be found in records of:—

J. Beamish Saul, *Historical Sketch of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1, G.R.Q.*, pp. 27, 30, 31, 32.  
 Gould, *Military Lodges*, pp. 139, 141, 146.  
*Freemason's Quarterly Review*, 1843, p. 34.

APPENDIX.

List of Members of the Lodge, October, 1862.

No.	Name	Office 1862.	Initiated	Joined.	Last Lodge	Proposer	Seconder
1	J. E. Robertson <sup>1</sup>	—	10.11.1838	—	—		
2	A. Austin	S.D.	—	28.6.1862	No. 99	Bro. Robertson	
3	W. F. C. Bennett	Tres.	—	do	No. 998		do
4	E. J. Blanckley	J.D.	—	do	No. 65		do
5	R. Bolton	—	—	do	No. 80		do
6	J. B. Claus	I.G.	—	do	No. 1150		do
7	J. G. Cockburn <sup>2</sup>	S.W.	—	do	No. 1150		do
8	J. B. Hopkins	—	—	do	No. 1150		do
9	W. Maloney	Sec.	—	do	No. 80		do
10	A. W. O. Saunders	W.M.	—	do	No. 80		do
11	P. B. Simpson	J.W.	—	do	2 G.L.S.		do
12	D. K. Evans <sup>3</sup>	—	5.7.1862	—	—	Saunders	Maloney
13	R. Unwin <sup>4</sup>	—	—	23.10.1862	No. 126	Bennett	Cockburn
14	D. D. D. Cotter	—	23.10.1862	—	—	Austin	Simpson
15	J. Haines	—	—, 11.1862	—	Serving Brother by dispensation		

Oct. 24, 1862. Dispensation to Initiate Sergt. Jonathan Haines as Tyler.

List of Masters of the Lodge (from the By-Laws of 1862 with additions made in 1867).

1816.	David Treasy.
1817.	John Bolton.
1818.	Alexander Keith.
1819.	James Vickers.
1820.	do.
1821.	Edward Cashan.
1822.	
to	Richard Pilkington.
1829.	
1830.	John Crofton.
1831.	do.
1832.	J. Gray Wilson.
1833.	do.
1834.	John Duan
1835.	Henry Forster
1836.	R. Horrocks.
1837.	J. B. Home.
1838.	R. Horrocks.
1839.	R. M. Beebee.

<sup>1</sup> Lieut.-Col. J. E. Robertson took command 15th August, 1857 in India.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Cockburn commanded 1st Battalion 1886-1890.

<sup>3</sup> D. K. Evans commanded 1st Battalion 1883-1886.

<sup>4</sup> R. Unwin commanded 2nd Battalion 1866-1867.

1840.	Morris Hall.	
1841.	do.	
1842.		(Vote.—During this period till 1862 the existence of the Lodge was little more than nominal. It was, however, preserved from extinction.)
to	J. B. Home.	
1861.		
1862.	Aubrey Wm. O. Saunders.	(Lodge revived, 28 June 1862.)
1863.	do.	
1864.	James Cockburn.	
1865.	do.	
1866.	do.	
1867.	Jacob B. Hopkins.	

## Details from the Declaration Book of The Lodge. (1862-1870.)

	Signed the Book.	Initiated.	Passed.	Raised.
D. K. Evans <sup>1</sup>	5.7.1862	5.7.62	23.10.62	17.12.62
D. D. D. Cotter	13.10.1862	23.10.62	—	—
J. Haines	18.2.1863	18.2.63	18.3.63	—
S. G. Granville	18.3.1863	18.3.63	—	—
A. W. Whitworth	3.10.1866	27.3.67	18.4.67	15.5.67
G. Beedle	3.10.1866	2.11.66	27.5.67	9.8.67
C. W. H. Wilson <sup>2</sup>	3.10.1866	27.3.67	18.4.67	15.5.67
G. Shields	24.1.1867	27.3.67	18.4.67	15.5.67
R. Hollingworth	27.5.1867	4.6.67	25.11.67	—
G. Gandy	4.6.1867	4.6.67	10.8.67	—
A. Quin	25.11.1867	25.11.67	22.4.68	—
P. A. Wallerstein	22.10.1868	30.4.69	—	—
W. C. Wolsley	28.4.1868	—	—	—
W. Young	8.6.1868	—	—	—
A. H. Harrison	23.2.1869	—	—	—
R. Meredith	14.12.1870	—	—	—

Regalia, etc., at Budbrooke Barracks. Warwick. 1930.

*BIBLE* 1825 edition. Leather Bound.  
On front:—

ORTHES LODGE

No. 445

SIXTH ROYAL REGT.

*APRON* White Kid, white linen border, with flap, obviously home-made, has two rosettes on bottom, but no trace of rosette having been on flap. Possibly a F.C. Apron.  
Stamped at back with Regimental Stamp, which is said to date about 1830.

*PERFECT ASHLAR* in Polished white Marble with small Lewis, also linen case for same.

*HARDWOOD GAVEL* (Ordinary) with linen case.

*DECLARATION BOOK* from 9th July 1862  
to 14th Decr 1870

*WARRANT* 1862.

<sup>1</sup> Commanded 1st Battalion 1883-1886.

<sup>2</sup> Commanded 2nd Battalion 1888-1892.

*JEWELS* 2 Squares

- 1 Level
- 1 Plumb rule                   ? Amateur work probably made in India
- 1 Gibbet W.M. Jewel (Brilliants)
- 1 P.M. Treasurers Jewel
- 2 Deacons Jewels
- 1 I.G. Jewel
- 1 Tyler do. (Crossed Scimitars)  
all engraved 6th Royal Regt.
- 1 I.G. Dagger, Hall marked with J. and an anchor.

Travelling Box containing the following now in the Masonic Museum at  
Birmingham:—

- Two Aprons, Home-made
- One Apron (? Irish with Silver Braid)
- Seven officers Collars with Silver chain
- Three officers Collars without Silver chain
- Three Gavel Boards, 3, 5 & 7 steps
- Tripod for Ashlar
- Wash Leather Bag with "Orthes Lodge" in Blue for V.S.L.
- Heavy Maul, padded. Handle 3 feet, top 1 foot
- Two pillars with Globes
- Three Candlesticks
- Third Degree Sheet (unusual)
- Lantern with Star
- Ballot Box (modern)
- Three Tracing Cloths. Handpainted, Harris design.
- Sundry Bags, apparently for various articles
- Three collapsible Pedestals painted with Square, Level, Plumb Rule respectively.

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A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Fenton, on the proposition of Bro. H. C. de Lafontaine, seconded by Bro. W. J. Williams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, Geo. W. Bullamore, and Brig.-Gen. M. Quayle-Jones.

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Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

I cordially second the vote of thanks to Bro. Fenton. We are indebted to him for bringing to the notice of the Brethren the most interesting records of a very adventurous Lodge. We owe a debt also to the unknown but sagacious Brother who pasted into a book the correspondence and other documents which enable us to visualise so many striking incidents in the career of the Lodge. It is refreshing to find that Bro. Fenton has sought and found the co-operation of other Brethren in his enquiries into the history of the Lodge. This is the natural instinct of all true Masonic Students, but it is proper it should be duly recorded and recognised.

As to the original Warrant of the Lodge, the suggestion of Bro. Heron Lepper seems to fit the case exactly. The Lodge was during the whole course of its history subject to abnormal happenings, and the fact that the copy of the oldest register leaves the number 45 a blank is quite in keeping with subsequent happenings. The extract from Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* of 1753 shows that there was in fact a Lodge No. 45, and the further fact that such Lodge met in Barrack Street may be evidence that it was regimental in its character.



Thus we start with the certainty that the Lodge of the Regiment is first heard of in Scotland in 1744, and with the very probable assumption that the Lodge had been first sanctioned in Ireland.

Whether there was originally an Irish Warrant No. 45 or not, it is quite clear that two Irish Warrants are recorded in 1785, both dated Feb. 10th, 1785, one being No. 643 and the other 646. While later on we find the Lodge submitting to the jurisdiction of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia, and having Warrants from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia and the United Grand Lodge of England.

And what a Roving Lodge it was. Here are some of the places where it sojourned:—Ireland, Scotland, England, West Indies, New York, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Martinique, Canada, Persia, India, and, above all, Spain, whence they derived their proud title “Orthes.”

Bro. Fenton has introduced us to several striking personalities. James Vickers, the Master in 1820, whose letters make up for their remarkable orthography by the forcible way in which he actually threatens the Grand Secretary: Brigadier Genl. Crofton, with his studied alliterations; and, lastly, Col. J. E. Robertson, whose masterful method of reviving the Lodge,—a Lodge without a Warrant, of which he was the sole surviving member, leaves us lost in admiration.

It is with very great pleasure that I second the vote of thanks.

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

In supporting the vote of thanks to Bro. Fenton for his excellent paper, I should like to congratulate him first of all upon the new material that he has discovered, and, secondly, for the use he has made of it. His labours have added to our knowledge, not only of the internal affairs of Orthes Lodge in the Warwickshire Regiment, but also of the general conditions of Military Lodges during a long period of time—from 1744 to 1872.

Bro. Fenton has made himself our creditor to such an extent that it is incumbent on us to pay off part of the debt by bringing, if we can, any fragments of explanation or suggestion that may help to complete his story of the Orthes Lodge; but anything I can add to the structure to-night will be merely in the way of ornament or elaboration. There is no opening for adverse criticism.

I do not propose to discuss any further the curious entry in the Minutes of St. John's Old Kilwinning Lodge of Inverness. Bro. Fenton has stated both facts and theories; and none of the theories are bomb-proof until we discover a few more facts to sand-bag about them. For the moment, we must be content to term the Masonic Lodge that met in the Sixth Foot in 1744 an “Unidentified” Lodge.

Coming to the Irish Warrant No. 643 held in the Sixth Foot, Bro. Fenton, in quoting the letter to the Grand Lodge of the Antients from Nova Scotia in July, 1793, expresses surprise at finding that this Lodge acknowledged the authority of the Provincial Grand Lodge of the District in which it found itself stationed. There was, however, nothing extraordinary in this conduct according to the Masonic ideas of the time. The evidence is ample to show us that, when the Military Lodges were stationed abroad, they at once began to get in touch with the local Masonic authority; and when there was no such local authority they proceeded to form a Committee to take its place. That was what happened at Quebec; that was what happened at Madras; that was what happened at Gibraltar. And to-night Bro. Fenton has shown us that it happened in Nova Scotia as well.

Let us take the evidence in regard to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia, which as we all know was established at Gibraltar in 1786 under the authority of the Grand Lodge of the Antients. Every Military Lodge that went to the Rock up to the time of the Union in 1813 took a local number under this Provincial Grand Lodge and obeyed it, while at the same time retaining its allegiance to its Mother Constitution, whether Irish or Scots. The officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge were drawn from any Constitution that offered. Thus in 1789 the Provincial Grand Master—the first, I think, whose name has been preserved—was Lieutenant John Ross, of an Irish Lodge, and we find him reporting to the Grand Lodge of Ireland certain disciplinary measures that had been taken against another Irish Military Lodge which had jibbed at his authority as P.G.M.; and the Grand Lodge of Ireland upheld his action. Again, in 1793 the Grand Lodge of Ireland, in reply to two of its Lodges who had been suspended by the same Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia and had written complaining, declared: “they are answerable to the Laws and Regulations of the Antient Craft, and while at Gibraltar must conform to the Rules and Orders of the P.G.L. Andalusia.” And right up to the time of the Union this continued to be the practice, in Gibraltar at all events.

Similarly in Ireland in 1813 we find an English Lodge held in the Shropshire Militia joining with four Limerick Lodges and two Irish Militia Lodges in making a report to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, as a result of which two Freemasons were expelled from the Craft. As late as 1817 we get the England Lodge No. 446, held in the 68th Regiment, reporting its arrival in Dublin, its officers, and place of meeting to the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

From all of which we may deduce this maxim of jurisprudence: that the travelling Antient Mason owned a double allegiance, to his Mother Constitution and to the properly constituted Masonic authority in the country where he found himself; and this, I may add, is still perfectly sound doctrine, according to the Irish canon, and may be said still to find a place in our ritual.

Passing on to the letter from South Africa in 1822 where an Irish Lodge No. 441 is accused of having “Made, Passed, and Raised” at one and the same meeting Ensign Yelverton of the Sixth, I have been unable to find any trace in the Irish Grand Lodge Minutes of this complaint having been forwarded by the Grand Lodge of England. The Irish Lodge was undoubtedly breaking the code by initiating the officer of another Regiment in which there was a regular Military Lodge; but it was quite within its rights in conferring the three degrees at one sitting. The statutory interval of one month between each was not adopted in Ireland till the middle of the last century, and a regulation to that effect is first printed in the *Ahiman Reason* of 1858.

These disputes between Lodges of different Constitutions were not uncommon. In 1820 Lodge 895 I.C. held in the 71st Regiment wrote to Dublin complaining that Royal Chester Lodge No. 80 had initiated an officer of their Regiment. The Irish Grand Secretary was instructed to write to the English Grand Secretary on the matter, but there is no record that any satisfaction was given. On the other hand, in 1828 the famous “Minden Lodge” No. 63 I.C., held in the 20th Foot, was fined one guinea by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, on the complaint of the Grand Lodge of England, for having admitted a member under age. Minden Lodge protested innocence and was let off with the warning to “be more particular in the observance of the Constitutions in future.”

The only other passage to which I wish to allude is the 4th article of the By-Laws:—

“Any brother who may join our Lodge shall deliver his Certificates (if any he may have) . . .”

This is undoubtedly a usage borrowed from Ireland. It was customary there up to about one hundred years ago for a Brother on joining a Lodge to hand

over any Masonic certificates he might own to the Secretary of the Lodge. They were kept in the Lodge Chest, and handed back to him on his resigning in good Masonic standing. I suppose they were regarded as a pledge of good conduct. The phrase "lodged his certificates" in an Irish Masonic Minute Book is equivalent to "Brother So-and-So affiliated."

No doubt Orthes Lodge had copied the practice from some Irish Military Lodge, or it might even be a survival from the days when the Regiment held an Irish Warrant, just as was the custom of installing the W.M. half-yearly on St. John's Days.

I have very real pleasure in supporting this vote of thanks to our Brother Fenton for his able and valuable paper.

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Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

In pre-Union Lodges there were sometimes one Tyler, sometimes two, or an Inner and an Outer Guard, and I am inclined to the opinion that the number required depended originally on the degree of the Lodge. Article 9 of the Orthes Lodge does not mention an Inner Guard, but refers to the Tyler as a permanent officer. The W.M. has power to appoint an extra Tyler when necessary for a temporary period, and if this was for ritual purposes it is the only case which has come to my notice where a change in the degree of the Lodge affected the number of officers. Should the Minutes ever come to light, the references to the appointment of the extra Tyler would perhaps throw light on the matter. I note that there is an I.G. Jewel, but it is apparently of Birmingham make, while the crossed Scimitars suggest that the Tyler's Jewel was foreign and possibly of an earlier date.

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Bro. HENRY W. SAYERS *writes*:—

In the early part of the nineteenth century I notice the Lodge consisted mainly of men in the lower ranks. But in 1842 there seems to be at least one officer. Morris Hall, the Master, is probably identical with Capt. Morris James Hall of the 6th Foot, who was married in 1846. Col. J. E. Robertson was no doubt James Elphinston Robertson who was an Ensign in the 6th Foot about 1838. Lieut. in 1839, Captain in 1843, Major in 1854, Lieut.-Col. in 1857. He subsequently commanded the second Battalion, 21st Fusiliers.

Of the ten joining members in 1862, eight held commissions in the Regiment. They were Captain W. C. F. Burlton Bennett, Major Blanckley, Captain R. Bolton, Quarter-Master Wm. Malorey, and Lieutenants Cockburn, Hopkins and Simpson, while Aubrey Wm. O. Saunders was Inspector of Musketry in 1857.

J. B. Home, who signed the letter of 1st Dec. 1844, was probably Capt. John Belshes Home: the date of his Captaincy is 25.6.1841. J. Gray Wilson was a Captain in 1840. John Crofton got his commission as Lieutenant on 29th Aug. 1826. Further search would probably enable me to identify others among the early Masters.

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Bro. Brigadier-General M. QUAYLE-JONES *writes*:—

It was a great pleasure to me as an old officer in the Sixth to attend the meeting of Quatuor Coronati Lodge and to hear Bro. Fenton's interesting and researchful paper; in the rough proof of the Lecture my interest in Bro. Fenton's work is explained.

Many of the Brethren from General Crofton downwards were known to me.

Colonel Cockburn taught me what little I knew of the Lodge, I do not think that there is any Brother living now who could add to our knowledge.

In former years Depôts were attached to the Battalions at home; when the Depôt at Buddbrooke was formed, both Battalions sent their Depôts, when no doubt the Masonic Box of the First Battalion went with its other belongings; when the Depôt was formed it was sent from the Second Battalion stationed at Dover, the First Battalion being in India. To give some idea how we were shifted about, I may say that in my twenty-nine years I was at no less than twenty-six Stations.

When W.M. of 1971 Army and Navy Lodge, it came to my knowledge that Brethren believed that joining the Lodge was not looked on with favour by the Powers that be. To confute this, H.R.H. General The Duke of Connaught, then Commanding at Aldershot, was good enough to attend a Lodge Meeting and remove this misconception, and later became W.M. himself, which office he still holds.

I am glad that the opportunity has been given me to express my admiration and thanks for having been allowed to hear Bro. Fenton's illuminating lecture on the Orthes Lodge held in my old Regiment.

---

Bro. FENTON *writes*, in reply:—

It is very gratifying to me to learn that my paper was considered to be of historical interest, and I greatly appreciate the vote of thanks accorded to me, which, however, must be shared by those Brethren in England and Overseas who so kindly searched local records, in order that I might compile the paper.

I trust when this article reaches the members of the Correspondence Circle in the many remote corners of the Empire and elsewhere, where the Warwickshire Regiment was stationed during their world-wide wanderings, that it will encourage further research in local Lodge Minutes and local newspapers for more details of the Orthes Lodge.

I feel confident that I have only outlined the history of the band of Brethren, who, against a multitude of difficulties, in the form of Enemies of the King (or Queen), Climatic, Domestic and other troubles, continued to uphold the traditions of Freemasonry on every available opportunity.

If the records of this Lodge, so far as I have been able to collect them, do no more than impress upon the members of the Craft to-day the fact that the British Soldier took his Freemasonry as seriously as he did the King's Regulations, then I shall feel that, in bringing this history before the Craft, I have given many Masons food for serious reflection.

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## REVIEWS.

### FAMOUS SECRET SOCIETIES.

*By John Heron Lepper.*

*Sampson Low, Ltd. 1932. 12/6.*



HIS new work from the pen of a well-known Masonic scholar who was the Prestonian Lecturer for 1932, introduces us to a vast number of secret societies, so that even a casual reader turning over its pages will be fascinated by the manner in which they are described. The student will find plenty of food for reflection when he regards the work as a whole, and the lover of research will be glad to possess so admirable a book of reference.

As to the societies mentioned, we will endeavour roughly to group them. Under the heading of classic, we may combine the Egyptian mysteries, the Eleusinian mysteries, the Orphic mysteries, the worship of Mithra, the Gnostics, and the Druids. The Templars, the Assassins, the Vehmgericht, and the Steinmetzen would represent a later epoch. Turning to France, we have the Compagnonnage, the Fendeurs, the Olympiens, the Familles, and so forth. The Italians are represented by such societies as the Carbonari, the Camorra, and the Mafia; Spain by the Comuneros. Greece comes to notice under the heading of the Hetairia. A large section of the work is devoted to an account of the following Irish societies:—The Whiteboys, the Defenders, the United Irishmen, the Ribbonmen, the Orange Society, and the Fenians. Some may think that an inordinate amount of attention has been given to the Irish element, but in the present aspect of affairs this is a section that cannot fail to provoke the greatest interest, and many will be grateful to have first-hand knowledge of these organisations.

In so vast a field as is displayed to us in this work any venture at a separate and detailed criticism would be too unwieldy a task. Indeed, where everything has been so excellently set forth, criticism is to a large extent disarmed. Still, there are certain points which may be suggested, and additions which might add to the picturesque aspect of the whole subject.

Under the heading "Mithra" the name of Goblet d'Alviella is mentioned. There is a passage in his pamphlet on *The Mysteries of Mithra* which is striking, as showing the influence of Mithraism in the early ages of religious practice and custom. Whilst saying that the greatest expansion of Mithraism dated from the second half of the third century, he adds: "It is at this epoch that one can say of Mithraism, according to the expression so often quoted of Ernest Renan, 'If Christianity had been arrested in its growth by some mortal malady the world would have become Mithraistic.'" Let us add to this testimony what is said regarding Mithraism by Professor Lanciani in his interesting work, *New Tales of Old Rome*. He writes: "Twenty Mithraic sanctuaries, at least, have been found and explored in Rome and its vicinity in my time, their main feature being the extreme care taken to conceal their entrances from outsiders. They are to be met with, not only in cities and villages, but also in the most secluded districts of the Campagna, where, it appears, servants and farm hands were initiated into foreign religious mysteries by their own masters or allowed by them to assemble in Lodges." Lanciani further alludes to the discovery of Flaminio Vacca in the second half of the sixteenth century, who says: "I remember to have seen in my childhood a hole, like a chasm, in the Piazza del Campidoglio, and those who dared to enter it said that there was therein a woman sitting on

a bull . . . My master said that he had seen the place, and that the bas-relief represented the Rape of Europa." It ultimately turned out that this was a representation of Mithras slaying the bull. The name of "Lo Perso" given to this cave betrays an archæological knowledge remarkable for that age, Lo Perso being a manifest allusion to the Persian origin of the god. With regard to the Druids, it is interesting to note that James I. visited Stonehenge in 1620, and, being curious as to its origin, he sent for Inigo Jones, his Architect-General, and commissioned him to report as to what he considered the origin of the stones. Jones, in his report, stated "that it will be evidently manifest that there was no such thing in Britain, before the Romans arrived, as that which we now call Stonehenge." Arguing from such a premiss, Jones, who had studied architecture in Italy, came to the conclusion that the stones were relics of a Roman temple which was dedicated to the god Coelus. Jones' report is printed in a work entitled *Stonehenge Restored*, published in 1725, which was answered in 1740 by Dr. Stukeley in a work sufficiently described by its title, *Stonehenge, a Temple Restored to the British Druids*. The Druids are supposed to have fled from Britain on the approach of the Romans, and to have found a refuge in Ireland, for in that country, as well as in Scotland, there are found piles of stones that are supposed to have a Druidical origin. In Boswell's *Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides with Dr. Johnson* one finds this amusing passage: "About three miles beyond Inverness we saw, just by the road, a very complete specimen of what is called a Druid's Temple . . . Dr. Johnson justly observed that to see one Druidical Temple is only to see that it is nothing, for there is neither art nor power in it, and seeing one is enough."

Not a few will be attracted by Bro. Lepper's lucid survey of the doings of the Vehmgericht. The following further particulars may be added as an appendix:—The etymology of the word 'vem' or 'fem' has not been discovered. Gryphander derives it from the German 'fahme,' 'standard'; Freher from the Saxon word 'femen,' 'to purge.' Other authors find its origin in the exclamation 'Vemi,' an abbreviation of the Latin 'Vae mihi,' or in the German expression 'Vehe mir,' 'Bad luck to me!' A later version, that of Leibnitz and Haltaus, regards the word 'wehmique' as derived from 'fama.' Francis Algermann has given an account of an assembly that he witnessed during his youth at Celle. He states that all the inhabitants of that particular jurisdiction, above the age of twelve years, were bidden to meet in the public square or on a grassy lawn, and to sit on their haunches and form a circle round the tables at which the chiefs of the assembly were seated. The secret denouncers then gave information respecting both offenders and offences, and made known the former by striking their legs with a white stick. When anyone was struck three times, he was taken by the executioner to the nearest tree. If the culprit was struck once or twice it was counted to be a fatherly admonition that for the future he should live a better life. A form of oath, to be found in the *Précis de l'Histoire des Tribunaux Secrets*, by Loève Veimars, differs considerably in some particulars from that given by Bro. Lepper. Probably it belongs to another district. It runs thus: "I swear by the Holy Trinity to aid and constantly assist the Holy Vehme; to defend its secrets from wife and children, from father and mother, from brother and sister, from everything on which the sun shines, from everything that is wetted by the dew, from everything existing between heaven and earth; and to bring to this tribunal before which I kneel everything which belongs to the secret guardianship of the Emperor: everything which I shall know to be true, or which I shall hear from truthful people, and which merits pain or punishment; everything which can either be dealt with by justice or pardoned: everything in which I shall not neglect my duty, either by the promise of love or sorrow, gold or silver; and thereto I give bodily and financial assurance. I promise to serve this tribunal before all others. And all this I will do and execute loyally, and may God and the Holy Gospel be my aid."

In his account of the Compagnonnage, Bro. Lepper, quoting Bro. Rylands' translation of the legend, on page 79 of his book substitutes the word "cane" for "rush." The latter word appears to agree better with the story, for canes would form a hard support for one who had fallen into a marsh. And it is not stated that the Compagnons who placed the body in the coffin were in deep mourning and wore white gloves, though this is a salient point, as illustrating the dress expected to be worn by modern Masons.

In the article on the Fendeurs by Bro. Crowe in *A.Q.C.* xxii., which is referred to, it is stated that the society was established by the Chevalier Beauchaine in 1743, but our author makes the date to be 1747; surely a printer's error.

In speaking of the Illuminati, Bro. Lepper mentions the names of the Duc d'Orleans, Mirabeau, Göethe, Herder, and Karl August of Weimar. It may be at once stated that there is very little doubt that both the Duc d'Orleans and Mirabeau were members of the Order. As to Göethe, he does not seem to have taken an active part in the work. In the *Procès-verbaux des Illuminés de Weimar*, he is only mentioned once as being present at an assembly. And yet, in spite of the lack of zeal displayed, he was quickly promoted to the high grade of Regent, and this was probably on account of his position at the Court of Weimar. His name in the Order was Abares, whilst Herder was known as Damasus Pontifex. The ruler of Weimar was accorded the title of Aeschylus. It is said that the wife of the Elector of Bavaria was the prime mover in causing the issue of the decree against the Order. It is somewhat astonishing that our author makes no reference to Bode, who was so active a propagandist in Illuminati circles.

In treating of the Greek revolutionary society, the Hetairia, Byron is naturally mentioned, and many may agree that these lines from the poet's *Age of Bronze* come easily to memory here. At all events, they are worth quoting in this conjunction:—

"Greeks only should free Greece,  
Not the barbarian, with his mask of peace.  
How should the autocrat of bondage be  
The king of serfs, and set the nations free?  
Better still serve the haughty Mussulman  
Than swell the Cossaque's prowling caravan;  
Better still toil for masters, than await,  
The slave of slaves, before a Russian gate."

The account of the Comuneros and their activities begins with the statement that Freemason's Lodges had existed in Spain from 1759. But there are those who claim that the first Spanish Lodge of Freemasons was established in Gibraltar in 1726, and that another was founded in Madrid in 1731. In 1756 Ferdinand VI. prohibited all Masonic meetings, but Charles III. seems to have been more lenient.

To the account given of the Sicilian society of the Mafia may be added the following testimonies. Dr. Pitré, a great authority on the subject, writes: "Put together and blend a little of self-possession, boldness, bravery, valour, and you shall have something like 'mafia,' without, however, constituting it. 'Mafia' is neither a sect nor an association. It has neither regulations nor statutes. A 'mafioso' is not a thief nor a rascal; and if for any outward meaning of the word the quality of 'mafioso' has been applied to the thief and the rascal, it is simply because the greater part of the public—not always highly cultivated—has had no time to reflect upon the value of the word. 'Mafia' is a consciousness of one's individuality, the exaggerated conceit in one's strength, which is regarded as the sole arbiter of every dispute." An American writer does not see things through the same rose-tinted glasses, for he bears witness that "the Mafia is by

no means composed of the poorest and lowest people of Sicily: landlords, tradesmen, priests, and politicians are sometimes found in its ranks. Its practices are thus strikingly like those of the great industrial corporations of the United States in the matter of elections to our national Senate."

With regard to the Anciet Order of Hibernians, mentioned on page 249, we learn from Stevens' *Cyclopaedia of Fraternities* that the Order was introduced into the United States at New York in 1836. With its advent there its characteristics somewhat changed. Its motto now is Friendship, Unity, and True Christian Charity to its members, and peace and goodwill to all men: and its objects, other than the paying of relief and death benefits, are the advancement of the Roman Catholic religion, the encouragement of the country's welfare, the promotion of the sacred cause of Irish nationality, and the propagation of the principles embodied in the motto. This seems a strange hotch-potch of conflicting sentiments, and Bro. Lepper's passing reference, though very brief, is to be preferred for lucidity of statement.

Some of the rules in these Irish societies might be compared with the rules of our Masonic Constitution—in many instances there is a striking similarity.

To turn to America, the famous Ku Klux Klan now engages our author's attention. This was a society which at one time excited a good deal of attention, not only on account of its somewhat lawless character, but also on account of the costume worn by its adherents on special occasions. It was organised at Pulaski, Giles County, Tennessee, in June, 1866, and was originally designed for the diversion of the young men of the town, to relieve the dulness of a period following the close of the Civil War. Bro. Lepper refers to the peculiarity of the title and mentions that it is said to be an attempt to reproduce the noise made by the cocking of an old-fashioned rifle. But there is another version which relates that at the second meeting of the founders someone suggested calling the society "Kukloi" from the Greek word "Kuklos," when somebody else called out, "Call it the Kuklux": then the word "Klan" immediately suggested itself, and was added to complete the alliteration. The presiding officer was known as the Grand Cyclops: the vice-president as Grand Magi: the marshal as Grand Turk. The outer and inner guards of the "Den" were known as Lictors. In 1867 there was a gradual transformation of the Order which, within a year, developed a band of "regulators," and it now professed to form itself into a protective organisation. The supreme officer became known as the Wizard. His Cabinet consisted of ten Genii. The Grand Dragon governed a "realm," aided by eight Hydras: a Grand Titan and six Furies presided over a "dominion": a Grand Giant and four Goblins over a "province": and the Grand Wizard was aided by two Night Hawks. If an actually serious organisation were not concerned, these names might carry one back to the days of the old-fashioned, but now almost defunct, pantomime. It has been said that the birth of the Klan was an accident, its growth was a comedy, and its death was a tragedy.

Enough has been said to show the purport of the work under consideration. *Famous Secret Societies* may be recommended to all lovers of the occult, to all Freemasons who are intellectually inclined, and to a general public who will find their knowledge vastly improved by its perusal.

It should be added that the work is fittingly dedicated to Bro. Songhurst, the well-known Masonic cyclopædist.

H. CART DE LAFONTAINE.

#### THE BANK OF ENGLAND LODGE. ITS HISTORY AND THE LIFEWORKE OF ITS MEMBERS.

By Bro. Stephen A. Pope, P.M., P.A.G.D.C.

1932. Hadden, Best & Co., Ltd. One Guinea.

Of very few Lodges can it be said that their history is of importance outside their immediate circle. Occasionally we find a Lodge which was for a time the



Provincial or District Grand Lodge for all practical purposes, such as South Saxon at Lewes or Perfect Unanimity in Madras. Then we get Lodges which, whether with credit to themselves or not, have made Masonic history, such as the Sea Captains at Liverpool. But in the large majority of cases the Lodge history has little beyond a purely local appeal except in so far as its records may throw light on early customs of the Craft, as was demonstrated so effectively by Bro. Heiron in the case of Old Dundee.

The Lodge historian is therefore, only too often, compelled to fall back for his material on bare extracts from Minutes and lists of names, and he is fortunate if he has any old furniture or china or the like to help him out with his illustrations. But the historian of the Bank of England Lodge is in a happier position. Though it cannot be said that the Lodge at any time took a prominent part in Masonic history, it so happens that its membership has included a whole gallery of really famous men, whose portraits are in many cases preserved in a wonderful and invaluable album. Accordingly, Bro. Pope has very wisely made no attempt to give us a connected history, but has adopted an entirely different method. He has described the foundation of the Lodge and outlined its early history, a few incidents of which are dealt with in detail. He has also given us lists of members and officers, as complete as the records permit, and an interesting list of presentations and Lodge possessions. But the bulk of his work consists of biographies of every Master of whom anything could be learned, with reproductions of their portraits from the Album, and he has also included accounts, which he has made as full as possible, of several other Brethren of distinction who belonged to the Lodge and of all the present members of it.

The Brethren so dealt with make up a remarkable series, and include not merely people whose fame depends on their Masonic achievements, but some of the greatest musicians of the last century and some of its leading journalists. Thus we have not only R. T. Crucefix, Dr. Oliver, Peter Gilkes, Col. James Peters and R. Clay Sudlow, but Raphael Costa, Sir Michael Costa, Tamberlik and Ciro Pinsuti, as well as Douglas Jerrold, Richard Spencer,—nephew of the founder of the well-known Masonic firm—and his son Walter, Edwin Dalton Smith, the artist who painted all the earlier portraits in the Album, and Sir Ralph Littler, and many more might have been named. Among the portraits those of Scipio Brizzi, a professor of music, Master in 1846, and George Chance, Secretary for thirty-two years and Master in 1856, are of special charm.

The name Bank of England is, in fact, no more than a name; the only association of the Lodge with the Bank appears to be that three of the Founders were officials in it; it has throughout its history devoted itself to music and the arts. Bro. Pope gives us some account of its early migrations, and of the abortive proposal to amalgamate with Fidelity, No. 3, a Lodge with which at one time very close relations existed, there being a large common membership.

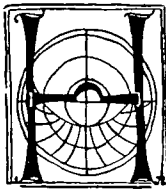
He concludes the work by an account of the Gavel Club associated with the Emulation Lodge of Improvement, and with the Kirby Lodge of Instruction, which was originally the Clarence, being formed under the Warrant of the Bank of England Lodge in 1889, but took its present name to commemorate Bro. W. H. Kirby, its first Preceptor, who died in 1895.

The work is well indexed and beautifully got up, being lavishly adorned with not merely portraits, but photographs of Warrants and all sorts of other matters of interest to the Lodge. They are to be congratulated, not only on the zeal and assiduity with which their Secretary manages their concerns, but also on the enthusiasm and industry which has enabled him to place this sumptuous record of them at the disposal of the Craft.

LIONEL VIBERT.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

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**HENRY FLITCROFT.**—On p. 258 of the last issue of *A.Q.C.* occurs a note by W. Bro. Williams, to the effect that enquiries have been unsuccessfully made for the purpose of ascertaining whether either of the final three "King's Master Masons" was a member of a Freemasons' Lodge. If Henry Flitcroft is one of the three persons thus referred to, I may say that in 1762 he was for six months Master of what is now "Scientific Lodge" (88) at Cambridge: of which Lodge I am a P.M. I compiled a list for the members of that Lodge a few years ago, in which his name duly appears. I have no doubt as to the identity, though I have not found out what Flitcroft was then doing at Cambridge: probably, however, some College extension or restoration, and a restoration of Wimpole Church. His Wardens were Zachariah Mart and John Barwell; he had not himself served as Warden in the Lodge.

W. W. COVEY-CRUMP.

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**A Royal Arch Chapter of 1794.**—I have in my possession a copy of the first number of the *Morning Advertiser*, dated Saturday, February 8th, 1794, and it contains the following advertisement:—

Royal Arch Masonry.—A Grand and Royal Chapter of this Sublime Degree is held on the Second Thursday in every month at the King's Arms Tavern, Old Compton Street, Soho; and a Chapter of Instruction is likewise held on every intermediate Thursday at seven o'clock precisely.

You may find this to be of interest.

WALTER J. MEAN.

(There does not seem to be any means of identifying this Chapter. All that can be said, after an examination of the Registers in the G.L. Library, is that it was not a Modern Chapter, but no Register was maintained for Chapters under the Antients. And, so far as can be gathered from Lane, there was no Lodge, either Antient or Modern, meeting at the King's Arms Tavern, Soho, at this date. The Chapter of Instruction at so early a date is of considerable interest.—L.V.)

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**The "Constitutions" of 1723.**—In the last part of vol. xliii. of *A.Q.C.* (issued December, 1932) there is an article by W. Bro. Plumb on the distribution in the U.S.A. of various editions of the *Constitutions*.

At page 230 reference is made to a Grangerised copy of the 1723 edition (numbered 13) and to an uncut copy of No. 13 (numbered 14), and Bro. Plumb

informs us that No. 13 (and presumably No. 14 also) has not the names of Wharton and Desaguliers at end of the Approbation on page 91, though the word "Finis" is at the bottom of the page.

This omission is noteworthy, and points to the fact that one or both of those copies were first impressions of (at least) that sheet and may well have been actual prints produced in Grand Lodge on 17th January, 1722/3, and that the signatures of

Philip Duke of Wharton, Grand Master,  
and I. T. Desaguliers, Deputy Grand Master,

were not printed on that page until after the print had been produced and approved "by the Society."

The existence of what we may call a first state of this page wanting the two signatures is a matter of great bibliographical interest, which is now for the first time brought to general notice. It indicates that, in this matter of authorization, the Grand Lodge proceeded with the utmost regularity, and that the actual signatures were in all likelihood affixed in open Lodge to a proof of the page, similar to the one now possessed by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

W.J.W.

**Newspaper Advertisements in 1751 and 1752.**—The *Daily Advertiser* of Friday, January 17th, 1752, has the following:—

WANTED.—The Constitution and Furniture of a Freemasons Lodge. Any person sending a Line to A.B. at Mr. Hatriss's, the King's Head in Holborn, near the Watch House, mentioning the Particulars, will be immediately waited on.

(Old Union Lodge, the present No. 46, which had been meeting since 1741 at the Old Magpie, without Bishopsgate, moved to the King's Head, near the Watch House, High Holborn, in 1752. They were there in April. No other Lodge was meeting here at this time, nor until many years later.—L.V.)

The *General Advertiser* of Thursday, February 13th, in this same year has this:—

To the Brethren of the Most Antient and Honourable Fraternity of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, particularly Masters and Wardens and all regular Lodges.

BRETHREN,

You are desired to meet on Wednesday the 19th Instant, at Six o'Clock in the Evening, at the Castle Tavern, Paternoster Row: to deliberate on Affairs of the utmost Importance to the Craft.

(I can offer no suggestion as to what this refers to.—L.V.)

The same paper had the following on August 9th, 1751:—

*This Day is published. Price 5s.*

The History and Constitution of the Most Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted MASONS: containing an Account of Masonry. I. From the Creation, throughout the known Earth, till true Architecture was demolished by the Goths, and at last revived in Italy. II. From Julius Cæsar to the first Arrival of the Saxons

in Britain. III. From the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland, in the Person of King James the First, to the present Time.

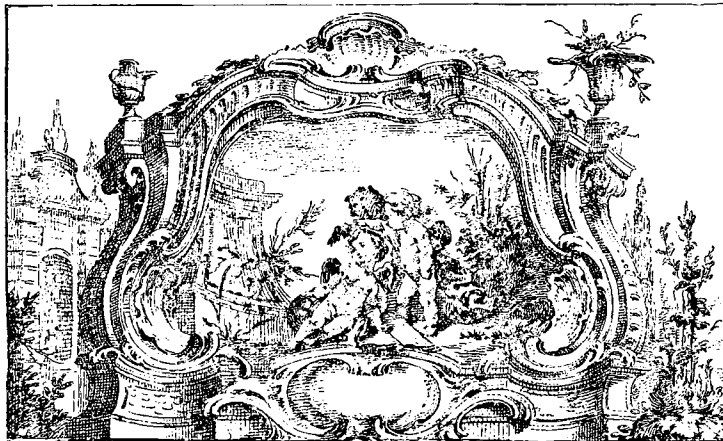
To which are added,

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. A List of the Grand Masters from the coming in of the Anglo-Saxons to these Times. | the Free and Accepted Masons both Ancient and Modern.        |
| 2. The Old Charges of the Masons collected from their earliest Records.               | 5. The Constitution of the Committee of their Charity.       |
| 3. The Manner of Constituting a Lodge.  | 6. A List of the Lodges in and about London and Westminster. |
| 4. The General Regulations of   | 7. The Songs sung at the Lodges.                             |
|   | 8. A Defence of Masonry.                                     |

By JAMES Anderson, D.D.

Printed for J. Robinson, at the Golden Lion, in Ludgate-street.

(It will be remembered that in 1744 the publishers of the 1738 Edition came to grief, and the unsold copies of the book (both large and small paper) were acquired by J. Robinson, of the Golden Lion in Ludgate Street. In 1746 he printed a new Title-page with his own name at foot, and proceeded to issue these remainder copies as though they were a new Edition. This advertisement seems to imply that Robinson had a difficulty in getting rid of these remainders and made a re-issue with a new Title-page in 1751. But no copy of such a work is known. The advertisement reproduces the Title-page of 1746 practically word for word, the only difference being that in the numbered sections a few words are omitted, and that the words "In the vulgar Year of Masonry 5746," which are at the foot of the page in 1746, do not now appear.—L.V.)



## OBITUARY.

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It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**Ali Zainalabden Alsagoff**, of London, on 1st January, 1931. Bro. Alsagoff was J.D. of Johore Royal Lodge No. 3946, and a member of Dalhousie Chapter No. 508. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Sir **John Apsey**, K.B.E., of South Hayling, Hants., on 2nd November, 1930. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., Hampshire and I.W., and P.Dis.G.S.B., Malta. He was also H. in the William Kingston Chapter No. 407. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1907.

**Octavius Charles Beale**, of Sydney, N.S.W., in December, 1930, as the result of a motor accident. Bro. Beale was P.M. of Lodge No. 94 (N.S.W.C.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1914.

**George William Bebbington**, of Knutsford, Cheshire, on 17th March, 1931. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.Treas., and P.Pr.G.O. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1902.

**Samuel Pery Blackmore**, of Ceylon, on the 13th November, 1930. Bro. Blackmore held the office of Dis.G.D. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

**Edward Blinkhorn**, of London, on 20th March, 1930. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1898.

**Henry Waterford Braithwaite**, of London, on 18th April, 1930. Bro. Braithwaite was a member of Crystal Palace Lodge No. 742. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Rev. **James Walker Brown**, of East Grinstead, in December, 1930. Our Brother was Ch. of St. Cecilia Lodge No. 1636, and a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1930.

**James Campbell**, of Edinburgh, on 1st January, 1931. Bro. Campbell was a member of the Trades House of Glasgow Lodge No. 1241. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

**Paul Bell Chambers**, of Buenos Aires, on 31st December, 1930. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., and was a member of Masefield Chapter No. 617. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1902.

**Dudley Cory-Wright**, M.A., J.P., of London, on 28th February, 1931. Bro. Cory-Wright held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1897.

**Frederick Dangerfield**, of St. Albans, on 27th February, 1931. Our Brother was P.M. and P.Z. of the John Hervey Lodge and Chapter No. 1260, and had attained L.R. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1894.

**Gilbert William Daynes**, of Brundall, Norfolk, suddenly, on 9th January, 1931. Bro. Daynes held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922, and at the time of his death was Master of the Lodge in which he was elected to full membership in June, 1925.

**Stanley Fox Fitch**, of London, on 2nd December, 1930. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (Craft & R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1903.

**William Swinburne Gales**, of West Hartlepool, in February, 1931. Bro. Gales was a member of the Albert Edward Lodge No. 1557, and of the Tees Chapter No. 509. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1920.

**Frederick George Hawes**, of Poole, Dorset, on 8th December, 1930. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1915. He was also for many years the Secretary of the Dorset Masters Lodge No. 3366.

**Arthur Heiron**, of London, W., on 11th March, 1931. Bro. Heiron was P.M. of the Old Dundee Lodge No. 18, and P.Z. of the Wanderers Chapter No. 1604. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1917, and was elected to full membership of the Lodge in October, 1929.

**Louis Henshall**, of Carnarvon, on 30th December, 1930. Our Brother was a member of the Lodge of Charity No. 2651. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1904.

**Thomas Henshaw**, of Liverpool, on 24th February, 1930. Bro. Henshaw held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was a member of the Sefton Chapter No. 680. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1918.

**John Hodgkin**, F.L.S., F.Z.S., F.I.C., F.C.S., of London, W., on 26th December, 1930. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and was P.Z. of Iris Chapter No. 255. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1913.

**Francis Ambrose Walsham How**, of Droitwich, on 23rd April, 1930. Bro. How held the rank of P.Pr.G.R., and was Sc.E. of St. Wulstan's Chapter No. 280. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

**Harold Mitchell**, of Bradford, on 19th January, 1931. Our Brother was P.M. of Pentalpha Lodge No. 974. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

**George Salway Nichol**, F.R.I.B.A., of Birmingham, in 1930. Bro. Nichol was P.M. of Athol Lodge No. 74, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1921.

**Edward Hallmark Parry**, of Ipstones, Staffs., in March, 1931. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1905.

**Thomas R. Rand**, of Hockley, Essex, in 1930. Bro. Rand held the rank of P.Pr.G.Dep.S.B. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1916.

Sir **Alfred Robbins**, F.J.I., of London, W., on 9th March, 1931. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Warden, and Past Grand Scribe N. He was President of the Board of General Purposes, and P.M. of the Lodge, in which he was admitted to full membership in June, 1919, having joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1899.

**Stanley Wallen Rodgers**, of London, on 14th February, 1931. Bro. Rodgers held the rank of Past Grand Registrar, and was P.Z. of Kent Chapter No. 15. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1907.

Rev. **Sabeti Benjamin Rohold**, F.R.G.S., of Haifa, Palestine, in March, 1931. Our Brother was a member of Lodge No. 27 (S.C.) and Chapter No. 50 (S.C.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

**John Lamont Smart**, of London, E.C., on 1st September, 1930. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1920.

**Henry Sexton**, of Great Yarmouth, on 5th January, 1931. Bro. Sexton held the rank of P.Pr.G.Sup.W. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1902.

**James Turner**, of Lowestoft, in July, 1930. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge of Unity No. 71, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1911.

Dr. **Arthur Sydney Webley**, of London, S.E., on 26th February, 1931. Bro. Webley was a member of Irenic Lodge No. 4797 and of the Cornwallis Chapter No. 1536. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Sir **Charles Henry Wilson**, J.P., of Leeds, on 30th December, 1930. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and he was P.Z. of the Alfred Chapter No. 306. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1906.

**Robert Henry Wood**, C.B.E., of London, on 16th August, 1930. Bro. Wood was a member of Lodge No. 44 (S.C.), and he was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1911.



# Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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### ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

COMPLETE SETS OF THE *TRANSACTIONS*.—A few complete Sets of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vols. i. to xliii. have been made up for sale. Prices may be obtained on application to the Secretary. Each volume will be accompanied as far as possible, with the St. John's Card of the corresponding year.

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### MEMBERSHIP MEDAL.

Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only. In Silver Gilt, engraved with the owner's name, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel. 10/6 each.



# Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



**SECRETARY:**

LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

**OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:**

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

44



—‡‡‡ Ars ‡‡‡—  
**Quatuor Coronatorum**

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE  
QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY *W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.,*  
*AND LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.*

VOLUME XLIV. PART 2.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.  
1935.



## THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is two guineas, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter. They are profusely illustrated and handsomely printed.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

### CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meeting are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the *Transactions*.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic, or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that for only a quarter of the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

## FRIDAY, 1st MAY, 1931.

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THE Lodge met at Freemason's Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M., as W.M.: Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., as I.P.M.: W. J. Williams, S.W.: David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.: W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer: Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary: G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.: Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., G.Ch., J.D.: B. Telepneff, I.G.: R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.: and J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. John Holt, P.A.G.St.B., Thos. Selby, J. J. Nolan, P.G.St.B., G. Priston, J. W. V. Mason, James Wallis, Jas. S. Charters, E. Oetzmann, George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W.: G. Stevens, H. W. Sayers, Lewis Edwards, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., T. E. Johnston, James W. Charlton, A. W. Youngman, P.A.G.D.C., Lambert Peterson, Albert E. Barlow, G. Trevelyan Lee, P.A.G.Reg., F. J. Asbury, P.A.G.D.C., E. Eyles, D. A. Burl, A. H. Gwinnell, H. B. Lodge, E. L. Bristoll, T. G. Samuel, Major Cecil Adams, P.Dep.G.S.B., Geo. C. Williams, Alan Ramsey, Rev. J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., R. Sandland, G. D. Hindley, G. K. Barnes, H. Johnson, R. Wheatley, A. H. Crouch, Rev. G. Freeman Irwin, B.D., P.A.G.Ch., G. Y. Johnson, H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., H. F. Mawley, R. E. W. Wadeson, F. W. Mead, R. E. Stubington, F. W. Davy, P.A.G.Reg., A. T. Gordon, L. G. Wearing, J. C. Harvey, and W. Brinkworth.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. George W. Amoy, W.M., Junior Engineers Lodge No. 2913; C. G. Mawson, Dis.G.Sec., Eastern Archipelago; A. E. Horat, Mapesbury Lodge No. 4084; J. W. Messenger, Piccadilly Lodge No. 2550; and N. E. Butler, Bolingbroke Lodge No. 2417.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, P.M.: J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.: G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.: John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.: and D. Knoop.

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The Acting M. read the following

#### IN MEMORIAM.

##### LADISLAS AURELE DE MALCZOVICH.

It is with very great regret that I have to-night to refer to the deaths of no less than four members of our Lodge. The first is Brother de Malczovich, who joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1890. He was a member of the Lodge of St. Stephen at Budapesth, and became our Local Secretary for Hungary. He held the high official position of Vice Secretary of the Royal Hungarian Ministry of the Interior. He became a full member of the Lodge on January 5th, 1894. To our *Transactions* he contributed a series of valuable papers on the history of Freemasonry in Austria and Hungary, and others on the Chivalric Degrees.

During the Great War he came under the rule as to Brethren of enemy origin, and could no longer continue as an active member of the Lodge. He died at Budapesth in January, 1931.

##### FREDERIC JOSEPH WILLIAM CROWE.

The second loss I have to refer to is that of Bro. F. J. W. Crowe. He joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1888, being one of the very first to do so. He became a full member of the Lodge on 8th November, 1898, and was Master in 1909. To the *Transactions* he contributed sixteen papers in all, many of which dealt with Masonic certificates, clothing and jewels, subjects of which he had made a special study, while others gave us accounts of the Fendeurs and similar Continental Societies. He also brought to our notice two French Prisoners' Lodges, and wrote an article on the Charter of Larmenius, which he was instrumental in procuring for preservation at Mark Masons' Hall. His collection of certificates was purchased for the Grand Lodge Library. He was also a distinguished musician, being Organist at churches at Wells and Torquay, and then at Chichester Cathedral. He founded the Chichester Orchestral Society. He was Grand Organist in 1904, and P.A.G.D.C. in 1914. He was also a Founder and the first Master of St. Richard's Lodge at Chichester. For some time he had been unable to be with us at our meetings owing to bad health.

He died suddenly on Thursday, April 9th, when on his way to Bourne-mouth. The funeral was on the Monday following; the Lodge sent a wreath and was represented by the Secretary.

##### ARTHUR HEIRON.

The next name is that of Bro. Arthur Heiron, whose health had been giving us all anxiety for many months. He joined the Correspondence Circle in 1914, and became a full member of the Lodge in October, 1929. At the time of his death he was the senior Past Master of Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18, and a P.M. of Sir Thomas White Lodge, No. 1820. His most important work was the book familiar to us all as *Ancient Freemasonry and the Old Dundee Lodge*. To our *Transactions* he contributed papers on *The Craft in the Eighteenth Century*, and *Masters' Lodges*. He also contributed various articles to the Masonic Press. After a long period of illness he died on 11th March. The Lodge was represented at the funeral by Bro. W. J. Williams and the Secretary, and it also sent a wreath. In accordance with his wishes, his Executors made over to the Lodge the greater part of his Masonic library and other books. We all knew him as a genial personality, whom we not only respected but loved, and it is sad to think that owing to his ill-health he was only able for a very brief period to enjoy his position as a member of the Lodge, of which he had always been a devoted supporter.

## FREEMASONRY IN SHEFFIELD IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY BRO. DAVID FLATHER.



THE Science of History is primarily devoted to the discovery and recording of the facts relating to the lives of men and of nations in the past, but unless those facts are collected and arranged so as to form a continuous narrative, their relative value and significance cannot be fully understood or applied.

Just as the performance of a play without the use of correct costumes and appropriate scenery makes it impossible to understand either the broad outlines or those finer details which go to make the complete picture: so it is impossible to understand the records of Masonry unless we have the means of visualising those circumstances and conditions under which the occurrences recorded took place.

Therefore, in order that we may the better be enabled to understand these records of Masonic Life in Sheffield, which commenced in the middle of the eighteenth century, the following description of the town may be useful.

The old Town of Sheffield lies in a junction formed by the valleys between four ranges of hills, down which four small rivers wind—to unite in the centre of the town, to form the River Don.

At this junction stood the Sheffield Castle, built in 1100 A.D. by Thomas de Lovetot, and rebuilt by Thomas de Furnival in 1270 A.D. It was demolished during the Civil Wars in 1649. Sheffield was then a comparatively small town: there were no large works or collieries as there are to-day, but a large number of working Cutlers, File Smiths and Iron and Steel makers, some working alone and on their own account; others while working themselves, employed a limited number of journeymen.

With the exception of the Lord of the Manor and a few neighbouring gentry, there were no rich people, nearly all being dependent upon their own labour. The population of the township and immediate district was 14,000.

Sheffield in the year 1761 was a town of narrow, ill-lighted streets, waking up on market days, the arrival and departure of the London, Birmingham or York Coaches being the most stirring events of the week.

There were no evening entertainments but what could be found in the comfortable Inns, where, in the evenings, foregathered the various coteries of old cronies for a social glass and a gossip together.

To certain of these Inns came the Freemasons, whose Lodges were, nominally, under the rule of one of the Grand Lodges in London, yet who felt no restraint, troubling but little about annual returns or contributions to the Grand Lodge Funds.

Although they had certain fixed days in the year upon which they met, they supplemented these by meetings at any time when work or conviviality prompted them.

They were not in any way punctilious on the matter of visitors, for, providing they were satisfied as to the *bona fides* of a visitor, they received him as one of themselves, expected him to pay for what he had in the way of refreshment, and even expected him to make a contribution to the box.

In the earlier years no record was made of their proceedings, the By-laws, List of Members and Cash Account sufficed to cover their need.

In Lodges No. 72 and 85 Antients each member was supplied with a small memorandum book in which his contributions were entered, in the same manner as is the custom at the present time in Workmen's Sick and Saving Clubs.

Yet it must not be supposed that membership of these Lodges was restricted to working men; there was little or no class distinction. The honoured Surgeon, the working Cutler, the Whitesmith, the Parson, the Scrivener and the Constable were all welcomed so long as they were good Masons and were prepared to 'pay their shot.'

Their refreshments were simple: good beef, potatoes and bread, ale, porter and the ingredients for punch appear regularly in the Cash Accounts: tobacco to inspire their thoughts and candles to shed their mellow light upon the happy circle.

It is doubtful if we get so much pleasure out of our Masonry to-day, with our elaborate Banquets and our gaudy clothing, as did our elder Brethren in their days. To them in truth, the highest honours were the white lambskin Apron and the Master's Jewel.

The most annoying experience, and perhaps the most frequent one to the Student of History, is the loss of those records which are so necessary in the preparation of a continuous narrative. In this respect especially does the Masonic History of Sheffield suffer.

Fortunately the records of the Britannia Lodge were sufficiently complete to justify the grant of a Centenary Warrant in the year 1865, and as the original Lodge was the first to be founded in Sheffield, I propose to take these records as the basis of this paper.

The early history of the Britannia Lodge No. 139 is indeed a tangled skein. Beginning as an Antients Lodge under Warrant No. 85 dated 21st January 1761, it took over No. 75 Antients in 1764 and then, without any break, applied to the Moderns for a Warrant which was granted under date 19th April 1765. This did not end its vagaries, for in the year 1796 it amalgamated with Lodge 72 (Antients), though at first sight this might be looked upon as an absorption, for Lodge 72 had been seriously depleted by the retirement of its Master and about half its members, to found a Moderns Lodge (No. 527, now No. 296) in 1793, but actually it was an amalgamation and was probably the definite result of conference and negotiation.

The complexity of these early records does not end here, for in spite of the change over to a Moderns Warrant the Rules and Orders written out by Laurence Dermott in 1764 were in use until 1767 when a new set was drawn up which were in the main exact copies of the original set but with a few alterations and additions. In the first rule of the original set where the number of the Lodge is given as 85 there has been added "and 340" and in the second set it is written "our Lodge No. 85 and 340" and this is very clear confirmation of the fact that the Lodge was working under the two systems.

To make the task of producing a continuous narrative the more difficult, the first Minutes available begin June 24th 1768, seven years after the formation of the original Lodge. I am by no means sure that before this date any Minutes were ever recorded.

The book from which I propose to extract matters relating to the early history of this Lodge appears to have been supplied by the Grand Lodge (Antients). It is foolscap size and is full bound in parchment and on the first page is a schedule of fees which is certainly in the handwriting of Laurence Dermott. (To facilitate references I have paginated the book from each end):—

“ Grand Lodge Orders for the following fees ”

	£
To a petition for a new Constitution ... ..	0 — 2 — 6
A Dispensation ... ..	0 : 2 : 6
A Warrant ... ..	1 : 11 : 6
Rules & Orders ... ..	0 : 10 : 6
Registering a Man in Grand Lodge ... ..	0 : 1 : 0
An English Certificate ... ..	0 : 1 : 0
pp. 2 and 3 are blank.	
p. 4 Two drafts for Certificates of Craft & Royal Arch (these were written in 1765)	
p. 5 to 57 “ Rules & Orders ” written and signed by Lau. Dermott (these are on the odd numbers, the even numbers being blank) and are dated January 1764—1764	
pp. 58. 59 Blank	
pp. 60-61 List of Members (28) Jan'y 21 1761 with additions (2) to 1764	
p. 62 Blank	
p. 63 List of Members June 25th 1764 ruled for Monthly a/cs	
p. 64 do. January 11th 1765 do.	
p. 65 Cash a/c July to Decr. 1764	
p. 66 Blank	
p. 67, 69 Cash a/c Jan'y—July 1765	
pp. 70-71 Blank	
pp. 72-73 List of names June 1765/6 ruled for Monthly a/cs	
pp. 74-75 Blank	
pp. 76-81 Cash a/c to April 1767	
pp. 82-83 List of Members 1766/7	
pp. 84-85 Cash a/c Apl. 1767—Sept. 1767	
p. 86 Memorandum and Minute Sept. 1766 and August 1767	
p. 87 Blank	
pp. 88/166 Cash a/c Novr. 1767-1787 (these entries stop here. We then have commencing from the other end)	
p. 1 List of Visitors from June 1764 to April 1774	
pp. 2 and 3 Blank	
pp. 4 to 8 Persons Proposed &c.	
p. 9 Blank	

*Rules & Orders.*

The “ Rules & Orders ” are throughout written by Lau. Dermott and are dated January 1764. Several rules have been altered and amended at a later date and many of them have been renumbered; evidently they were used as the basis of the second set which, we shall find, were written out in another book, and which, although not dated, I judge from other evidence were written and presented for the signature of Members March 13th 1767. As I do not think that any useful purpose can be served by comparing these two sets of rules I propose to deal with them separately.

It may, however, be necessary to compare some of the 1764 rules with those of Lodge No. 20 Antients—given by Bro. Songhurst on p. 115 *et seq.*, vol. xxxii. *A.Q.C.*, 1919. Although it may detract from the uniformity of the printed page, I propose to make such remarks or comments as may be required immediately after each section in order to save the trouble of making repeated references:—



1764

85

## RULES AND ORDERS

WHICH are to be punctually observed and Kept by the Most Ancient and Honorable, Constant and Amicable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons And in order to prevent all Feuds, Controversies, Illegal Arguments or debates which might in any sort make void or even disturb this our Unanimous Conjunction We the **Master, Wardens and Deacons** together with the rest of the Members of our Lodge No 85 (by and with the approbation and Consent of the **Grand Lodge**) have thought proper to prescribe and Establish these following Rules

This introduction does not form part of the Lodge No. 20 set, so I wish to draw attention to the use of the word "punctually," a word which occurs in our opening ceremony and which I have noticed has, in many Lodges, been replaced by the word "promptly," whereas it was intended to convey the meaning of "exactly" or "with minute accuracy." Although this may seem a small matter, yet it serves to emphasize the importance of our insisting on the maintenance of such old words and phrases in our ritual.

The figure 85 for the No. of the Lodge was not written by Dermott and was no doubt left blank by him and filled up when the book came to Sheffield. In the same way the name and meeting place of the Lodge in Rule No. 1 were left blank and afterwards filled in. After "No 85" the words "& 340" have been written in by a later hand.

### *First*

That a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons be held at the *Rose & Crown in ye Market Place* or elsewhere [*sic*] in the Town of Sheffield and County of York that the said Lodge shall consist of one Master Two Wardens Two Deacons A Secretary with as many members as the Master and Majority Shall think proper. That all the Members shall appear in Clean decent Apparrel with proper Cloath<sup>s</sup>. and Observe a due decorum while the Lodge is engaged in what is serious and Solemn otherwise the Transgressor shall not sit down in the lodge without having first obtain'd liberty in proper form.

There are several variations from the No. 20 set,—the principal being that of the inclusion of a Secretary amongst the statutory Officers.

The space for name of the Rose & Crown in ye Market Place was left blank and inserted by the Sheffield Brethren.

### *Second*

That the hours of meeting be observed as follows, viz From the Vernal To the Autumnal Equinox at 7 o'Clock in the evening and sit till Ten. And from the Autumnal Equinox aforesaid, To the Vernal Equinox following from 6 to 9 o'Clock in the Evening. And if any member be absent one hour after the time of meeting he or they shall be fin'd *three Pence* And if absent the whole night or Time of Businefs he shall forfeit *Six Pence*

Except such Absentee be Sick, Confin'd, Lame, or upwards of three miles from the place of meeting. And that all Such fines be put into the Chest for the relief of Distressed Freemasons, or *such other purposes as the Fraternity* [*sic*] *shall think Proper*

This Rule has been adopted as 8th in the 1767 set.

It is interesting to note the changed method of defining the two Masonic periods. It rather suggests that in the interval between 1752 and 1764 Bro. Dermott

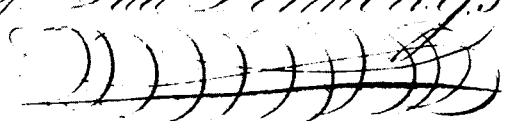
# RULES, *AND* ORDERS;

*WHICH* are to be punctually observed and kept by the Most Ancient and Honorable, Constant, and Amicable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons. And in Order to prevent all Feuds, Controversies, ~~Allegations~~ Arguments or debates which might in any sort make, or even disturb this our Unanimous Conjunction We the ~~Worshipful~~ Wardens, and ~~Dragons~~ <sup>Y340</sup> together with the rest of the Members of our Lodge N<sup>o</sup> 85, (by and with the approbation and Consent of the Grand Lodge) have thought proper to prescribe and Establish these following Rules.

The By-Laws of 1764.

Twentysixth 21<sup>th</sup>  
If any Brother be found Guilty of any  
Misdemeanor not directly specified in the aforesaid  
Rules and Orders he or they shall be dealt  
with at the Discretion of the Majority.

The foregoing are the true intent and meaning of the Grand-  
= Lodge Orders, for particular Lodges, as they are in prac-  
= tice at this time January 1764. 57 (A

Signed by authority Saml Dermott M. J. S.  


The By-Laws of 1764.  
With Dermott's Attestation.

List of Members, 1764.

Date	Name	Locality	Monthly Accounts				Remarks
			Jan	July	Aug	Sep	
Jan. 21 1761	John Lightfoot	Ref	24				
	Thomas Holford	Ref	24				
	John Christman	Ref	24				
	Joseph Green						
	John Jones						
	James John Dwyne						
June 28 1761	James Wainwright	P. 35					
June 25 1761	James Matthews	Master					
	William Hides	P. 12					
	Wm. Wilson	Ref					
	Robert Hurdley	Ref					
	William Hicks	JW					
	John Lattin						
	Sam. Broadbent						
	Thomas Scholey						
	Richard Steel						
	Thomas Harcock						
	John Colquhoun						
	James King						
	Evan Barclay						
	John Brown						
	Robert Denon						
	Rev. Mr. Rowland						
	Rev. Mr. Drayton						
	Robert Rowland						
	Chas. Chapman						
	Anthony's Street						
	Simon & Son						
Nov 16 1761	Yes Hason						
June 25 1761	Andrew Lindley						

BY-LAWS  
AND  
ORDERS

**WHICH** are to be punctually observed and kept by the most Ancient and Honourable, Constant, and Amicable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons. And in order to prevent all Feuds, Controversies or Illegal Arguments or debates which might in any sort make void or even disturb this our Unanimous Conjunction. We the Master, Wardens and Deacons together with the rest of the Members of our Lodge N<sup>o</sup> 85 and 340 ply and with the approbation and consent of the Grand Lodge have thought proper to prescribe and establish the following Rules.

sit down he shall pay equal with the Members—Sojourners left to the discretion of the Lodge—

The intention of this Rule is the same as No. VII. in Lodge 20. The portion relating to the performance of "a certain Ceremony" before sitting down is interesting, and I shall be pleased to hear of its use elsewhere.

No mention is made with regard to second visits, nor are the safeguards with regard to membership of the Antients inserted.

The word "Sojourners" is no doubt intended to refer to travellers or strangers as distinct from Brethren who while not being members of the Lodge are known to the members. We find frequent references to local Brethren who have resigned from the Lodge—continuing to attend some of the meetings.

#### *Tenth*

Any person desirous of being made a Mason in the Lodge shall be propos'd by a member hereof (In lodge hours) on Lodge night before his making, viz His Name Age description of his person Business and place of Residence &c. And the person that proposes him, shall at the same time deposit whatsoever sum the Brethren shall think sufficient, (not less than five shillings) to insure the Lodge that the Candidate will attend at the time appointed. And if approved and made he shall pay whatsoever sum the Brethren shall think proper not less than Two pounds two shillings including the above five shillings and Cloath the Lodge if required.

But if the Lodge disapprove the Candidate and refuse to make him the Money shall be faithfully return'd to him But in case the Lodge approve his person and Character &c and he refuse to be made then shall he forfeit his money to the lodge. And it is hereby Order'd and declared that no person is capable of becoming a Member of this Lodge, But such as are of mature Age *Upright in body and Limbs*, free from bondage has the senses of a Man and is endowed with an Estate, Office, Trade, Occupation Calling, or some visible way of acquiring an honest and reputable livelihood as becomes the members of this most Ancient and honorable Fraternity

This Rule has the same intention as the corresponding Rule (VIII.) in Lodge 20, but is much more comprehensive. A description of an intended Candidate's "person" is required.

The necessity of physical fitness is clearly stated as well as his mental capacity.

I should also point out that there is not a requirement that he shall be "free born" but "free from bondage," which is an exact equivalent of our present use of the word "free."

#### *Eleventh*

Any old Mason desirous of becoming a member of this Lodge shall be proposed as before and balloted for. And if admitted a Member he shall pay whatsoever sum the Brethren shall think sufficient not less than five shillings. And it is hereby Order'd and declared That no Old Mason is capable of becoming a Member of this Lodge without first producing a proper Certificate of his good behaviour as well as a Certain proof of his being made in some warranted Lodge And never Expelled from any.

This Rule has no counterpart in Lodge 20.

Remembering that Lodge 85 was the first regular Lodge in the town the "Old Masons" referred to could only have been: (1) Brethren from another town; (2) Made in a Military Lodge stationed in Sheffield; or (3) a member of a "St. John's" Lodge.

I might here point out that simple "Proposition" is required; no reference to "Seconding" occurs. It would be noteworthy to trace the origin of "Seconding."

*Twelfth*

If any Member of the Lodge come disguis'd in liquor he shall be admonish'd (by the presiding Officer) for the first Offence. For the second he shall forfeit One Shilling, and for the third (or refusing to pay his fine) He shall be Excluded without any benefit from the Lodge: and reported to the Grand.

This Rule is substantially the same as Rule XI., Lodge 20, but the words "presiding Officer" being substituted for "Master," thus avoiding any possible doubt should it happen that any but the Master was in the Chair at the time.

*Thirteenth*

If any Bro<sup>r</sup>. in this Lodge Curse, Swear, lay or offer to lay any wagers or use any reproachfull Language in Derogation of God's Name or Corruption of good manners or interrupt any Officer while speaking, he shall be fined at the discretion of the Lodge.

Coincides with X., Lodge 20.

*Fourteenth*

All Fines, Dues &c shall be paid on the Stated Lodge night next after they become due otherwise the person so indebted shall not vote in the Lodge; and if not clear'd on St John's day he shall be excluded except some cause appear which may excite Lenity.

Coincides with XIIth, Lodge 20, except that an addition betokening mercy has been made.

*Fifteenth*

That on a Lodge night in the Master's Absence the past-Master may take his place, And in his Absence by the Sen<sup>r</sup>. Warden, And in his Absence by the Jun<sup>r</sup>. Warden, And in the absence of all the Officers, the Members according to Merit and Seniority shall fill the vacant places. And it is hereby Order'd and declared that every Officer Absent on a Stated Lodge night or otherwise duly Summon'd shall be fined a discretional fine over and above the Common fine of private Members.

Identical with Rule XIII., Lodge 20.

- Notes.* (1) "the" Past Master with no reference to any others who have passed the Chair.  
 (2) After the P.M. and Wardens all the Officers in turn are called upon.  
 (3) The Brethren "by merit & seniority."  
 (4) No indication as to power to conduct Ceremonies.

*Sixteenth*

The Master has full power and Authority to Call on a Lodge of Emmergency where all the Members are to attend on proper Summons, or be liable to pay fines as on Stated Lodge nights.

Identical with XIV., Lodge 20, with the addition of the definite statement as to liability for fines in case of absence.

*Seventeenth*

That the Warrant, Money, Chest and furniture of this Lodge shall be in the Care of some responsible Bro<sup>r</sup>. Such as the Majority shall think Sufficient. And the money be dispos'd of for the Advancement of the Lodge and benefit of Brothron.

The same as Rule XV., Lodge 20, except that in this case the Warrant is included in the trust.

*Eighteenth*

That the Secretary shall keep a regular Register of all the Members according to the form herewith Annex'd and proper minutes of all the Transactions that are fitt to be written and the same to be laid before the Grand Lodge once year if required.

The same as XVI. in Lodge 20. Though the grammar is better, the spelling is not.

*Nineteenth*

That no disagreeable dispute be suffer'd to arise in the Lodge, But if a dispute shou'd happen (out of the Lodge) between the Brethren concerning Masonry or otherwise In order to prevent vexatious Lawsuits &c Such dispute Complaint or Controversy shall be laid before this Lodge and here Amicably desided if pofsible. But if the disputants or Complain'ts will not then agree. The Master shall order the Secretary to take proper Minutes of such controversy &c and lay the same before the Grand Lodge on their next Meeting where the Disputants or Complain'ts shall attend (if within Twenty Miles of London) and agree as the Grand or Stewards Lodge shall order But in case of non Compliance to such decision of the Grand Lodge &c, such as refuse shall be for ever Excluded and deemed Unworthy of this or any other good society. And the Grand Secretary (According to the nature of his Office) shall give notice of such exclusion to all the Warranted Lodges throughout Afia, Africa, Europe and America

This is in the main of the same effect and wording as No. XVII. in Lodge 20, but one feels it necessary to point out that the limitation of 20 miles beyond which the strong arm of Grand Lodge could not extend, limits the regulation to the Lodge itself.

Also it should be noted that in this version of the Rule the Stewards Lodge is added to the Grand as a punitive body.

Dermott cannot have given serious thought to the possible working of this Rule.

*Twentieth*

That the Brethren of this Lodge (when congregated together) shall have full power and Authority To make, Amend, Correct, or Explain these or such other by-laws, Rules, and Orders, as shall seem most necefsary and Convenient to them, (providing such Additions or alterations do not remove our Ancient Landmarks)——

And if an Amendment be made. The Master shall order his Secretary to write a fair Copy of such Rule, Order or Amendment and send the Same to the Grand Secretary for the Benefit of Fraternity in General

Comparing this Rule with No. XVIII. of Lodge 20 it is worthy of note that the provision that additions or alterations must "not remove our Ancient Landmarks" is not given in Lodge 20. Also it leaves the Lodge full liberty to make alterations, etc., without asking or receiving the sanction of Grand Lodge.

*Twentfirst*

That the Tyler shall Receive One Shilling for every new made Mafon, and Six pence for every old Mafon admitted a Member of this Lodge, over and above what may be stipulated for his Tyling. And the Tyler shall take particula care not to admit any person (no not even a Member) without the Knowledge and Consent of the presiding Officers, under the penalty of forfeiting the benefits of the Night.



This is the parallel of XIX. in Lodge 20 though more complete. The reference once more to "Old Masons" should be noted. In Lodge 20 the Tyler was not to admit a visitor a second time without proof of membership of an Antient Lodge. In this Rule no mention is made of the Antients or the Moderns, but the Tyler must not even admit a Member of the Lodge without specific consent of the presiding Officers. This leads one to enquire what was the system by which the Tyler reported and received sanction: there may have been an I.G. and the rudiments of our present method, but it would be interesting to learn if any other Lodge records can throw light on the point. I would suggest that as the Junior Deacon would be placed nearest to the door that he would act as I.G. and report requests for admission.

*Twentifsecond*

That these Rules and Orders shall be read by the Secretary (or some other brother of the Master's appointment) To every new Member and Otherwise as Occasion may require in the Lodge.

This Rule is word for word the same as Rule XX. in Lodge 20.

*Twentithird*

That the Members of this Lodge shall Contribute an Annual Sum (which is left to their own generosity) To the Grand Lodge Charity and also a true list of the Members at the same time And on default hereof their Warrant shall be cancell'd

There was no Rule to this effect in Lodge 20.

This Rule might be understood as putting each Member under an obligation to contribute to Grand Lodge Charity, but I think it was meant to apply to the Lodge as a body and that the requirement for a list of the Members was intended for Registration purposes only and had no reference to the Charity.

*Twentifourth*

If a Complaint be made against a Brother, and he be found Guilty, he shall stand to the Determination of this or the Grand Lodge, According to the 19th Rule But if a Complaint be made against a brother wherein the accuser can't support his complaint to Conviction, Such Accuser shall forfeit such penalty as the person might have forfeited had he been really convicted on such complaint.

This is practically identical with Rule XXII. in Lodge 20. but one cannot refrain from expressing admiration at the wisdom of making the punishment fit the crime.

*Twentififth*

That no person under the Degree of a Mafter-Mafon shall be admitted as a visiter in this Lodge upon any pretence whatsoever—

Rule XXIV. of Lodge 20 is more complete, in that it gives a most interesting reason for the Rule, suggesting that Operative Masters might feel affronted by being expected to meet E.A.'s or F.C.'s on the level.

*Twentifisth*

If any Brother be found Guilty of any Misdeamenor not directly specified in the aforesaid Rules and Orders he or they shall be dealt with at the Discretion of the Majority.

Identical with Rule XXV. in Lodge 20.

The foregoing are the true intent and meaning of the Grand-Lodge Orders for particular Lodges, as they are in practice at this time January 1764 . . .  
5764

Sign'd by Authority      Lau Dermott   G.S

This conclusion and confirmation by Dermott as Grand Secretary differs from that of Lodge 20, which had no official signature, but those rules were signed by the members of the Lodge as signifying their undertaking to accept and obey the Rules and Orders.

The Lodge 85 set was not followed by the members' signatures.

Before proceeding to the second set of Rules I wish to refer to the draft Certificates which are inserted at page 4 of the first Rule Book.

The first of these drafts is as follows:—

To all Brethren

Brother . . . the Bearer hereof has visited this Lodge. And appears to be a Regular made Brother as well by examination as by recommendation & Certificate from the Lodge at . . . where he was made as witnefs our Hands this Day of ——— 1765

I know of no other record of a similar Certificate, but it is very probable that this draft would only be used when a visitor from outside the town made a request for one. Possibly it might be intended for begging purposes—though the omission of any expressions as to the worthiness or character of the recipient, beyond his Masonic qualifications hardly seems to justify the suggestion.

The second draft Certificate, written on the same page, is as follows:—

To All Whome it Concern these are to Certify that we ——— & ——— being Members of a regular Warranted Constituted Lodge of Free & Accepted Masons now Held at the sign of the ——— and also Most Sublime or Royal Arch Masons, regularly Advanced to that Degree with a sufficient number of Sublime or Royal Arch Masons being duly congregated Have this Twenty Seventh Day of ——— 5765 Advanced A—— B—— to the fourth Degree of Masonry commonly called the Most Sublime or Royal Arch.

In token whereof we hereunto have set our names & fixed our Seals the Day and Year above written.

Lest it might be thought that this draft may have been written by Dermott, I have carefully examined the writing and am of opinion that it was written by C. A. Heurtley, who was Secretary in the second half of the year 1765.

The first regularly constituted Royal Arch Chapter in Sheffield was the Chapter of Loyalty warranted 26th March 1795 and later attached to the Royal Brunswick Lodge (now No. 296).

The earliest record of a Royal Arch Chapter in West Yorkshire occurs in the Minutes of Probity Lodge, Halifax, 9th January 1765, when a resolution that a Royal Arch Chapter be formed was adopted and the Chapter held its first meeting 30th January 1765.

It is therefore very interesting to note that in the list of members for the year 1765, which contains twenty-nine names, sixteen of them have the  $\mathfrak{H}$  symbol appended and only two of them and the Master appear to have been installed Masters. These symbols do not appear in the 1761 and 1764 lists, but in the Cash account for the second term of 1764 are the following entries:—

October 18th	To Bro <sup>r</sup> . King being Made Roy <sup>l</sup> . Arch	10-6
.. ..	.. Bro <sup>r</sup> . Denton Ditto Ditto	10-6

and as both these Brethren use the  $\mathfrak{H}$  symbol in the list for 1765 we may safely assume that the Royal Arch was being regularly worked at least from 1764 onwards.

The Chapter of Paradise connected with this Lodge was not constituted until the year 1798.

## THE SECOND BOOK OF RULES.

The second set of Rules and Orders is written in another parchment-covered book of slightly smaller dimensions than the first.

This book has been used also from the other end, as a record of attendance from February 11th 1774 to September 11th 1788.

The second set of Rules and Orders was mainly copied from the first set with such additions and alterations as were considered necessary. In fact, most of the variations were first added to the original rules, but in transcribing them I purposely omitted everything which was not in Dermott's handwriting.

These Rules are well and carefully written, and on the whole the spelling is decidedly better than that of Lau. Dermott. The Rules are not dated, but as they are followed by signatures of members who in accordance with Rule No. 27 were called upon to signify their obedience by signing their names, and there are 24 signatures on the 13th and 14th March 1767, there need be no doubt that they were prepared immediately before that date. Unfortunately the earliest Minute Book only begins in June 1768, so that we are unable to throw any further light on the question as to the reason why this second set was prepared.

## RULES

## AND

## ORDERS

WHICH are to be punctually observed and Kept by the most Ancient and Honourable. Constant and Amicable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons. And in order to prevent all Feuds, Controversies or Illegal Arguments or debates which might in any sort make void or even disturb this our Unanimous Conjunction. We the **Master, Wardens and Deacons** together with the rest of the Members of our Lodge No. 85 and 340 (by and with the approbation and consent of the **Grand Lodge**) have thought proper to prescribe and Establish these following Rules.

This is an exact copy of the preamble to the first set with the exception of the addition "and 340." It is indeed difficult to believe that these Brethren, two years after the date of their Moderns Warrant did not know that Warrant No. 85 and Warrant No. 340 emanated from different Grand Lodges, and yet for several years the Lodge was certainly run on definite Antient lines. Nowhere do I find any reference to the Provincial Grand Lodge which was working as part of the Moderns system and which, one might expect, would have interfered with their following of Antient practices.

## First

THAT these Rules and Orders shall be read by the Secretary (or some other Brother of the Master's appointment) To every new Member and otherwise as occasion may require in the Lodge.

This Rule is identical with No. 22 in the first set, but I find a most interesting note in the first page of the book in which this second set is written, viz.:—

“ Memorandum of Articles to be read ”

“ to such as intend to become a member ”

1st, 2d, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 18th  
19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 24th, 25th, 27th

A modified series is then given, viz.:—

1st, 2d, 5th, 7th, 8th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 21st, 22d

I think there can be no doubt that they did actually read over the selected Rules to intending Candidates, either before proposition or before initiation. The Rules omitted from the first series are those referring to internal matters which would not concern an outsider. The second series was no doubt compiled with a view to reducing the labour of reading the large number called for in the first series, but in every way they are more suitable for submission to a would-be candidate in that they clearly state the qualifications necessary for membership and on broad lines the obligations as to conduct and finances to which he will have to conform.

## Second

That a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons be held at the Rose & Crown in the Market Place or elsewhere in the Town of Sheffield and County of York that the said Lodge shall consist of One **Master** Two **Wardens** Two **Deacons** a **Secretary** and a **Treasurer** with as many Members as the Master and Majority shall think proper. That all the Members shall appear in Clean decent Apparel with proper Cloathing and observe a due decorum while the Lodge is engaged in what is Sereious [*sic*] and Solemn otherwise the Transgresfor shall not sit down in the Lodge without first having obtain'd Liberty in proper form

This coincides exactly with No. 1 in the first set, except that a Treasurer is now added.

## Third

That the **Officers** shall be chose by Ballott (viz) the Wardens shall stand Candidates for the Chair on the Lodge before S'. John's day, except it be the unanimous oppinion of the Lodge that some Member (not a Warden) is more capable of taking the Chair. And the Candidates shall withdraw, while every free Member of the Lodge give his Vote in favour of him he deems most worthy. Each Free Member having one Vote and the Master Two\* When done the Candidates shall be ordered into the Lodge and the Master having carefully examin'd the Poll shall then declare him (that hath the Majority) duly Elected.

\* That is when the Poll happens to be equall on both sides in such case the Master has two Votes, otherwise he has but one.

This is a repetition of Rule 4 in the first set.

The term "Free Member" is maintained, thus emphasizing the fact that a member in arrears is disfranchised as (theoretically) is the case to-day.

As will be seen by Rule 4, the Officers so elected were seven in number, but there is nothing to show how the election was carried out, though it is probable from the order that the Master shall "examine the Poll" that some kind of written method was used. It will be seen also that there is no reference to the election of Master or the qualification for the office.

## Fourth

That the Member so chose (past Officers excepted) refusing to serve any of the aforesaid Officers he or they shall be fined as follows (viz) The Master five shillings, each Warden, Secretary & Treasurer two shillings & six Pence and each Deacon One Shilling. And to be fined the like sum if they don't serve their full time Except such Person be sick Lame confined or upwards of three Miles from the Place of meeting.

Note. It is not lawfull to fine a Brother for not serving in an Office which he has formerly fill'd with honour (in this Lodge) nor for any Office beneath the Dignity thereof while there are other Master Masons in the Lodge.—

In the main this is identical in intention with Rule No. 6 in the first set. A Treasurer has been added to the list of Officers and allowance made for reasonable occasions of absence, including that of being three miles distant from the place of

meeting. I might also point out that the office of Deacon is retained though the Lodge is now under the Modern G.L.

### Fifth

Any Person desirous of being made a Mason in this Lodge shall be propos'd by a member hereof (In Lodge hours) on Lodge night before his making (viz) His Name, Age, Businefs and place of Residence &c. And the Person that proposes him shall at the same time deposite five Shillings to insure the Lodge that the Candidate will appear at the time appointed. And if approved and made he shall pay One Pound One Shilling including the above five Shillings and \* Cloath the Lodge when rais'd Master. But if the Lodge disapprove the Candidate and refuse to make him the money shall be faithfully return'd to him. But in case the Lodge approved his Person and Character &c and he refuse to be made: then shall he forfeit his Money to the Lodge. And it is hereby Order'd and declared that no Person is capable of becoming a Member of this Lodge, But such as are of Mature Age, free from bondage, has the senses of a Man, and is endowed with an Estate, Office, Trade, Occupation, Calling or some visible way of acquiring an honest and respectable livelihood, as becomes the Members of this most Ancient and honourable Fraternity.

\* N B it is agreed that each Member when rais'd Master shall pay Ten Shillings & Sixpence for Cloathing the Lodge. The Lodge to pay or receive the difference.

This is but slightly varied from No. 10 in the first set, but the variations are of interest. The Candidate is not asked to "Cloath the Lodge" until he is "raised Master" and further, by the note at the end, any uncertainty as to the cost of Cloathing the Lodge is removed by fixing the amount at ten shillings and sixpence.

Note also the omission of specific reference to physical condition—which in this Rule is only maintained to the extent that reference is made to the approval of "his Person & Character." The expression "free from bondage" is retained.

### Sixth

Any Old Mason desirous of becoming a Member of this Lodge shall be propos'd as before and Ballotted for and if admitted a Member, he shall pay five Shillings. And it is hereby Order'd and declared. That no Old Mason is capable of becoming a Member of this Lodge without first producing a Certificate of his good behaviour as well as a certain proof of his being made in some warrented Lodge and never Expell'd from any. And every person so admitted shall deliver his Certificate into the hands of the Secretary to be deposited in the Box belonging to the Lodge. And when the said Member is desirous (or by Businefs obliged) to leave the Lodge provided his conduct and behaviour have been becoming a Mason he shall (by giving proper Notice) have a fresh Certificate from this Lodge without any expence.—

This Rule is an extended form of Rule XI. in the earlier set, the additional matter dealing with the question of the "Certificate." The Certificate in question would not be a Grand Lodge Certificate or even a "Lodge" Certificate of his making, but it is clearly a reference to what we should call a "Clearance Certificate," but when once deposited with his new Lodge it is retained by the Lodge, and on his leaving and being found worthy he is given a new one.

### Seventh

That the Tyler shall receive Six Pence for every new made Mason, and Six Pence for every Old Mason admitted a Member of this Lodge, over and above what may be stipulated for his Tyling. And the Tyler shall take particular care not to admit any Person (no not even a Member) without the knowledge and

Consent of the presiding Officers, Under the penalty of forfeiting the benefits of the Night.

This Rule is an exact copy of Rule XXI. in the first set.

### **Eighth**

That the hours of meeting be observed as follows (viz) From the Vernal to the Autumnal Equinox at Seven o'Clock in the evening and sit till Ten. And from the Autumnal Equinox aforesaid to the Vernal Equinox following from Six to Nine o'Clock in the Evening. And if any Member be absent one hour after the time of Meeting he or thay shall be fined three Pence. And if absent the whole Night or time of Businefs he shall forfeit Six Pence. Except such absentee be Sick, Confin'd, Lame, or upwards of three Miles from the place of meeting. And that all such fines be put into the Chest for the relief of distressed Free Masons, or such other purposes as the Fraternity shall think proper.

An exact repetition of Rule II. in the first set.

On the opposite page an amendment of this Rule is made as follows:—

N.B

An Extraordinary Lodge called the 30th March in the year of Masonry 5768 it was then agreed upon by all the Members then Congregated that the Summons's shall be for the future given to meet at Seven o'Clock for the whole Year and the Lodge to be Open'd preciseley at a Quarter past Seven.

I think we may safely assume that the Summons referred to was either a written or verbal one transmitted by the Tyler.

### **Ninth**

That (on every Lodge Night) the Officers shall immediately appear in their proper Stations and a Lecture on the Science of Masonry shall preceede all other Businefs. Making and chusing Officers Excepted.

An exact repetition of Rule III. in the first set.

### **Tenth**

That the Junior Warden shall keep an Exact acc't. of the reckoning and acquaint the Lodge when the stated Compliment is in. And upon his negligence or cmision he shall be accountable for the deficiency. And whereas the said Junior Warden is accountable for such deficiencies. It is hereby Order'd and declared that whosoever Calls for or Orders any Liquor &c on the Lodge acco't. without the Knowledge and Consent of the said Junior Warden shall pay for the quantity so Order'd out of his or their private pockets exclusive of the stated Expence of the Night.

This is exactly the same as Rule VIII. in the first set with the exception that the opening sentence of Rule VIII. is here omitted.

It is interesting to note that the Junior Warden had absolute control of the Lodge during refreshment.

### **Eleventh**

That no Visitor be admitted at any time without the knowledge and consent of the presiding Officers. And when admitted into the Lodge, he shall not be permitted to sit down untill he first perform a certain Ceremony before the Brethren, to the satisfaction of the Lodge. And if permitted to sit down he shall pay equal with the Members.

Any Person admitted by and with the consent of the Presiding Officers, after Lodge hours shall be subject to pay a proportional part of the Evenings' Expence.

Identical with Rule IX. in first set with the exception that the word "Sojourners" is omitted.

### Twelfth

If any Member of the Lodge come disguis'd in Liquor. For the first offence, he shall be admonish'd (by the presiding Officer) and dismissed the Lodge for that Night. For the second, he shall forfeit one Shilling and likewise dismissed. And for the third (or refusing to pay his fine) he shall be Excluded without any benefit from the Lodge, and reported to the Grand.

Identical with Rule XII. in the first set.

### Thirteenth

If any Brother in this Lodge Curse, Swear, lay or offer to lay wagers or use any reproachful Language in derogation of God's Name or corruption of good manners he shall be fined one shilling or more at the discretion of the Lodge. Every Member when speaking to the Chair shall stand up in proper Form. And any Person interrupting the said Member while speaking shall be fin'd one shilling. Also any Member leaving the Lodge during Lodge hours without having first obtain'd leave from the Chair shall be fined one shilling.

The first half of this Rule coincides exactly with that in the first set.

The second half was added to Rule XIII. in the first set in another hand and before the second set was drawn up.

It is interesting to note the expression "the Chair," a form which is still widely used, and also the requirement when addressing the Chair to "stand up in proper form."

### Fourteenth

That the Members of this Lodge shall dine together upon every S<sup>t</sup>. Johns day between the hours of Twelve and Four o'Clock. That the New Officers shall be installed before Dinner and the New Wardens shall be appointed Stewards to transact all matters relating to the Feast. Every Member or Visitor dining with the Lodge on S<sup>t</sup>. Johns day shall be subject to pay a proportionable part of the Expences of the Whole day (viz) from the time of meeting to the time of regularly closing the Lodge at Ten o'Clock. And that every Member of this Lodge present or absent on the above mentioned days shall pay one Shilling which shall be considered as his proportionate discharge of the Ordinary only.

N B It is to be observed that the Officers are only chose once a year which is on S<sup>t</sup>. John Baptist

The first part of this Rule is mainly the same as Rule VII. in the first set, but that Rule was altered and enlarged to this present form before this set was drawn up.

The note at the end converting the system into annual instead of half-yearly occurs in the first set also but appears to have been hurriedly written as though in conformity with a special resolution or order.

The reference to the "closing of the Lodge at Ten o'Clock" in conjunction with the Installation of Officers *before* dinner leads one to assume that at some stage there would be a formal "calling off" for refreshment and that the closing of the Lodge ended the day.

The expression "of the ordinary" will mean that this obligatory contribution is to be used to discharge the ordinary expenses of the Lodge meeting, *i.e.*, not of the Dinner, &c.

### Fifteenth

Every Member who chuses to continue so or any Master Mason desirous of becoming a Member of this Lodge shall deposit every S<sup>t</sup>. Johns day six shillings as payment of the ensuing half years Lodge dues. Three shillings of which shall be appropriated to the discharge of the succeeding half yearly Lodge Expences, and the other three shillings to be deposited in the Lodge Box to be applied to the relief of distresfed Masons or to such purposes as the Majority of the Lodge think tends most towards the Credit or benefit thereof. Provided a Member of this Lodge be absent on S<sup>t</sup>. John's day and hath not desired some friend to deposite his Dues &c for him, or otherwise given Notice of his desire of absenting himself from the Lodge, such Member shall be summons'd to the Lodge untill the next generall meeting on S<sup>t</sup>. John's day. And if he don't then appear and clear off his dues, Fines &c already incurred and make a fresh deposite for the ensuing half Year he shall be excluded and never after suffered to sit in the Lodge as a Visitor or otherwise.

N B An Extraordinary Lodge call'd on the 30th March in the year of Masonry 5768 it was then agreed upon by all the members then congregated that the half years Lodge dues for the future shall be augmented One Shilling half yearly more than Specified in the adjoining Article to be appropriated to the Augemintation of the General Fund of Charity as One Pound one shillings has hitherto only Subscribed to the Fund of Charity to make the said Sum Two Pounds Two Shillings Yearly to be paid at two equal half yearly payments.

\* Be it rembred [*sic*] this 23rd Feby 5769 at an Extra<sup>y</sup>. Lodge called it was then unanimously agreed by all the Members present that for the future any Member who neglects attending the Lodge when Regularly summoned for three Regular Lodge Nights, Or does not give satisfactory reason why he did not attend shall be deemed not worthy to be continued a Member of this Lodge and never after suffered to sit in the Lodge as a Visitor or otherwise and shall likewise be reported to the Grand.

\* This Codicil repeal'd April 14th 5775 for reasons set forth in the minutes of the Lodge for that night.

This Rule has no parallel in the first set.

The two points worthy of comment are the stringency of regulations for regular attendance, payment of dues and the provision for Charity.

Half the dues are definitely ear-marked for Charity and the old contribution of One Guinea to the Grand Lodge Charity is doubled.

With regard to the repeal of the "Codicil" the Minute quoted is as follows:—

"Also determined by Ballott that the Codicil annexed to the fifteenth Article is a grievance & shall be repealed"

### Sixteenth

All Fines, Dues, Forfeits, or Money deposited by one Member for another, shall be paid the first stated Lodge Night, that the Member appears at the Lodge otherwise the Person so indebted shall not Vote in the Lodge: and if not cleared on S<sup>t</sup>. John's day he shall be excluded except some cause appear which may excite lenity.

This is an amended form of Rule XIV. in the first set. The addition appears to be a very wise (and probably necessary) precaution. It ensures that a Brother who out of sympathy or goodwill advances money on behalf of another shall be as secure of receiving payment as the Lodge itself. I have not been able to find a similar clause elsewhere.

It is to be noted that the accounts do not show any receipts of cash in payment of fines or forfeits. From this it will be clear that all money from this source went into a Charity Box or Fund, but whether a special account was kept or not, there is nothing to show.



### Seventeenth

That on a Lodge night in the Masters absence the past Master may take his place. And in his absence by the Senior Warden. And in his absence by the Junior Warden. And in the absence of all the Officers, the Members according to Merit and Seneority shall fill the vacant places. And it is hereby Order'd and declared that every Officer absent on a stated Lodge night or otherwise duly summonsd half an hour after the time of meeting (except as p<sup>r</sup>. Eight Article) shall be fined Six Pence over and above the fine of private Members. And should any Officer neglect to send the Key of the Chest, to open the Lodge in the time as above specified he shall be fined six Pence more on that acc<sup>t</sup>.

N.B. The past Master is in this Rule esteemed an Officer.

This is an expanded form of Rule XV. in the first set. The note at the end is amply confirmed on reference to the first yearly list of members, where I find that one Brother is noted as "past Master" while other members on the list had passed the Chair but have no distinction after their names to indicate the fact.

This much debated subject appears here at least to be very clear, viz., that only one Past Master has the right to occupy the Chair in the Master's absence until the Wardens and "other Officers" are absent or have declined. And that after the regular officers then the other members according to merit and seniority.

The clause referring to the Key of the Chest, suggests that each "Officer" would have a Key to the Chest in which all the books, regalia and necessary furniture of the Lodge were kept, for it must be remembered that the meetings were held at that time in a room at a Tavern which would on other than Lodge nights be used by the general company of the house.

### Eighteenth

That the Master has full power and authority to call a Lodge on emmergency where all the Members are to attend on proper summons, or be liable to pay fines as on stated Lodge nights—

An exact repetition of Rule XVI. in the first set. I think we may rightly conclude that no summons was sent out for the "stated" Lodge nights. Whether the summonses were written and sent by the hand of the Tyler or only a verbal one we have no means of knowing.

I might here point out that there is no use of the distinction of "Worshipful" throughout these Rules.

### Nineteenth

That the Secretary shall Keep a Register of all the Members and proper Minutes of all the transactions that are fitt to be written and the same to be laid before the Grand Lodge once a Year if required.

This Rule does not appear in the first set, but one to the same effect is in those of Lodge 20.

The earliest Minutes we have are dated June 24th 1768, and it is a matter of doubt as to whether any Minutes earlier than that date were ever written.

### Twentieth

That the Warrant, Money, Chest and furniture of this Lodge shall be in the care of some responsible Brother such as the Majority shall think proper.

I do not find in the Minutes any record as to the appointment of a custodian. It was probably settled by private discussion and agreement.

### Twentifirst

That no disagreeable dispute be suffer'd to arise in the Lodge. But if a dispute should happen (out of the Lodge) between the Brethern concerning Masonry or otherwise. In order to prevent vexatious Law-suits &c such dispute, Complaint, or controversy, shall be laid before this Lodge and here amicably desided if pofsible. But if the disputants or Complainants will not then agree.

The Master shall order the Secretary to take proper Minutes of such Controversy &c and lay the same before the Grand Lodge on their next meeting where the disputants or Complainants shall attend (if within Twenty Miles of London) and agree as the Grand or Stewards Lodge shall order. But in case of non compliance to such decision of the Grand Lodge &c such as refuse shall be for ever excluded and deem'd unworthy of this or any other good Society. And the Grand Secretary according to the nature of his Office shall give Notice of such exclusion to all the warrented Lodges throughout Afia, Africa, Europe and America.—

This is an exact copy of Rule XIX. in the first set and it seems clear that it was included without any thought beyond the general principle involved, viz., the importance of saving open scandal arising out of disputes between the members of the Lodge by providing means for the Lodge itself to adjudicate. The final reference to Grand Lodge with the 20 miles limit must have appeared futile to them, as to us.

### Twentisecond

If a complaint be made against a Brother by another Brother and he be found Guilty he shall stand to the determination of this or the Grand Lodge according to the last Rule specified. But if a Complaint be made against a Brother wherein the accuser can't support his complaint to conviction, such accuser shall forfeit such penalty as the Person so accused might have forfeited had he been Convicted on such complaint.

This Rule is an exact copy of Rule XXIV. in the first set.

### Twentithird

That no Person under the Degree of a Fellow-Craft Mason, shall be admitted as a Visiter in this Lodge upon any pretence whatsoever

This is identical with Rule XXV. in the first set except that the degree requisite for a visitor is now reduced to Fellow Craft. There is a possibility that until a Brother attained the rank of a Fellow Craft he was not considered as a member of the Lodge. As will be seen later, only those who were Fellowcrafts or higher, were called upon to append their signatures to the Rules.

### Twentifourth

That the Bretheren of this Lodge (when congregated together) shall have full power and Authority To make amend, Correct or Explain these or such other By-laws Rules and Orders, as shall seem most necefsary and convenient to them (provided such additions or alterations do not remove our Ancient Landmarks). And if an amendment be made. The Master shall order his Secretary to write a fair Coppel of such Rule, Order, or Amendment and send the same to the Grand Secretary (when required) for the Benefit of the Fraternity in General.

A repetition of Rule XX. in the first set with the exception that in the last sentence the words "(when required)" have been inserted, a rather subtle method of securing the entire and unfettered freedom of the Lodge with regard to their By-laws.

**Twentiffth**

That the Members of this Lodge shall contribute an Annual sum (which is left to their own generosity) to the Grand Lodge Charity and also a true list of the Members at the same time if required. And on default hereof their warrent shall be cancelled.

In this case, as in the last Rule, the words "if required" have been inserted, thus making their contributions entirely optional.

**Twentifixth**

That the Master and Wardens shall attend the Grand and Stewards Lodge On all general Meeting days or otherwise when Summond by the Grand Secretary (if within Twenty Miles of London) And when in the Grand or Stewards Lodge. He, they or either of them shall have full power and authority to transact all matters relating to this Lodge, as well, full and truly as if we the whole body were there present.

This is an exact copy of Rule V. in the first set. It will have been noted that the "Stewards" Lodge is included in several of the Rules in the first set and the words have been copied into the new set and that as the new Rules were drawn up two years after the Lodge had accepted a Modern Warrant they certainly failed to understand the differences between the two systems. The Stewards Lodge of the Antients was a definite body, dealing with the Charities but having also the duty of hearing complaints and exacting fines. It therefore seems very probable that at this time the Brethren did not know that there was any difference between the two systems.

**Twentifeventh**

Every old Mason at the time he is admitted a Member of this Lodge (as p<sup>r</sup>. Sixth article) and every new Member when pas'd Fellow-Craft shall sign these Articles and on refusing shall not be continued as Members hereof.

This is a new Rule and for some years it was acted upon, as will be seen by the following list. In this respect it agrees with the Rules in Lodge No. 20. Rule XXV. in the first set was dropped.

Upon the opposite page to Rule 27 is written a copy of a resolution with regard to the Ballot, and this is copied again on the next page, but the date of the resolution is given in the second copy, which is as follows. The date of this shows that the resolution had been made *before* the second set of Rules was drawn up:—

A.M 5775

Whereas a Custom has obtained respecting the Form and manner of balloting for a new Member by which one single black Ball or Veto is sufficient to prevent the Election from taking place and as it may happen that this Veto shall rise from very unworthy Causes contrary to the obligation of Masonry it is this evening regularly and solemnly determined by Ballott that in any future Ballott for a New Member if one single Black Ball or Veto shall appear such Veto shall not be deem'd sufficient to contradict and render of none Effect the choice of the other Members, except that single Dissentient can give such Reasons for the Act as shall be Deem'd satisfactory to the other Members then present.

This is a rather oblique way of saying that one black ball does not exclude, though while the alternative would destroy the secrecy of the ballot it would ensure that a very real objection known or held by a single member might prevent the election of an undesirable member.

The inclusion of this resolution seems rather to show that there may have been a practice of keeping Minutes—at least of the most important matters.

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This completes the second set of Rules and it is followed by the signatures of members accepting and promising to abide by these Rules. Twenty-nine members signed in the year 1767.

We the Master, Wardens, Deacons, Secretary and Treasurer with the rest of the Members of this Lodge. Have and do acknowledge the aforesaid Rules to be the true intent and meaning of the Grand Lodge articles for particular Lodges as they are in practice at this time. We therefore do unanimously agree that our Lodge shall be governed by them

As witnefs our hands.

Names	Degree	When sign'd
John Allett	Master	March ye 13th A M 5767
C. A. Heurtley	S.W.	March 13th 5767
Matthew Tyas	J.W.	March 13th 5767
John Creswick	S.D.	March 13th 5767
Joseph Wilson	J.D.	March 14th 5767
W <sup>m</sup> . Hancock	Secretary	March ye 13th A M 5767
Fran <sup>s</sup> . Wheelhouse D.M.	Treas.	March ye 13th A M 5767
James De La Pryme P.M.	P.M.	March 13th 5767
Sam Staniforth	P.M.	March 13th 5767
Jos Owen	M.	March 13th 5767
Rob <sup>t</sup> . Handley	M.	March 13th 5767
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Hancock	M.	March 13th 5767
Andrew Lindley	M.	March 13th 5767
Will Pearson	M.	March 13th 5767
Sam Bullas	M.	March 13th 5767
William Fullard	M.	March 13th 5767
John Bishop	M.	March 13th 5767
Isaac Nodder	M.	March 14th 5767
Will <sup>m</sup> . Birks	M.	March 14th 5767
Will Middleton	M.	March 14th 5767
Rob <sup>t</sup> . Rowland	M.	March 14th 5767
John Lancelet	F.C.	March 13th 5767
Jon <sup>n</sup> . Parkin	F.C.	March 13th 5767
Adam Broomhead	F.C.	March 13th 5767
Jn Earnest Sauer	F.C.	April 10th 5767
Rich <sup>d</sup> . Hoystrop	F.C.	April 10th 5767
William Green	M.	June 24 5767
John Newton	F.C.	Sept. 7th 5767
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Tennant	M.	Decr. 10th 5767
John Dixon	F.C.	Augt. 5th 5769
Ge <sup>n</sup> . Andrews	F.C.	Augt. 11th 5769
John White	F.C.	June 25th 5770
John Parsons	M.	Feb. 22 5771
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Taylor	M.	Feb. 22d 5771
John Eyre	M.	Feby. 22d 5771
Thomas Smith	M.	Feby. 22nd 5771
Benjamin Withers	F.C.	Decr. 12th 5771
W <sup>m</sup> . Booker	F.C.	Sepmr. 11 5772
Sam Elliott	F.C.	Decr. 28th 5772
W <sup>m</sup> . Pearson iii.	M.	Sepr. 5th 5773
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Lambert	F.C.	Sepr. 5th 5773
Samp Hodgkinson	F.C.	Sept. 5 5773
Edw Roberts	F.C.	Feb. 11th 5774
Hugh Cheney	M.	March 10th 5775

Names	Degree	When sign'd	
Joseph Beldon	F.C.	April 21st	5775
Nathan Andrews	F.C.	April 21st	5775
John Rutherford	F.C.	June 9th	5775
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Pryor	F.C.	June 9th	5775
A. H. Linnecar	M.	Decr. 27th	5775
Samuel Robinson	F.C.	Feby. 9th	5776
John Burgon	M.	June 21	5776
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Prior	M.	June 21	5776
Sam'l Robinson	M.	June 21	5776
Frans Chas Vernsberg	F.C.	June 12th	5777
John Dixon	M.		
Geo <sup>r</sup> . Russell	F.C.	June 23rd	1777
John Wainwright	F.C.	August 13	5777
James Hallam	F.C.	Decr. 26th	5777
Jn <sup>o</sup> . Balzack	F.C.	Decr. 26th	5777
Geo <sup>r</sup> . Russell	M.	June 24th	5778
Nathan Andrews	M.	June 24th	5778
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Styring	F.C.	June 24th	5778
Cha <sup>s</sup> . Styring	F.C.	May 14th	5779
W <sup>m</sup> . Styring	F.C.	.. 14th	Do.
Jn <sup>o</sup> . Younge	F.C.	.. 14th	Do.
Robt. Clay	F.C.	.. 14th	Do.
J. Ritz	F.C.	.. 14th	Do.
J. Valert	F.C.	.. 27th	Do.
Jn <sup>o</sup> . Younge	M.	.. 27th	Do.
J. Hallam	M.	.. 27th	Do.
W <sup>m</sup> . Styring	M.	.. 27th	Do.
Cha <sup>s</sup> . Styring	M.	.. 27th	Do.
Robt. Clay	M.	.. 27th	Do.
Jas Ritz	M.	.. 27th	Do.
John Hardey	F.C.	December 8th	5780
Daniel Netherwood	F.C.	September 8th	5784
Jas Watson	—	Decr. 9th	5785
W <sup>m</sup> . Beardmore	—	.. 15th	5785
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Appleby	—	—	—
John Gillott	Master	July 13th	5785
George Beldon	Master	Do.	
John Barnard	Master	Do.	
Geo Carr	Master	Do.	
James Snidall	Master	Do.	
George Cadman	Master	Do.	

In a number of cases the Brethren have signed a second time when they became Master Masons.

The signature of Isaac Nodder is peculiar as it contains what looks like a "script" attempt to write the R.A. cypher: it certainly is not a necessary part of the name or a flourish of the capital letter N. I have compared a considerable number of his later signatures and they all have this curious sign between the Christian and surname.

Having now dealt with the two sets of Rules and the list of Signatures of those Brethren who signified their obedience to the second set, I propose to retrace my steps and deal with the lists of Members.

These lists and the Cash accounts are in the second book and follow the second set of Rules.

The first list, which begins with the date January 1761, the date of the Warrant of Lodge 85 (Antients), was prepared by Dermott when he engrossed the first set of Rules: it contains the names of those Brethren who were Founders of the Lodge and is endorsed with the reference to the Grand Lodge records. One name has been added in 1763 and another in 1764. Also there are a number of alterations and additions which, when in the absence of other records I tried to draw up a list of Masters for the years 1761-1764, were very confusing, until I realized that, although the list is dated January 1761, it was actually written in January 1764, so that when it came into the hands of the Brethren the Lodge must have been working at least for two years and a half. In June 1764 they started a new list of Members.

Whether Preston remained in office only for the period ending with St. John the Evangelist's day 1761, or continued to June 1762, it is impossible to say, for opposite to his name and those of his Wardens the word "Left" has been written, but whether either or both of the Wardens passed through the Chair before June 1763 there is nothing to show. There is a possibility that James De la Pryme may have occupied the Chair as in the 1761 list he has no distinction of rank or office, in the list June 1764 he is marked as P.M. Opposite the name of Jonathan Wainwright, the date June 28th 1763 has been inserted and after his name the letters P.M., and the figure three has later still been changed to four; the same writer has put the date June 25th 1764 opposite the next name (Francis Wheelhouse) with "Master" in the "Quality" column.

Francis Wheelhouse Installed as Master June 1764 prior to the change over to the Moderns retained his office for the full year (June 1764 to June 1765) and therefore he was the first Master of the Lodge when it secured its Modern Warrant.

From these somewhat complicated details I suggest that the succession of Masters was as follows:—

January	1761	John Digby Preston
June	1762	James de la Pryme
„	1763	Jonathan Wainwright
„	1764	Francis Wheelhouse
„	1765	Sam. Staniforth
„	1766	John Allott
„	1767	C. A. Heurtley
„	1768	William Birks
„	1769	W. Fullard
„	1770	W. Fullard
„	1771	John Creswick
„	1772	John Parsons
„	1773	Thomas Smith
„	1774	John Ernest Sauer
„	1775	Richard Haystrop
„	1776	William Pearson
	1777	Thomas Smith
	1778	John Wilde

The second list of Members commences 25 June 1764 with the name of Francis Wheelhouse as Master, and thus, as he was nominated as the first Master in the new Moderns Warrant of 21 April 1765, he held his office continuously—first under the Antients and then under the Moderns, so that in that point also the existence of the Lodge was complete without any break from 1761 forward.

The form laid down by Dermott for the first list was used again for the second list. There are 21 names in this list for 1764, but it has been continued overleaf by the addition of names—until 12 September 1766—all of which

additions are the actual signatures of the Brethren with the dates of their initiation.

I find only one entry which is worthy of record and that is C. A. Heurtley initiated 21 April 1765—he became Master of the Lodge in 1767, and opposite to the entry of his name in this list is written the R.A. cypher with the date Jan 23rd 1767. From this one is tempted to assume that very shortly after his installation and therefore becoming eligible for the R.A. he was accordingly exalted.

Turning next to the Cash account which follows the two lists of Members we find the earliest reference to the Royal Arch, which is as follows:—

“October 18 1764 To Br<sup>o</sup>. King being made Roy<sup>l</sup>. Arch 10/6 ”

Bro. James King was one of the Founders of the Lodge in 1761.

In the next Cash account there is an item of 6/0 for the purchase of 1 Doz. Skins for Aprons, and later we have the very interesting entry:—

“June 14th 1765 M<sup>r</sup>. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Bolsover for a New Warrant & expences attending £3-12-6.”

Then follows the purchase of “2 Doz Lodge Books 12/-.” This entry is of particular interest as it shows that each member had a book allotted to him, and no doubt it was intended to contain the individual account of each Brother with the Lodge, so that the system upon which the Lodge was worked was the same as for many clubs and Friendly Societies at the present time.

Turning next to the list of Members for the years 1765, out of 32 names 16 are marked with the R.A. cypher, so that it must have been the custom at this time to confer the qualifying grade of Past Master for the purpose of the Royal Arch, as less than half of these Brethren had occupied the Master's Chair.

In the Cash account for the second half of the year 1765 there is recorded the payment to John Brock of £3-4-6 “for a Frame.” This was the carved wood frame for the Warrant, which is still in existence and occupies the position of honour over the Master's Chair. A little later there is a charge for Painting and Gilding the Frame £1-7-0.

There does not appear to have been a separate account for the Royal Arch section as we frequently find entries of cash for Royal Arch expenses.

We find also entries of relief to distressed Brethren, as for example:—  
“Sept 26th 1766 Br<sup>o</sup>. Gavin Kennedy of Annan S<sup>t</sup>. Andrew Lodge North Britain 5/0, March 6th 1767 relief to Br<sup>o</sup>. James Stirling of No 2 in ye 45<sup>th</sup>. Regiment of Foot 5/-.”

Passing on to the list of Members for 1767 we find 29 names entered for the beginning of the year and 6 names of Candidates initiated during the year, and 17 of the names have the R.A. cypher annexed.

In the Cash account for 1767 we have the first entry of charges for Raising, five Brethren were charged 10/6 each on 14th August.

April 2nd in this year Br<sup>o</sup>. Smith of Lodge No 42 Whitehaven was relieved with 2/6.

A purchase of 20 Pairs of Gloves for £1-0-0 was made 14th August. There are several entries of charges for Aprons at 1<sup>s</sup>/2<sup>d</sup> each.

On the following Page (86) appears the earliest Minute we have been able to trace. Although, as I have stated elsewhere, I am of opinion that the Lodge did not commence keeping regular Minutes before June 1768, it is probable that the circumstances which form the substance of this Minute were of such

importance to the Lodge as to lead the Master to order a record to be made. The following is a copy of this Minute:—

5767 August 24

### LODGE EXTRA

At a Lodge held this day it was agreed by a Majority of Members then present to adjourn their Meetings from the Rose & Crown Room to a Room in the Assembly House for the greater conveniency of the Lodge it is at the same time unanimously agreed on by the Members there present that the said Lodge shall continue by the Name of the Rose & Crown Lodge as now entered in the Grand Lodge List of Lodges published by authority of the Grand Master

Stewards appointed to assist the Junior Warden

Past Master for the time present

Br°. Wheelhouse

Br°. Fullard

Br°. Handley

Br°. Broomhead

It is interesting to note that even in these early days the Brethren appreciated the value of a meeting place which should be independent of the authority of the Publican, and as their Lodge Dinners were only held twice each year they would be at liberty to choose their house of refreshment. It is true that they afterwards returned to the Rose & Crown and other Taverns.

The Assembly Rooms were built in 1762 and were really the first Public Place where Social and Masonic and similar assemblies could be held independently of the Taverns.

I might also point out that this Minute makes it clear that the Past Master evidently was the Immediate Past Master and that he was looked upon as being the holder of a definite office for the one year only.

In the Cash account for 1767 a payment of £1-1-0 "to the Grand" is included, also another item of £1-3-0 for Gloves, from which it would seem that the Lodge kept a supply of gloves for use of the Brethren.

The accounts for the year are signed by the Master, C. A. Heurtley.

On July 8th 1768 the first payment to the Tyler appears. "Cash paid to the Tilar Simon Hooson 11/6": it is very probable that up to this time the Tyler was remunerated from the box as being part of the expenses of each night, plus the amount for each initiation. There is also an interesting entry on 17th December: "Wine for Simon in his illness 3/0."

Two entries on 5th August 1768 tend to show that the Lodge was looked upon by the members as a sort of Friendly Society:

" Br°. Stevenson	Lent on Note	£1-7-0."
" Br°. Power	Lent on Note	£1-1-0."

I have gone carefully through the later accounts but cannot find that these loans were repaid.

We have now come to the point in the records of this Lodge where the first Minute Book commences, and so I propose to close this part of our records with the list of Visitors to the Lodge from June 25th 1764 to April 1774.



*Visitors*

Time			Brothers Names	Quality	No.
June	25	1764	Tho <sup>s</sup> . Beesley	Hosier & R.Arch	45
April	26	1765	Philip Breslaw	Master	18
May	10	1765	Benj Hill	Master	105
June	7	1765	Benj Smith	An Xtra Lodge	
Aug.	11	1765	Walter Ewing	Master	
Sept.	6	5765	William Pearson	Master	
"	"	5765	Aron Looton	R.Arch	72
Sept.	8	1765	Holme Burrows	P M	
			Benj Hill	M	
Decr.	27	5765	Tho <sup>s</sup> . Gunthorpe	Druggist R.Arch	No. 1 York
Novr.	14	5766	W <sup>m</sup> . Barlow	Master	No. 55
			W <sup>m</sup> . Farra		
			Andrew Hastings	R A	No. 91
Jany.	2	5767	John Greathead	as per Certificate	London
			W <sup>m</sup> . Bayzand		Pewter Plater
April	4	5767	Aaron Jewell	Edinburgh	Master S <sup>t</sup> . Andrews
Feby.	10	1769	James Drummond	Master	Lodge
June	8	1770	John White	Apprentice	R.Arch Glasgow
Aug.	9	5770	W. Ormston Master	Kelso Kilwinning	Lodge
Octr.	12	5770	D <sup>d</sup> . Wadsworth	Do.	
Novr.	9	5770	T. Maravier Junior	Master	Moderns
Sept.	13	5771	John Horsley	Master	Do.
Octr.	11	5771	James Smith	Master	225
Aug.	26	5773	Theo <sup>d</sup> . H. Broadhead	Master	Modern
April	8	5774	Sampson Hodgkinson	F.Craft	

Lodge No. 105 was an Antients Lodge.

Lodge No. 72 was an Antients Lodge.

No. 1 York. Under the Grand Lodge of All England. Called the "French Lodge." and met at the Punch Bowl Tavern.

Lodge No. 55, Bolton, now Anchor & Hope Lodge No. 37, was a Modern Lodge. W<sup>m</sup>. Barlow was Initiated 27 April 1765.

No. 244, London. This was probably St. Georges Lodge, Windsor, a Modern Lodge.

No. 225. Newcastle-on-Tyne.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Flather, on the proposition of Bro. H. C. de Lafontaine, seconded by Bro. W. J. Williams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, W. W. Covey-Crump, Geo. W. Bullamore, J. O. Manton, F. W. Golby, T. W. Hanson, B. Telepneff, Gilbert C Shadwell, and H. W. Sayers.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

I am glad to second the vote of thanks. The reasons for my support are to be found in the excellence of the paper itself. One of the advantages this Lodge has is that its members and the members of its Correspondence Circle reside in different parts of England and in many other countries. This has the result of enabling Brethren not living in London to bring before the Lodge and

the Circle the results of their investigations into matters of local history, aided by the peculiar facilities they have by being on the spot as well as by their local and general knowledge.

We all admire the philosophical preamble to the body of the paper while we admit the advisability of the pen picture given us so that we may visualise Sheffield as it was in and about 1761.

The Britannia Lodge appears to have emulated the River Don, which we are told is the result of the union of four small rivers. The said Lodge is derived from four sources, namely, Nos. 72, 75 and 85 of the Antients and No. 340 (now No. 139) of the Premier Grand Lodge. Our Brother truly describes the Lodge methods as vagaries and as a tangled skein. Perhaps he will be in a position to produce further evidence on some points where he seems to differ from Lane.

As to Lodge 72B (Antients), according to Lane (page 86) 72B was constituted 23rd September, 1772, and lapsed shortly afterwards.

Lodge 72C (in Lane) met at Freemasons Hall, Paradise Square, having been constituted 6th September, 1776, but if Lane is correct it lapsed about 1788, though it appears in *Ahiman Rezon* of 1804 and 1807.

How then is the statement supported or explained that in 1796 Lodge 72 had been seriously depleted by the retirement of about half of its members to form a Modern Lodge in 1793? The Britannia (itself a Modern Lodge warranted in 1765) was indeed under no settled form of government if it considered it desirable to take over in 1796 the Antient Lodge 72. The Britannia Lodge retain the Warrant for No. 72 though the Royal Clarence Lodge, Bristol (now No. 68) bought the number 72 in 1804 from the Atholl Grand Lodge.

According to Lane, the Antients Warrant for 75 was dated 18th March, 1759, and granted to 72nd Regt. of Foot. That Lodge lapsed about 1764 Lane says.

Then in 1764 Lodge 85A took No. 75A, which lapsed about April, 1765.

It is, however, right to say that in the Section "The Early History of the Craft in Sheffield," at pages 12, 13 and 14, and 16 of *Royal Arch Masonry in Sheffield*, by Bros. Stokes and Flather, materials exist for rectifying or at least supplementing Lane on some of the above points. It is much to be desired that those of our Brethren who have annotated copies of Lane's great work should publish for the information of the Brethren the result of their investigations supplemental to or corrective of those recorded by Lane, especially as to pre-Union Lodges.

As to Regulation Ninth. If the certain ceremony was that of showing the signs on entering when the Lodge has been already opened, the "certain ceremony" is always required now.

The second draft Certificate is interesting in that it speaks of the transition to the Royal Arch as "Advanced" (not exalted) and that it describes it as the fourth degree of Masonry. This should deter any Brother from misusing the term fourth degree as applicable to Refreshment after the Lodge is closed. It is neither accurate nor appropriate.

Then we have the evident fact that Royal Arch Masons were made in 1764 without any Chapter being constituted as a separate entity from the Lodge, and it would seem that this state of things continued, although the Lodge was working or was warranted to work as a Modern Lodge from 19th April, 1765, until the Chapter of Paradise connected with the Lodge was constituted in 1798.

Probably the Brethren being in Yorkshire, and having so many warrants, thought they would act as seemed most expedient for them, and they were not greatly perturbed even though the Grand Secretary of the Moderns should tell an applicant for Charity that the Modern Lodges were not Royal Arch. The fact that in one and the same set of By-Laws they refer to their Lodge as No. 85 and 340 denotes a capacity for adjustment which might have enabled them with propriety to adopt the name of Bunyan's "Mr. Facing Bothways."

Perhaps, however, we ought not to be surprised that the Brethren were unconscious of the difference between the two Grand Lodges, because it is recorded in one of the Books of the Antients Grand Lodge that the Grand Master of the Antients was unaware of the difference between Antients and Moderns.

The total number of Visitors is 25 over a period of ten years. If all visits were recorded it would indicate that visiting was at a low ebb, being only an average of two and a-half per annum.

Aron Looton, who was a Visitor on 6th September, 1765, is described as Royal Arch, and that is the earliest reference in the Lodge Records to the Royal Arch in connection with a Sheffield Mason.

He was a member of Lodge 72, which was a number afterwards assumed by the Lodge in question.

A Liverpool Visitor in 1764 (June 25th) was also described as R. Arch.

I have very much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks.

PRO. GEO. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The history of this Lodge furnishes convincing proof that the source of the Warrant had little effect on the working in the Provinces, and that a Provincial Lodge working under a Modern Warrant must not be regarded as a Lodge of Modern Masons. Lodge 42 Bury was a Lodge of Modern Masons, and in 1768 their Master and two Past Masters were raised to the rank of F.C. at Bolton.

Rule 1 of Set 1 omits the Treasurer, while Rule 2 of Set 2 includes him. Both sets have a rule that the money of the Lodge is to be in the care of some responsible brother who was also in charge of the warrant, chest, and furniture. The point interests me because there seems to be some indication that the J.W. like the Renter Warden of the Masons and other City Companies was responsible partly for the finance of the Lodge. He kept the tavern account and is the only official mentioned in the rule regarding the nightly payment.

The lack of an Inner Guard is, I think, in harmony with much eighteenth century working. I regard the I.G. as a development from the youngest E.A. who guarded the door of the Lodge from within. In Lodges with Deacons there was an outer Tyler who responded to the knocks of the J.D. who proved the Lodge tyled. The candidate if prepared by the J.D. would be received at the entrance by the S.D., but otherwise the J.D. would answer the summons. The trowel of the Deacon in Scotland is probably related to the trowel of the I.G. or youngest E.A. in some English Lodges. It was a sharp pointed weapon.

The combination of distinct types of Lodges into a Lodge of three degrees gives us the Deacons, Inner Guard, and Tyler in one Lodge.

The proposing and seconding of candidates goes back to at least 1736 in Minutes of old Lodges, such as the Old Kings Arms Lodge. I imagine that the procedure was to propose the candidate in open Lodge for the ballot. The discussion would naturally take the form of seconding and "thirding," a term used in 1737 in the Lodge meeting at the Goose and Gridiron (A.Q.C., xxv., 176). If this plan was followed at Sheffield the proposer would be the only Brother responsible for the introduction of the candidate. Without the support of others, however, the decision to ballot at the next meeting is not likely to have been arrived at. While it is now necessary to have a formal proposer and seconder before the candidate is mentioned in Lodge, we have also abandoned the discussion of the personality of the candidate, which no doubt took place when everybody knew everybody else.

Bro. J. O. MANTON *writes*:—

The list, printed in Bro. Flather's paper, of members of the Britannia Lodge, No. 85 (A.), is of interest to Masonic genealogists, and might be made even more so to others if it could be shown that individuals named achieved distinction in civic or commercial life, or their career in Masonry, or that they are still represented in the Craft by descendants. Their places of residence also would be a desirable item. Presumably, they were mostly 'local.' The persistency of local names is remarkable—the patronymic of a friend in my early days (c. 1870), who hailed from Sheffield, was Allott: he, probably, was a collateral descendant from John Allett, "Master in 1767." (The difference in the vowel is of no moment: it is of frequent occurrence).

Lists of Visitors also may be attractive if particulars of the individuals can be shown. Occasionally a name is included as "of — Lodge, No. —," which name does not appear in either the Lodge list or in G.L. returns! It was a frequent occurrence for the Grand Lodge Secretary to call attention to the fact that particular names included in G.L. returns had not appeared in previous 'returns,' and that fees due must be remitted.

The Visitor, Wm. Barlow, of Bolton, Lanc., on November 14th, 1766, would be one of the three original members of the R.A. Ch. of Concord, No. 37, Bolton, who visited Warrington on December 27th, 1767, to acquire the R.A. in order to work the degree at Bolton.

I congratulate Bro. Flather in giving us a local item. There is still a wide field in this direction for others.

Bro. GOLBY said:—

The By-Laws of No. 20 which Bro. Flather has used were found in the earliest Minute Book of the Neptune Lodge, and the following extracts from my history of that Lodge may not be inappropriate.

"At the outset of the compilation of this History I was perplexed by finding that our first Minute Book contains the Minutes of another Lodge which was constituted, existed for three years, and became extinct before our Lodge was established, and which apparently never had any connection therewith.

"This extinct Lodge was No. 20 on the Athol Register, and its Minutes in our Book record meetings from its Constitution on the 9th of July, 1753, until the 22nd of September, 1756, when the membership had been reduced to four: presumably the Lodge never met again and consequently lapsed. The Athol Lodge Register for the period shows that Lodge No. 20 paid dues from April, 1755, to March, 1756, at which time only four members remained: and 'Lane's Masonic Records' states that Lodge No. 20 on the Athol Foundation was erased in the year 1756. During its brief career it met at 'The Hampshire Hog' in Goswell Street, London, and was composed mainly of watchmakers, jewellers and silversmiths.

"None of the Founders of our Lodge was at any time connected with the Lodge No. 20 above referred to, and, from a cursory examination of the names of the members of both Lodges, I cannot see any connection between them. They met at widely different parts of what is now the County of London, but which a hundred and fifty years ago were entirely separate localities, Deptford being then a small village or town in the County of Kent. I am not able to show that there is any connection between the two Lodges, nor can I tell how the Minute Book of the extinct Athol Lodge No. 20 came into the possession of the original Founders of our Lodge.

"In the early days of Freemasonry, it was customary for Masonic Lodges to be closely allied with a particular place of meeting: I have therefore

endeavoured to trace a connection between the landlords of the meeting-places of the extinct Lodge and of our Lodge when founded, but without success: consequently I can only assume that on the extinction of the former Lodge its books were left with the landlord of 'The Hampshire Hog' in Goswell Street, that he either migrated to Deptford and rented 'The Redhouse,' or sold the books to the proprietor of that house, or to someone from whom they passed to that house: and that when, in the month of August, 1757 (eleven months after the last Minute of the Lodge No. 20), a movement was on foot for the foundation of a new Masonic Lodge the then landlord of 'The Redhouse' at Deptford aided the movement by producing a Masonic Minute Book of a dead Lodge only partly filled: on inspection of this Minute Book, the Founders of our Lodge probably thought it would be valuable as a guide in their transactions, they pressed it into their service, followed its entries as a standard and wrote their Minutes therein for nine years, viz., from the 22nd of August, 1757, until the 10th of June, 1766.

"The affairs of the extinct Lodge No. 20 are not relevant to our Lodge, and, so far as I can see, have absolutely no connection therewith, . . ."

"This book contains the records of our Lodge meetings from the 8th of July, 1766, to the 10th of August, 1780.

"A series of By-Laws is entered at the commencement of this Minute Book which were apparently adopted somewhere about this date. Previously the Lodge seems to have worked under the By-Laws of the extinct Lodge, No. 20, which are written in our first Minute Book.

"The first By-Laws of our Lodge are substantially a copy of those of the extinct Lodge (with the consequent alterations), and are as follows:— . . ."

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Bro. HANSON *writes*:—

May I submit these few scattered notes, gathered from the eighteenth century records of the Lodge of Probity, No. 61? Our earliest By-Laws (that have been preserved) are dated 1767, which is, I think, one of the earliest sets for a Modern Lodge.

Note to 11th Rule *re* Seconding.—

Our By-Law 2nd of Section 3rd says:—"No Person is to be a Mason in the Lodge who has not been propos'd on a Lodge Night, etc. . . ." but on referring to the contemporary Minutes we always find there was a *seconder*.

15th Rule.—

Our By-Law 1st of Section 2nd.

The Master if present or his Wardens in his absence shall regularly open the Lodge . . . or if all these should be absent the last Master is to do it."

Note to preamble of 1767.—

Edward Rookes, Leeds, was nominally P.G.M. at this date, but we have no record of any Provincial activity.

4th Rule.—

As regards Deacons, Probity, a Modern Lodge, had Deacons in 1763 and their duties are mentined in the By-Laws. Bro. Sutcliff Shipley "Pass Master" was our ruling spirit at that time, and he had come to Halifax from Hull and the Antient Lodge No. 78 at the George, Hull. That accounts for the introduction of Deacons into our Lodge.

Rule Thirteenth.—

Our Rule 4th of Section 2nd.

Every Brother, whether Member or Visitor that has anything to say or offer which requires the attention of the Lodge especially in all Propositions and

Debates shall give Notice of the same by giving a knock upon the table, and then ask leave to speak: when the same is granted him he is to stand up, keeping himself in Order and signify what he has to say addressing himself to the Chair, and no Brother is to presume to speak or interrupt the Speaking Brother during his Discourse, upon the penalty of being severely reprimanded by the Master, but when he sits down then another may ask Leave to Speak.

17th Rule.—

Our 9th By-Law. Section 1st.

The Treasurer is to keep faithfully all the Money intrusted to him, or have deposited into a Box with three different Keys and Locks to be severally kept by the Master, the Treasurer and Secretary.

18th Rule.—

“Worshipful” is not used in our Rules, but in the contemporary Minutes the Master of the Lodge is designated “our Right Worshipful Brother” or “the Worshipful.”

The Visitors’ Book of our Lodge (No. 61) has the following Sheffield Brethren from 1790 to 1800:—

John Anderson O’Brien, comedian, Sheffield, Lodge No. 221. Visited on four occasions from Dec. 30, 1790, to Jan. 11, 1797.

F. Stubbs, clerk, Sheffield, No. 527. Visited on Apr. 23, 1794.

Jos. Smith, engraver, Sheffield, No. 432. Visited on Sep. 8, 1796.

There may be other Sheffield Brethren recorded in the Minute Books, but I have not searched the thirty-eight years’ of Minutes of the eighteenth century that the Lodge possesses.

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Bro. TELEPNEF writes:—

One can but feel grateful to Bro. Flather for having brought into the limelight the records of the Britannia Lodge of Sheffield. One’s appetite is, however, whetted by his valuable contribution, and, no doubt, Bro. Flather will follow this paper by a few others, justifying in their summary the alluring title of Bro. Flather’s present notes: “*Freemasonry in Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century.*”<sup>1</sup>

Yet even within the limits, which Bro. Flather has set himself, this delightful paper not only presents us with a vivid picture of the olden days and discipline in one of the Sheffield Lodges, not only affords us fascinating vistas of Masonic past,—it serves also to correct or to amplify some facts known and registered before by other students.

Sheffield has played no mean part in the history of Masonry, past and present: thus in the authoritative Lenning’s Cyclopædia of Freemasonry, the great Reference-Book of Continental Masons, the following remarks on Sheffield are to be found:—

“Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England:—

1. Britannia Lodge, with a Royal-Arch Chapter: founded in 1765.
2. Royal Brunswick Lodge, with a Royal-Arch Chapter: founded in 1793.”

The date of these notes is 1867.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei*, iii., p. 282.

Bro. Flather's paper now throws a further light on the time of the establishment of the Britannia Lodge and—what for every Continental student of Masonry should be of considerable importance—indicates from *which* Grand Lodge<sup>1</sup> the famous Cyclopædia had derived its information.

Hence, joining my voice to the thanks already proposed to Bro. Flather, I should like to beg him to give us more papers on Sheffield Masonry and, especially, on the other venerable Lodge of that city, the Royal Brunswick.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

Much of what Bro. Flather has told us in his excellent paper has a familiar ring to me. Thus that clause in the regulations referring to the three-mile limit has its almost exact counterpart in a ritual that is still very much alive.

The Irish O.B. of the M.N. says:—" . . . "

The most interesting item in the paper to me, however, is the visitors' list at the end. Bro. Flather has apparently succeeded in tracking to earth for us one of the early Irish Warrants that has never hitherto been recorded. We knew that No. 91 was issued some time towards the close of 1738, but we did not know where it sat. It has now been identified as coming from Galway, the "City of the Tribes," a suitable place for one of the "Lost Tribes" to be found.

For this discovery and for many other points in the paper I would like to add my thanks to the vote which Bro. Flather has so deservedly earned.

Bro. GILBERT C. SHADWELL *writes*:—

I, of course, am not competent to speak specifically on the subject of Freemasonry in Sheffield. Nevertheless, there is so much in the paper which bears a resemblance to present-day practice to the work in some of the States of the United States that one is forced to the conclusion that we in this country have remnants of procedure and ritual as they existed long ago in England before the union of the two Grand Lodges.

I made a few marginal notes in reading the paper under the "Rules and Orders" and am giving these to you with the thought that some of the points might be of interest.

*Third.*—We, of course, do not precede our work with a lecture, but the lecture is always given *completely* in my own Lodge in this State when we have candidates, which is different from the English practice of making the lectures an occasional procedure. This rather lengthens our work, but it is supposed to be done and we therefore do it.

*Fourth.*—Our installation dates are practically uniform towards the end of each year—that is to say December, and while, of course, this can no longer be exactly on St. John's Day in Winter, from a practical view point, yet there is little doubt in my mind that that was the original plan, and in this way we usually elect at the end of December and install our officers on the first meeting in January.

*Fifth.*—It looks very much as if they had a standardised form of By Laws or Rules or Regulations. We have much the same plan, and although an individual Lodge is not bound to follow the standard or recommended form, yet such are available to be followed in broad outline.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, obviously, the Moderns.

*Eight.*—Perhaps one of the most interesting relics of by gone days is to be found in our ceremony where the words are still used by the J.W. where he says, “carefully to observe that the means of refreshment are not perverted to intemperence or excess.” It is still the J.W.’s duty to superintend the Brethren during the refreshment for the reason stated. Indeed, the Master, in opening the Lodge strictly forbids “all idle or immoral behavior whereby the harmony shall be disturbed under no less a penalty than the by-laws prescribe or a majority of the brethren present shall see fit to inflict.”

*Ninth.*—Visiting here is something more than a formality. It is customary for the Master to appoint a Committee of about three to examine the visitor, and I can assure you that it is usually done with a degree of thoroughness which is somewhat disconcerting to one whose memory is not 100 per cent. perfect.

*Tenth.*—We have not departed very far from the plans here laid down, and the same applies under the heading eleventh.

*Thirteenth.*—I have referred to this point under the heading “Eight.” I do not know of anything in our own By-Laws to accord with what I have stated, but there is also no doubt that such a penalty could be inflicted to-day, but, fortunately, I have never known any occasion for any such thing to happen.

*Fourteenth.*—Our procedure is to suspend a brother for non-payment of dues by first summoning him to appear and show cause when he is more than one year in arrears. It is particularly interesting to note that we still call our annual subscription by the name of “dues.”

There is a great deal more of a similar character which might be mentioned, but I believe I have given sufficient to indicate that a great deal of interesting material can be found by the Brethren who are sufficiently interested in recording the work as performed in various parts of the world and to make a careful comparison of all parts of it.

The results of such research ought to be most illuminating.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP said:—

Though my remarks will be brief, I trust Bro. Flather will not take their brevity as a measure of my appreciation of his valuable paper. A few months ago I made a similar investigation of the records of a contemporaneous Lodge in Cambridge. The Sheffield Lodge with which Bro. Flather has dealt was both Antient and Modern: the Cambridge Lodge was entirely under the Moderns. Naturally both present numerous instances of identical customs, and procedure then common in country Lodges, though not in London Lodges such as the Old Dundee. But my comments deal chiefly with a few evident differences in details.

In the XVth Rule of 1764, which Bro. Flather quotes, it is declared “that every Officer absent . . . shall be fined a discretionary fine over and above the Common fine of private members.” A comparison with the IIInd Rule shows that any member could be fined threepence for being an hour late and sixpence for absence: and that the officers were liable to additional penalties. By the XVIth Rule this is made applicable to emergency meetings as well as regular nights—a stringency which I do not think ever obtained at Cambridge.

In the Xth Rule (1764) I would suggest that the words “person Business” should be read as implying “personal business” (or occupation) of the Candidate. I do not think a description of his person was required: the words are merely a *lapsus calami* on Dermott’s part.



For a right understanding of the XIth Rule (1764), dealing with what would to-day be called "joining fees," it must be remembered that, generally speaking, there was not a tacit presumption of permanent membership. As in Cambridge, so too in Sheffield (and elsewhere), the Lodge was run on a semi-annual basis: and those members who on or directly after a St. John's Day did not pay fines and dues for the ensuing half-year were promptly erased as lapsed. This may account for the fact that, whereas in September, 1773, Sampson Hodgkinson signed as a F.C. member (presumably newly-passed), on April 8th in the following year he seems to have been present as a visitor. No stigma was incurred by thus dropping out for a time, and in some cases we find such so-called "Old Masons" resuming membership again; hence the nominal fee of five shillings. In this connection it is noticeable that the XIVth Rule apparently allowed an interval of six months before exclusion could be incurred for arrears, either in dues or fines.

By the XVth Rule in the 1767 series a semi-annual subscription of six shillings is implied, covering six ordinary meetings; at each of which meetings sixpence per member present was applied to the cost of refreshment. Any other Lodge expenses would be defrayed from the sixpences contributed in dues by members who were absent, and (perhaps) some of the fines may have been thus utilized. The other moiety of the dues was certainly to be for relief of distressed Brethren, or such other purposes as the Fraternity (presumably meaning the Lodge) shall think proper. The use of the term "Fraternity" seems to be explainable by the fact that a contribution of a guinea per annum from the Lodge to the Grand Lodge Charity Fund was included, a contribution which on 30th March, 1768, was voluntarily altered to two guineas per annum instead of one. I am sorry I cannot agree with Bro. Flather that these contributions to the Charity Fund were entirely optional. Something had to be sent every year, but the amount was indeterminate; and the words "if required" (in the XXVth Rule of 1767) are applicable only to the list of members, which Grand Lodge could demand once a year, and which if thus demanded must be sent by the Lodge.

That Francis Wheelhouse in 1767 adds the letters "D.M." after his name in the List of Masters seems to imply a Deputy Master, which is an interesting point. He was not then I.P.M., as he had filled the Chair in 1764-5.

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Bro. H. W. SAYERS said:—

As to the members of the Lodge who signed the Rules between 1767 and 1785, I have taken a selection of the names and the remarks of Bro. Flather as to the claims of men who formed the earlier Lodges is particularly well illustrated in this instance. For instance, John Allett, Master in 1767, whose name I venture to think should be spelt Allott, was probably a member of a prominent family of that surname connected with Sheffield and the district. I have found record of several persons named John Allott alive in 1767, one of whom was a vicar in the vicinity. I am not sure as to his identity with our ancient Brother, but we may take him as typical of the parson mentioned by Bro. Flather. As regards the honoured surgeon, he is worthily represented by Bro. Hugh Cheney, who signed the Rules on 10th March, 1775, at which date he was in business in Sheffield as apothecary, and he afterwards qualified as a Doctor.

Bro. Flather also mentions Cutlers, whitesmiths and scribes and with respect to the last occupation Bro. Isaac Nodder was a Sheffield Attorney; Saml. Robinson, Beryn Withers and Wm. Berks were Master Cutlers. Brother John Younge is probably identical with a silver plate manufacturer of that name. George Can was a steelmaker, James Snidall a watchmaker, and Joseph Orwen a

builder. There also appear in all probability to be connections other than Masonic ties between some of the Brethren of the old Lodge; for instance, Bros. John Eyre and Thomas Smith, who both signed on 22nd February, 1771, may be the partners in Eyre Smith Hall & Co., steel refiners, and we can imagine Bro. John Dixon of Dixon Hallam and Hudson, platers, who signed in 1777, proposing his partner, Bro. James Hallam, who signed later as F.C. and subsequently in 1779 as M.M.

Enough for the Brethren, and with regard to the list of Masters furnished by Bro. Flather I have been unable to trace Bro. John Dagley Beston in the limited time at my disposal, but the second Master on the record, James de la Pryme, was a descendant of one Charles Pryme, who came over from Belgium in the time of Charles I. W.Bro. de la Pryme was a merchant at Sheffield, and his only sister, Emelia, married one William Green, a doctor, at Thundercliffe Grange. There is a William Green in the list signed in 1767 who may be the brother-in-law of W.Bro. de la Pryme.

In 1771 the old town of Sheffield was beginning to expand, and some twenty-five new streets were built about the time the Britannia Lodge was constituted, so that Bro. Joseph Owen may be assumed to have been busy, and as my last contribution this evening it may interest you to know that, a few years later on, on Thursday, 5th November, 1795, we can picture our Brethren wearing their best wigs surmounted by the typical three-cornered hats, marching at the head of all the Benefit clubs of Sheffield, the occasion being the laying of a foundation of a mill to supply flour at reasonable prices for the inhabitants of Sheffield.<sup>1</sup> At one o'clock the procession began; the masons' society marched first, followed by near twenty other clubs who had each a handsome flag, and the foundation stone was inscribed with a somewhat provocative inscription of which I extract one sentence:—"By the calamities of war and the rapacious iniquitous practices of monopolizing farmers millers and Bakers the poor were unable to procure bread except at the most exorbitant rates."

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BRO. DAVID FLATHER *writes as follows, in reply*:—

I wish to thank the Brethren for the very kind expression of their interest in the paper which I have read, and particularly because I had feared that my subject might have been too tedious, or lacking in general interest. The kindly comments have greatly relieved my mind on these points.

Dealing first with the contribution by Bro. W. J. Williams with reference to Lodge No. 72A and my reasons for differing from Lane, I have no means of knowing when the 11th Regiment of Foot were last stationed in Sheffield. Possibly some Brother, having access to Regimental History, may be able to throw light on this point.

The first No. 72 was issued to the Regiment 15th November, 1758, and Lane records it as lapsing about 1767. Probably this statement was based on an examination of the Grand Lodge Records showing that no returns had been made for some time before 1767. We have only one book remaining, 72B, but this gives certain evidence, which, in the absence of actual proof, may be suggested as a probable explanation of the position.

In my paper I have drawn attention to the fact that the original members of Lodge 85 in the year 1761 were relatively poor and untravelled men, earning their livelihood in this obscure town, so that it was very evident that the Lodge could not have been founded by Brethren who had come from other towns or who had been made Masons outside the town. These conditions would apply also to

<sup>1</sup> *vide The Universal British Directory*, 1793, vol. iv., p. 397.

the members of Lodge 72, indeed the records that we have indicate that the original members of both Lodges were of the same type or class.

I have suggested that there may have been a St. John's Lodge in the town from which either or both of these two Lodges were formed, but there is a very obvious alternative to this. If one may presume that at some time prior to 1767 the 11th Regiment was stationed in Sheffield and that during their stay they admitted local men into their Lodge, then is it not possible that when the Regiment left the town it left the Warrant and the Lodge itself in the hands of the local members? When 72B was granted to the Sheffield Brethren the first two names on the list are those of William Cuttler and William Wright, and the record shows that they were "nominated" by Bro. Dermott: the remaining seven Brethren were "recommended" by Bro. Cuttler. William Wright is described as a Soldier. William Cuttler was evidently a very enthusiastic Mason and in later years was affectionately known as "Father Cuttler," but he was not a member of Lodge 85, though he is referred to in the Minutes of that Lodge. I deduce from these facts the suggestion that William Cuttler did not join Lodge 85 because he was already a member of Lodge 72. The general conclusion I arrive at, therefore, is that when the Regiment left Sheffield, they left the Lodge in the hands of Bro. William Cuttler and the Sheffield Brethren who continued to work until some time before September, 1772, when Dermott's attention was drawn to the irregularity, probably by the absence of any returns or contributions, and this led to the issue of 72B direct to the Sheffield Brethren on the recommendation of William Cuttler and William Wright, on the 23rd September, 1772. With regard to the issue of a third edition, viz., 72c, on 6th September, 1776, in the absence of the Minute Book I am unable to give any explanation, though in the book which we have there is a list of Officers which commences in the year 1776, when Bro. Mainwaring Smith was Master for the first term of six months: these lists occur regularly until the year 1796, when the Lodge amalgamated with Lodge No. 340.

Bro. Williams questions my statement as to Lodge 72 being "depleted" in 1793. I hope to give fuller details in a later paper, but the brief facts are that in 1792-3, when James Woollen was Master of Lodge No. 72, he, with all his officers, save two, and nine members obtained a Modern Warrant (now No. 296) and then resigned membership of Lodge 72, but this did not result in the wrecking of the Lodge, which continued to work, and appointed a new Master and officers regularly until the year 1796 when the Lodge as a body amalgamated with Lodge 340.

With regard to the suggestion made by Bro. Bullamore that the Junior Warden had charge of the Funds of the Lodge, quite apart from the fact that under Rule 2, Set 2, a Treasurer was appointed, Rule 8 in the first Set and Rule 10 in the second clearly show that the account with which the Junior Warden is entrusted is the 'reckoning,' that is to say, the receipts and payments in respect of refreshments.

I thank Bro. J. O. Manton for his interesting suggestion with regard to the Masonic Genealogies of the descendants of these early Masons. I will endeavour, so far as possible, in dealing with the Minute Books of the Lodge, to give such notes under this head as may be of particular interest.

The family of Allott, to which Bro. Manton refers, is still in existence, though not represented in the Craft.

I thank Bro. Golby for his notes on the Neptune Lodge, which inherited the Rules and Minute Books of the extinct No. 20. My reason for selecting the Rules of Lodge No. 20 for comparison was that they were the only Rules I could find of about the same date as those of Lodge 85, and although I had not seen the originals, which Bro. Songhurst had dealt with, the matter and the method of those Rules seemed to be very similar in all respects to our own. I gather from Bro. Golby's most admirable History of Neptune Lodge that he has made a

very strong effort to discover a possible connection between Neptune Lodge and Lodge No. 20, but without success. Might it not be possible to trace the Masonic Birthplace of some of the early Masters and Officers, as, for example, Bros. L. Boyne, J. Reading, J. Clare and R. Dally? If these could be found, it might be the means of tracing a connection.

It is interesting to learn from Bro. T. W. Hanson that in Probity Lodge, while the Rule does not call for a seconding, yet in practice it was done: but in Sheffield the Minutes are silent on this point and the custom does not appear until some years later. As to the procedure in the absence of the Master, the Probity Rule is so interesting that I venture to quote it:—

“ Concerning order & Discipline ”

- 1st. *“ The Master if present or his Wardens in his absence shall regularly open the Lodge of Obligation at 6 o'clock in the Winter and 7 in the Summer, and close it at ten with their Songs of the Craft, or if all these should be absent the last Master is to do it . . . ”*

Unfortunately, neither Probity records nor our own show at any time that the Lodge was opened or work done by a Warden in the Chair.

Bro. Hanson's reference to Probity Rule 4, Section 2, is very useful, as it confirms the fact that the Lodge was so arranged that the Brethren sat round the Table.

I thank Bro. B. Telepneff for his encouragement. I hope I may be successful in continuing these records by such selections from the Minute Books as may increase our knowledge and understanding of eighteenth century Masonry. There is, however, much to be done before I can deal with the Royal Brunswick Lodge.

I am particularly interested in Bro. J. Heron Lepper's communication and I look forward to his Prestonian Lecture in the hope that he will shed more light upon our 'Old Britannia' Ritual, for while I welcome his recognition of similarities between it and the Irish Ritual, I am not at all sure that he may be able to show any definite or direct connection between the two.

I am inclined to believe that when parallels do occur it is more by reason of the fact that as the Irish Ritual came direct from the unchanged original, so ours came through the 'Antient Ritual' itself. Whatever ritual had become established in Sheffield may have been revised about the year 1788, and my reason for suggesting this may be gathered from the following note.

In the year 1788 a Bro. James Michael Boyle visited a Royal Arch Chapter in Sheffield and assuming an authority which I have been unable to verify made some very drastic alterations in the Ritual. As the earliest regular Chapter in Sheffield was founded in 1795, I find that the meetings he attended were those of the Royal Arch Section of Lodge 72, it is not unreasonable to presume that Bro. Boyle may also have made revisions in or additions to the Craft Ritual, and, in doing so, have 'restored' matters which in this obscure Lodge had been allowed to lapse. In 1796, when the amalgamation of the Antients Lodge 72 with the Modern Lodge 340 took place, it is probable that the 'renewed' Antient Ritual became the standard, and thus became 'Old Britannia' working. I am particularly pleased to find that a small and almost trifling reference in my paper has proved so useful to Bro. Lepper in his research on Irish Lodges.

I am pleased to have confirmation from Bro. Gilbert C. Shadwell as to the identity of much in the American System with our own eighteenth century working.

When visiting the United States many years ago, I was much interested to find so many exact parallels between their working and our own.

With regard to the Lectures to which Bro. Shadwell refers, are not these in the catechetical form and more or less similar to our own? I do not think.

however, that the Lectures referred to in these old Rules were of the same type. Most of those recorded in our Minutes were certainly not fixed or Ritual Lectures, nor were they definitely Masonic, but were rather of a general instructive character on subjects such as History, Astronomy and Art—similar to those which, in my younger days, were delivered to Literary and Debating Societies.

Several of the points raised by Bro. Shadwell are of great interest, but they belong rather to the subject of comparative Ritual, and, therefore, could only be discussed in open Lodge.

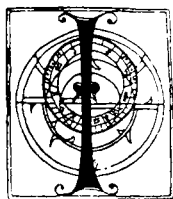
I am sorry that I cannot accept the reading by Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump of Rule 10 (Set 1), and to some extent my reading is confirmed by the wording of Rule 5 in the second set, where the approval of the Candidate's Person and Character is required. With regard to Rule 11, while I agree that the term 'Old Mason' could be and was frequently used to describe a former member of the Lodge, yet it also applied to a Brother who had been a member of some other Lodge. This is very clearly shown by the last sentence of the Rule.

Rule 15 (second set). I do not find in my notes any reference to the optional character of the contribution to the Charity Fund.

With regard to the use of the letters D.M. after the name of Francis Wheelhouse. There is no trace of the office of Deputy Master. The letters D.M. are used generally as the equivalent of our present I.P.M., but there are instances where an old Past Master has presided in the absence of the Master where D.M. follows his signature and which I understand as being intended as equivalent to the use of *per pro*, where we sign as a deputy in our ordinary correspondence to-day.

Bro. H. W. Sayers' remarks and suggestions are most interesting, though perhaps they belong more to general than to the Masonic History of Sheffield. The name Allett should, as Bro. Sayers suggests, be written Allott, though both forms occur regularly. I find a good deal of looseness in the use of vowels in surnames, thus Lowton is spelt Lorton; Howson, Hooson; Meuron, Muron, etc., etc. Hugh Cheney became quite an important person in the town, he was the first Surgeon of the Infirmary, the foundation of which was laid on the 4th October, 1794, with full Masonic ceremonial. His Masonic career was somewhat chequered: he was initiated in Lodge 72 (Antients), went over to the Moderns, was the centre of a Masonic squabble, and was finally expelled from the Lodge. James de la Pryme was the great grandson of Abraham de la Pryme the Antiquary. He was a Silversmith.

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SOME EARLY *ELU* MANUSCRIPTS.

N his paper "Some Mid-eighteenth Century French Manuscripts" printed at *A.Q.C.* xl., 41. the late Bro. Sitwell brought before the Lodge transcripts of a series of records relating to three French Lodges. The general effect of these documents was to show that the Lodge *Parfaite Union* of St. Pierre, in Martinique, constituted by the Grand Lodge of France in 1738, lost all its records by fire in 1752. It thereupon applied to the G.L. for a fresh authority, but was informed that the G.L. was not functioning and it was invited to get the desired document from any Lodge in the Provinces. Accordingly in 1753 the Brethren applied to the *Ecosais* Lodge at Marseilles, which issued them a new constitution. In 1774 the Grand Orient, on petition made to them, renewed the constitution and recognised the Lodge as having been continuously at work since its inception in 1738. It also recognised the validity of the document issued by the *Ecosais* Lodge. But before the occurrence of the fire the Lodge had, for some unexplained reason, addressed a request to a Lodge *St. Fereol* at Marseilles for a constitution, which was issued to them on August 2nd, 1750, and this document was saved from the fire. This Lodge was hitherto unknown; it is uncertain how it came to be formed, or by whom, but it would have appeared to have come into existence in 1749. After the fire the Brethren of *Parfaite Union* came to the conclusion that this constitution had no validity, and it was then that they addressed the *Loge Ecosais* at Marseilles.

The Lodge *St. Fereol* itself was warranting other Lodges, as the document by which it constituted a Lodge at Toulon was one of which a transcript was also exhibited. Prior to 1753 the Lodge at Martinique also considered itself empowered by its *St. Fereol* charter to warrant Lodges, and proceeded to warrant one at New Orleans, *Parfaite Harmonie*, a Lodge hitherto unknown. It prescribed for this Lodge an elaborate set of By-laws. This was in 1752.

Finally we have a document issued by the *Atelier D'Architecture* established in the Island of Martinique in the Lodge *Parfaite Union*, authorising Bros. Pechagut and Thouron, Maitres Architects, to constitute an *Atelier d'Architecture* at Bordeaux. The date of this document (*A.Q.C.* xl., 102) is 1753. This is obviously something different and quite new. In his reply to the discussion (*l.c.*, p. 125) Bro. Sitwell stated: "Practically the whole of the original papers about the degree of Architect are now in my possession. This seems to be an entirely new degree of a semi-Templar nature, and Bro. Heron Lepper is inclined to agree with me that it may be a key degree which was afterwards split up and the pieces elaborated."

The document itself recites that whereas all Architects are Parfaits d'Ecosse, all Parfaits d'Ecosse are not Architects.

Bro. Sitwell subsequently sent me transcripts of several more documents which throw additional light on the masonry of the West Indies at this period. The first is the official record of a meeting convened at Martinique by Pechagut, who brought with him from the *Loge d'Ecosse* at Bordeaux authority to constitute a *Loge d'Ecosse* at St. Pierre, and this he accordingly did in 1750, on the 25th May. Pechagut was a merchant at St. Pierre, but a member of a Lodge at Bordeaux. Not merely was the Lodge constituted and the officers appointed at this meeting, but a very elaborate set of Regulations was also adopted and

these are given in full in the record. It was on the petition of the Lodge to Bordeaux that the authorisation was delivered to Pechagut: it would seem therefore that at the same time as they were applying to St. Fereol for a renewal of their Craft constitution, they were petitioning Bordeaux for an Ecossais Lodge, and Bro. Sitwell suggests that the reason for this was that these two bodies were working different rites. In that case the *Architecte* that was transmitted to Bordeaux from Martinique might originally have come from St. Fereol at Marseilles: but this theory seems to be hardly tenable in face of the fact that the Architect group of documents commences with the statement that Bro. Thibault (who is frequently mentioned in these West Indian documents) received authority from Bro. Bunel (Brunel in another copy), Master Architect, Grand Squire to H.R.H. Don Philipe, Infanta of Spain, Duke of Parma, of Plaisance (*sic* != Placentia) and Guastala, to confer the degree of Architect in these Isles. It is difficult to connect the Duke of Parma and his household with Marseilles at this date.

In any case three years later the daughter of the Ecossais Lodge at Bordeaux authorised its Mother to work the new degree, again by the medium of Brother Pechagut.

The Elu Regulations issued by Bordeaux to both Martinique and New Orleans (copies of both are in this collection) are specially framed with reference to conditions in the West Indies. Bordeaux specially retains for itself the right to found other Lodges of Ecossais in that region.

The second document recites that the Brethren of St. Marc in St. Dominique had petitioned Bordeaux for permission to form a Lodge "D'Elus parfaits ou anciens maitres Ecossois," and that accordingly Frère Lamolère de Feuillard had been empowered to constitute Lodges at Port de Paix and St. Marc in the Island, the existing Lodge at Cap being confirmed in its privileges as the senior Lodge in the Islands and as a superior Lodge controlling the others. The date of this is 1752. Actually de Feuillard delegated his commission to Frère Bertrand Barthomieu.

The document goes on to record that Barthomieu duly carried out his instructions and constituted the new Lodge at St. Marc in 1753 from among the members of the Lodge *La Concorde*, and once more we have an elaborate set of By-laws, having a general similarity to the previous set, but with heavy pecuniary penalties attached to them. They formally prohibit discussions about politics and religion in Lodge and have several other points of interest.

The third document is one drawn up by Brethren of the Lodge *Parfaite Harmonie* in Louisiana, the daughter Lodge of *Parfaite Union*, which we have already met with in Bro. Sitwell's paper. The Lodge is described as granddaughter of St. Fereol, and the text recites that the Brethren, of whom the first to be named is Triphaine, have decided to form a *Loge Parfait d'Ecosse*, but that as this can only be done by warrant from an existing Lodge, they now apply to Bordeaux for the necessary authority, and submit for approval a most elaborate set of Regulations. They depute Fr. Roussillon to present this request on their behalf. The date of this is 1756. The rite contemplated is composed of Maître Illustre, Maître Elu, and Parfait d'Ecosse: apparently St. Domingo could only work the first two.

Several other documents in Bro. Sitwell's possession carry us back still further. He had the original application from Lamolère de Feuillard to the Mère Loge Ecossaise at Bordeaux to open a Lodge of Ecossais at Paris, and also his letter of thanks for the authority given: these are both dated 1747. The correspondence arose from a request in June, 1747, from a Bro. Dutilles at Versailles to Lamolère for instruction in true Ecossisme, Dutilles having received his version from Admiral Mathews: as he received it "in company with some foreigners" it is not impossible that this Admiral Mathews was the British

Admiral of that name who was then serving on the French coast. The reference is interesting as showing the existence of two types of Ecossisme at this early date, and a possible British influence on one of them.

There is also a letter dated June 29th, 1748, from Cap, in St. Domingo, asking Bro. Papillon (a Maître Ecossais of Bordeaux and a Ship's Captain) to get the Mère Loge at Bordeaux to recognise the Ecossais at Cap as a Regular Lodge, and suggesting to him that Bro. Morin "who ought to revisit this country" would probably be pleased to carry out Papillon's instructions. Something would seem to have come from this, though the time is remarkably short (unless Morin acted on his own responsibility, which is not impossible) for in a letter dated November 17th, 1748, which is signed among others by Morin (there is no doubt about his unmistakeable signature<sup>1</sup>) the Ecossais at Cap tell Bordeaux that by taking members from passing ships they had succeeded in getting the requisite number of nine to form an Ecossais Lodge, and they therefore ask for recognition as such, together with a charter and the Regulations. Most probably this is the Ecossais Lodge referred to in the St. Marc papers.

Another document in Bro. Sitwell's possession, of very great interest in this connection, of which I have here a full transcript, is a letter written by a certain Frère de Boulard of Paris, who otherwise seems to be unknown, on behalf of the Loge des Elus Parfaits in Paris, to the Loge des Elus Parfaits at Bordeaux, on 16th May, 1750. He says that he is sending this letter by the hands of the very worthy Brother Morin, who admitted him Parfait Ecossais in 1744. Although the degree is clearly the ancient degree of Master as altered by Solomon after the death of his Master-builder, and conferred on a select few, it has got into utter confusion. But the writer has consulted many Brethren, and after much research has restored the full ritual, of which he now sends the text. He also sends the text of a new and very instructive degree, *Chevalier de l'Orient*, and he has authorised Morin to confer it and to form a Council of Knights at Bordeaux. They are to be selected with great care and the number is to be restricted.

To be Chevalier de l'Orient, the Brother must be Elu Parfait, and to be Elu Parfait, *c'est à dire Ecossais*, he must have passed through the nine degrees of masonry. (Unfortunately these are not specified.) There is a Council of the Knights at Paris, but they have not our Ecossisme, and are mistaken in many particulars. This letter is to be taken as equivalent to an authority to Morin to constitute the Council at Bordeaux. The writer sends greetings to various persons, among whom we find Feuillard once more. He uses the phrase: "Je vous embrasse par nos nombres connus," and the date is "L'an de loge 5749. Style ordinaire 1750," showing that the Elu year began in June.

There are many points of interest in this document: it is unfortunate that we do not know what reply was sent. In any case here we have the Chevalier de l'Orient as a new degree in 1750, and one as yet unknown in Bordeaux. This would seem in fact to be the earliest reference to it yet recorded.

The last document to be referred to is one in which the Brethren at Port de Paix ask that an Ecossais Chapter just founded by Morin, in 1753, should be recognised. The instruction on it is significant: it reads:—Write to Morin that we will not recognise the Lodge until it has been regularised by our Deputy Feuillard.

The importance of these documents consists in this: that they demonstrate that the rite which the Morin Charter of 1761 purports to introduce to the West Indies was already working there under authority from Bordeaux. The precise bearing of this on the vexed question of Morin and the development of the A. & A. Rite is a matter for separate examination.

L.V.

<sup>1</sup> N.B.—He signed as M.Ec. only.



## St. John's Day in Harvest.

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WEDNESDAY, 24th JUNE, 1931.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M., as W.M.; W. J. Williams, S.W.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; and B. Telepneff, I.G.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. R. Gridley, A. G. Harper, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., Arthur Tutte, James W. Charlton, James Wallis, W. Young Hucks, A. Saywell, P.A.G.St.B.; A. H. Edwards, Major Cecil Adams, P.G.S.B., G. C. Nassen, L. G. Wearing, W. P. Breach, W. J. Dyer, Max. Infeld, David Sach, H. M. Pinnell, F. A. Greene, John H. Rumacres, J. F. Vesey-FitzGerald, H. Johnson, E. P. Gambs, I. Nesteroff, T. E. Johnson, H. F. Mawbey, J. W. E. Mason, G. Priston, G. B. Wood, J. M. Y. Trotter, G. H. Ward, A. G. Barnes, Fredk. Spooner, Richard Latham, H. E. McMeel, Lewis Edwards, H. W. Sayers, E. Eyles, F. W. Mead, Percy McIntyre, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., G. S. Shepherd-Jones, Wm. E. A. Candy, B. R. James, B. Ivanoff, J. F. H. Gilbard, A. E. Wynter, Ernest J. March, A. H. Harding, W. Brinkworth, J. C. Harvey, Ivor Grantham, F. Vuillermoz, Prince C. Lobanov-Rostovsky, A. Putland, and F. W. Davy, P.G.St.B.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Albert Le Fre, P.A.G.D.C.; Percy E. H. Lewis, Lodge of Union No. 38; Geo. F. Bevis, W.M., St. Richard's Lodge No. 4469; W. Gwilt, Junior Engineers Lodge No. 2913; Percy Ineson, Aretas Lodge No. 4268; Frank Stonebanks, Hampden Lodge, No. 2427; Donald Stevenson, W.M., Neptune Lodge No. 22; Ray J. Morgan, Justinian Lodge No. 2694; E. Shephard, Beach Lodge No. 2622; R. G. Kerr, W.M., Marble Craft Lodge No. 3522; J. A. Westrup, Old Alleynian Lodge No. 4165; A. M. Krougliakoff, South Eastern Bar Lodge No. 4332; James Crowther, Alfred Lodge No. 306; F. J. White, La Belle Sauvage Lodge No. 3095; A. Goldsmith, Sec., Fraternal Lodge No. 5212; Alfred J. West, Child's Hill Lodge No. 4275; R. Loviagon, Lodge L'Entente Cordiale No. 2796; M. Smineoff, Grenadiers Lodge No. 66; and V. W. Beler, Minerva Lodge No. 3346.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from:—Bros. Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; D. Knoop; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, I.P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W.; G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland,

P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; and S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.

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Upon Ballot taken:—

BRO. WILLIAM IVOR GRANTHAM, Balneath Manor, Lewes, Sussex, Barrister-at-Law; Legal Officer to the Royal Air Force. Member of Isaac Newton University Lodge, No. 859. Author of: *Records of the South Saxon Lodge*, and of a paper read in Lodge: *Freemasonry in Lewes*;

and

BRO. FREDERICK WILLIAM GOLBY, 3, John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.1; Patent Agent. P.A.G.D.C., P.M. of Neptune Lodge, No. 22, and Panmure Lodge, No. 715. Author of the *History of the Neptune Lodge*, and *A Century of Stability*; also of papers on London Rank, The Royal Arch, and the History of Freemasonry;

were regularly elected Joining Members of the Lodge.

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Twenty Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. MARCUS LOEWY.

*La Centinela contra Francs-Massones.* A rare work, written by Father Torrubia, a member of the Spanish Inquisition, and published at Madrid in 1752. It contains the full text of the two Bulls: *In Eminenti* and *Providas*, a long attack on the Craft, and a translation of a Pastoral Letter by the Archbishop of Vintimiglia, which is not otherwise known.

From the Lodge Collection.

Carbonari Certificate, issued to Eliseo Robinson at Naples on 2nd Oct., 1820.

Certificate of the Grand Orient; Lodge L'Etoile de la Gironde issued to S. Gommez fils 3rd Oct., 1815.

Certificate Rite Ecossais Rectifié.

Jean Jacques Galland 12th June, 1813.

Two Grants of Arms by Bernardus Raymond [Fabre Palaprat]

one engraved to John Joseph Ghislanus Feti:

the other in manuscript: the name has since been carefully erased, and other cancellations made.

A Letter on the official notepaper of a Lodge at St. Brieuc, addressed to the Venerable of the Lodge Commandeurs de Mont Tabor, and sealed with the Lodge seal. Dated the 9th of the 7th month (September) 5823.

By Bro. G. J. FISK.

A Circular of the Polish National Lodge, No. 534:—

### THE POLISH NATIONAL LODGE.

No. 534.

In the year 1846, many of the Polish Refugees seeking asylum in England, were members of the Craft. Freemasonry at that time was very flourishing in Poland. Some of the more influential Brethren among the Poles resolved to form a Lodge in this country, and they were assisted in their efforts by eminent English Freemasons, the result being the grant of a warrant from Grand Lodge on the 28th August, 1846. The Lodge was consecrated on the 17th June, 1847. The consecrating Officer was R.W. the Earl of Yarborough, Deputy G.M.

The founders were Chevalier Bertold Wiercinski, first W.M.: Captain Leon Jablonski, S.W.: Lieutenant Charles Szulczewski, J.W.: Lieutenant N. F. Zaba, S.D.: Lieutenant J. Lutostanski, Steward: Dr. L. A. Ritterbandt: Captain Thadi Grabski, Steward: Ensign Charles Holtorp; Captain Joseph Michalski, J.D., and Lieutenant Saturnin Kleczynski, D.C.

The number of the Lodge was 778, altered in 1863 to 534.

The English Brethren who were active in forming the Lodge were the Rt. Hon. Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, P.C., M.P., a cadet of the Bute Family, and Mr. William Lloyd Birkbeck, Q.C., Professor of Law and Master of Downing College, Cambridge. He drew the by-laws, and remained a member till his death in 1888. He was the eldest son of Dr. George Birkbeck, Founder of the Birkbeck Institutions, and, jointly with Lord Brougham, Founder of London University. Three of his nephews are members of the Lodge, Bros. Henry, Arthur and Frank Birkbeck. Bro. Henry Birkbeck was W.M. 1894-5.

Lord Dudley Stuart was W.M. in 1851-2. He died in 1854. He was Senior Grand Warden 1852-53. His portrait in oils, painted by a Polish member, hangs in the Moira Room, Freemasons' Hall, where the Lodge meets. He is depicted in his clothing of S.G.W. and wearing the distinctive Collar Jewel of the Lodge, the "Commanders' White Eagle."

Among the members of the Lodge in the first 25 years of its existence were the Princes Adam and Fedor Czartoryski, several of whose family were elected Kings of Poland: Stefanos Xenos, the Greek Patriot: Martin Diosy, Secretary to the Great Hungarian, Kossuth: Lord Raynham, W.M. 1858-9, afterwards Marquis Townshend: Benjamin Webster, the well-known actor; and Lord Kingsale, the Barons of whose line, which dates from 1172, are entitled to appear covered before the King.

The privilege of wearing a distinctive Jewel in all Masonic Assemblies is conferred on the members by the Warrant of Constitution. This consists of the National Emblem of Poland, the White Eagle. Every Master at his Installation is invested with this Jewel attached to a Royal Crown, to be worn during his year of office. It is called the "Commanders' White Eagle," and the right to wear it permanently may be conferred by the Lodge on Brethren for special services rendered to the Lodge or the Craft. It was worn in Grand Lodge by the M.W.G.M. the Earl of Zetland, the R.W. Deputy G.M. the Earl of Yarborough and Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, R.W.S.G.W. It was also presented to General Garibaldi in 1864.

During the first twenty-five years of its existence the Lodge gradually lost its distinctive Polish character, and in 1872, when the oldest member now surviving was initiated, only three Brethren of Polish Birth were left. One of them was the last surviving Founder, Colonel Szulczewski. W.M. 1850-1. He died in 1884. Since 1872 there have not been more than four Polish members at any time, and since 1898 only one, Dr. V. A. Jagielski, M.D., M.R.C.P., who has practised as a physician in London for 54 years. He was initiated in 1874 and was W.M. 1880-1. He fought in the Polish Insurrection against the three usurping Powers in 1863.

The Lodge was held at the Freemasons' Tavern till 1867, when it was removed to the Freemasons' Hall, where it still meets.

*April, 1919.*

P.S.

During the ten years that have passed since the above notes were written, the members have increased in number from 65 in 1919, to 125 at the present date. It was realised in 1921 that in order to afford an opportunity of advancement to the numerous efficient and eager junior members who had otherwise a very remote chance of reaching office, a daughter Lodge should be formed. A Warrant having been granted by the M.W.G.M. H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, the White Eagle Lodge, 4384, was consecrated on the 24th February, 1922, the principal Consecrating Officer being V.W. Sir Philip Colville Smith, Grand Secretary. The first W.M. was Bro. Charles Morton Lomax. The White Eagle Lodge now numbers 53 members.

We have lost by death six P.M.'s, W.Bros. Cumming, Jagielski, Apsey, John Baker, P.G.D., Sammis and Gullen.

W.Bro. Jagielski, our last surviving Pole, died 27th December, 1920, aged 85. His death was the result of an accident. Unhappily he suffered from senile dementia for some time previously and never realised that Poland, in whose cause he had suffered so deeply, was once more a free and independent nation.

Amongst our surviving Past Masters is Bro. Bening Arnold, installed 1860. He was playing bowls recently at the age of 103.

The success and popularity of the Lodge is largely due to the fact that its Secretary, W.Bro. Lancaster, P.M., P.A.G.D.C., has been appointed by successive Masters since 1884—a record of Secretarial service which is almost unique; and the circumstance is rendered still more exceptional by the fact that during the whole of that long period he has only been absent from one meeting. He has influenced and guided the policy of its many masters and he is justly venerated and esteemed by every member of the Lodge. W.Bro. Lancaster was initiated in 1874, attaining the Jubilee of his Membership in 1924, when the Brethren marked the occasion by presenting him with a purse of 70 guineas, for distribution to the Masonic Institutions.

A Masonic Service under the auspices of the Lodge was held at the Cassland Road Chapel, on the 19th December, 1920, by the Chaplain of the Lodge, the Rev. E. Horrocks Howard. The preacher was the Rev. J. Alfred Sharp, D.D.

*April, 1929.*

A List of the Worshipful Masters of the  
Polish National Lodge No. 534. (formerly 778).

The Chevalier Bertold Wiercinski	1847	Calvert Hutchinson Swanton	1903
Captain Leon Jablonski	1848	Thomas Bonsor Crompton Nuttall	1904
Louis Lemanski	1849	John Baker, P.G.D.	1905
Colonel Charles Szulczewski	1850	*William Lloyd Aspinall, L.R.	1906
The Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart.		Thomas Joseph Larkin, P.D.G.	
P.C., M.P., P.S.G.W.	1851	Reg., Japan	1907
Lieutenant Napoleon Felix Zaba	1852	John Edward Naylor	1908
Captain Joseph Michalski	1853	*Edward John Dennis Eason, L.R.	1909
Louis Antoine Ritterbandt, M.D.	1854	John Beaumont Tansley	1910
Eugene Detkens	1855	*George Frederick Littlewood	1911
Edward Johnstone	1856	*Ernest James Hutton Marsland	1912
Horatio Samuel	1857	*Harry Bell Measures, C.B.E.,	
The Marquis Townshend	1858	M.F.O.	1913
Louis Panchaud	1859	Clark Smith Sammis	1914
Bening Arnold	1860	*Ernest John Fish, L.R.	1915
John Boyd, P.G.P.	1861	Cecil Mervyn Gullen	1916
Robert Lublinski	1862	*Henry Rowland Grice (P.M. 1902)	1917
Stanislaus Nowakowski	1863	*Albert William O'Neill	1918
Louis Mercik	1864	*Charles Morton Lomax, L.R.	1919
John Drew	1865	*Albert Tofield, L.R.	1920
Fedor de Wyldé	1866	*Frederick Charles Dowsett	1921
Thomas Norris	1867	*Edward Albert Boynton	1922
Frederick Hughes Gilbert	1868	*Alexander Charles Canham	1923
William Burroughes Bagster	1869	*Humphrey Charles Iverson	1924
Alfred Horton	1870	*Herbert Algernon Wootton	1925
Martin Diosy	1871	*Edwin Davies Crump	1926
Alfred Hamlyn Williams	1872	*George Morton Lomax	1927
Adolphus Videky	1873	*Richard George Friday	1928
Roderick Edward Cherrill	1874	*Alfred Collis, Master Elect	1929
William Grant Moore	1875		
Ferdinand Rath	1876		
John Henderson Cumming	1877		
Joseph Francis Ebner	1878		
John Aspinall	1879		
Victor Apollinaris Jagielski,			
M.D. M.R.C.P.	1880		
George Elwes Corrie Jackson,			
L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.	1881		
*John Lancaster, P.A.G.D.C.,			
L.R.	1882		
Edward Thomas Smith	1883		
Sir John Johnson Runtz, J.P.	1884		
Julius Otto Bieling	1885		
Oliver Bryant	1886		
John Garrett Tongue	1887		
Joseph Lloyd Apsey	1888		
Francis Samuel Turner	1889		
Jonah Nowakowski	1890		
William Simpson Lincoln	1891		
Edward Emanuel Geflowski	1892		
George Frederick Janes	1893		
*Henry Birkbeck	1894		
*James John Shedlock	1895		
*John William Cooper	1896		
John William Howell	1897		
*Stanislaus John Nowakowski,			
L.R.	1898		
William Croucher	1899		
Alfred Andrews	1900		
John Edwin Culverhouse	1901		
*Henry Rowland Grice, L.R.	1902		

## TREASURERS.

First elected

Victor Francis Knazynski	1847
William Watson	1849
Louis Lemanski, P.M.	1852
John Boyd, P.G.P., P.M.	1866
Stanislaus Nowakowski, P.M.	1879
*Stanislaus John Nowakowski,	
P.M., L.R.	1901
*Henry Rowland Grice, P.M.,	
L.R.	1926

## SECRETARIES.

First appointed

Adolphus Glogowski	1847
William Goring	1849
Engede Detkens, P.M.	1856
William Paas	1857
*John Lancaster, P.M., L.R.,	
P.A.G.D.C.	1884

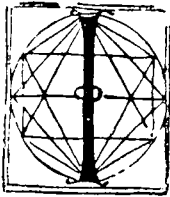
## ROLL OF HONOUR.

Lieut. Albert Hart, killed 30th June,	
1918.	
Lieut. Albert John Klein, killed 14th	
October, 1918.	

N.B.—The brethren whose names are marked thus \* are still members of the Lodge.

## A FEW LEAVES FROM THE HISTORY OF POLISH FREEMASONRY.

BY BRO. B. TELEPNEFF.



It is delightful to transport  
Oneself into the spirit of the past,  
To see in times before us how a wise man thought,  
And what a glorious height we have achieved at last."

Thus spoke the student Wagner, Faust's disciple, to  
which the Master rejoined:

". . . What the spirit of the times men call,  
Is merely their own spirit after all,  
Wherein, distorted oft, the times are glass'd."

(Anna Swanwick's Translation.)

Wagner's point of view illustrates well that fascination which 'the spirit of the past' possesses for every earnest student. Yet Faust's deeper insight justly hints at the other and more significant aspect of historical studies. In days gone by, underneath the veil of the past, lie valuable lessons and, sometimes, explanations of events more modern.

The study of Masonic history, where the nobler instincts of mankind are often reflected, presents also this double aspect of pleasure of discovery. It is enjoyable to disinter forgotten facts and to dispel some of the outworn fictions: it is delightful to visualise, rising from the dust of old books and manuscripts, the shadows of our ancient Brethren, to picture their gatherings of long ago, and, not seldom, to gather from their lives hints and lessons for the present. Alas, but seldom can one exclaim with the younger scholar: "What a glorious height *we* have achieved at last."

The history of Polish Freemasonry reflects, as in a mirror (and not much distorted), the vicissitudes of its country, often torn by internal dissensions and always coveted by powerful neighbours. In a measure this history reflects also the turbulent movements in Europe of the late eighteenth century, when one political order of things passed into another and then back again: from monarchy to revolution, and from revolution back to monarchy. Finally, this historical study affords even to the present-day Masons some remarkable examples of Masonry true to itself and of Masonry misused.

A full history of Polish Freemasonry in the English language still remains to be written, and if the following lines provoke further and fuller study of this most interesting subject, one of the aims of this paper will have been fulfilled.

This essay is based mainly on the able paper, *Polish Masonry*, by I. S. Riabinin,<sup>1</sup> published in the Russian edition, *Masonry in its Past and Present*, Moscow, 1915. Its writer differs in several points from Bro. Gould's account of

<sup>1</sup> The list of other principal works consulted is given below. For a more detailed study of the subject, I. S. Riabinin recommends the following works:—*O Masonic w Polsoe*, Cracow, 1908, by the Rev. S. Zalensky; *Lukacinski*, Warsaw, 1908, by Prof. Askenazy; *Wolno-Mularstwo*, Livov, 1912, by K. Ianowsky; *Rudimente einer Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Polen*, 1897, by Goldbaum. The Rev. S. Zalensky's book presents the Roman Catholic point of view.

Polish Freemasonry,<sup>1</sup> which account is in fact only an abridgment from Lenning's *Cyclopædia*.<sup>2</sup> I. S. Riabinin presents, however, a more comprehensive survey of Masonry in Poland, and one which is founded on more authentic and newer sources,—a survey confirmed as to its authority by independent facts and characteristics to be found in several works of other competent Russian historians consulted for the purpose of this article.

It is interesting to note that the cautious editor of the *Cyclopædia* prefaces the article on Poland by this remark: "The following notes which we consider to embody the most complete knowledge at present existent about the history of Freemasonry in Poland, have been taken literally from the first edition of this work [Lenning's *Cyclopædia*], and were compiled by an unknown member of the Union in Warsaw (J.N.B.) in 1818." This 'unknown warrior' of Polish Freemasonry was, notwithstanding certain obvious limitations imposed by the time in which he lived and by the secretive habits which the existing Lodges had acquired, a learned and valiant Brother; it is with pleasure that one follows in his footsteps and endeavours to re-kindle the torch that once upon a time had cast so much light on the Freemasonry of his country.

The first Masonic groups in Poland made their appearance at the beginning of the reign of Augustus III., also known as Frederick Augustus II. The date of the beginning of this reign seems, it must be admitted, somewhat obscure, nearly as obscure as are the dates of the earliest fraternal gatherings in Poland. The father of Augustus III. was the well-renowned and adventurous King of Poland, the so-called Augustus-the-Strong. This king, in manly beauty, strength and valour, if not sometimes in fact truly a Ruler, was at first a Protestant and afterwards a Catholic; Elector of Saxony and, thanks partly to the Saxon troops and partly to a well-filled Treasury chest, afterwards the chosen King of Poland. He found his match in the celebrated Charles XII. of Sweden who drove him out of Poland and made him acknowledge Stanislaus Leszinsky as King of Poland. Later, after the defeat of Charles XII. by Russian troops, the deposed king entered Poland once again, in his turn drove out the other Stanislaus, and, for the second time, was proclaimed the only King of Poland. His court became celebrated as the most extravagant and luxurious in the whole of Europe; the king himself acquired the reputation of being the most dissolute and magnificent Prince on the Continent. His lavish expenditure, though enriching his capital with treasures of art, impoverished both Poland and Saxony. The king died on the 1st of February, 1753. He left a very numerous posterity of 'natural' children; his only legitimate son, Augustus, Elector of Saxony and the future King of Poland, was born at Dresden on the 17th October, 1696.

Augustus and his friends were brought up amongst the magnificence and 'pomp and circumstance' of his father's brilliant court. Augustus III. was also a Protestant first, but in 1712, like his father, joined the Church of Rome. In 1753 he succeeded his father as Elector of Saxony and at once put forward claims to the Kingdom of Poland. Dissensions, however, arose in that country; most of the nobles, dissatisfied with the foreign rule, endeavoured to re-instate Stanislaus Leszinsky, supported by the French Government. On the other side, Russia and Austria stood behind Augustus, who was ultimately elected King of Poland, and, with the aid of his allies, established himself firmly in the Kingdom. The reign of Augustus was not fortunate. He joined in 1755 the alliance formed against Frederick the Great; the Seven Years' War then flared up; the Saxon army was compelled to surrender at Pirna in 1756; during the remainder of the war, Saxony and Poland were the unhappy scene of military operations and suffered severely. Augustus died on the 5th October, 1763. In spite of all his difficulties and misfortunes, he contrived to make considerable additions to the collections of art treasures founded by his father; under him the Saxon capital began to acquire fame throughout Europe for its culture and its magnificent display of china and pictures.

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Freemasonry*, London, 1887, iii., 220, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei*, ii., p. 591, etc.

This atmosphere of easy-going luxury and elegance on one side and of the Roman Catholic forces on the other side, combined with Saxon and French influence, was vividly reflected in those first Masonic circles which formed themselves in Poland soon after the claim to its Crown had been put forward by Augustus.

These circles were but several off-shoots from the Saxon Lodge of "Three White Eagles" founded in Dresden about 1738 by Count Rutovsky, the King's 'natural' brother.

Count Frederick Augustus Rutovsky, born on the 1st May, 1702, is considered to be the founder of Freemasonry in Saxony.<sup>1</sup> His name in the Order was CHEVALIER DE L'AIGLE. In 1741 he became Grand Master of Upper Saxony; in the same year he was, with the rank of General Field-Marshal, Governor of Dresden. In his youth he was in the French service, and the Lodge of Three Eagles was strongly tinged with French influence. Through this Lodge, Rutovsky became, indirectly, the propagator of early Masonry in Poland.

The movement did not spread at first. The Roman Catholic Clergy were always a great power in Poland, and they (especially the Jesuits) bitterly opposed Freemasonry and obtained in 1738 a temporary closing of all Polish Lodges; this was not a particularly difficult task, for their members, recruited from the gay and ambitious Polish aristocracy, considered Masonry but a pleasant pastime of good social aspect. Still, although weak in its outward and inner organisation, Polish Masonry survived the trial and continued to work in secret. Foreigners of high standing and young Poles of the best families, such as Mnishek, Potocky, Vielgorsky, etc., founded several Lodges at Vishnevz, Dukla and other places. These early Polish Lodges were widely divergent in their working, following different patterns of English, German and French Lodges; they professed to acknowledge the authority of the Grand Lodge in London; but in fact were autonomous and adhered rather loosely to Masonic Rules and Constitutions.

Polish Freemasonry acquired a greater significance under King Augustus Poniatovsky.<sup>2</sup> This Prince, who belonged to a distinguished Polish family, was elected in 1764 King of Poland, mainly through the influence and strong support of the crafty Russian Empress, Catherine II., surnamed the Great.<sup>3</sup> He was a man of accomplished manners and of a refined mind, but, unfortunately, a weakling who gradually became a puppet in the hands of the Russian Government. During his reign the three partitions of Poland took place, and the Kingdom of Poland came to an end after the sanguinary suppression by foreign troops of Kosciuszko's insurrection. Stanislaus resigned the Polish Throne at Grodno on April 25th, 1795. Austria then obtained Cracow with the extensive country between the Pilica, the Vistula, and the Bug. Prussia acquired the capital with a territory stretching as far as the river Niemen. The remainder of the once-glorious Kingdom went to Russia. Stanislaus was summoned to St. Petersburg and died there, after an unhappy life of many humiliations, in 1798.

Not only did this unfortunate king protect Freemasonry, but he himself joined, in 1777, the Warsaw Lodge "Under Three Helmets." This Lodge worked according to German customs of the so-called 'higher' grades, and the king was 'knighted,' assuming the name of EQUES SALSINATUS. Nearly all his courtiers, prominent statesmen and many aristocrats were Masons, for instance: Prince Kasimir Sapieha, Prince Adam Chartorysky, Ignatius Potocky, and the Priest Piatoly. Masonic ideas of tolerance and benevolence influenced considerably the policy of the Polish Government, though beset with difficulties. A number of charitable institutions were organised by Polish Masons: hostels for old people, refuges for the destitute, places for gratuitous treatment of the sick, etc.

The first Polish Grand Lodge, at least in name, albeit doubtful in authority, was proclaimed in Warsaw in 1767. The Grand Master Elect,

<sup>1</sup> *Handbuch*, iii., 114.

<sup>2</sup> Born 1732; died 1798.

<sup>3</sup> Longinov, 16.



Augustus Moszinsky,<sup>1</sup> recognised by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) as Provincial Grand Master of the Polish Kingdom and the Duchy of Lithuania, did not really acknowledge the dependency of his Lodges on London. On the 24th June, 1770, he organised a festival to celebrate the establishment of the first Grand Lodge of Poland.<sup>2</sup> The King was present; the Primate and Archbishop of Gnesno, Podosky, supplied his own table-silver for the magnificent banquet.

Polish Freemasonry of this period consisted of seven degrees. Brethren of the three first or 'symbolical' degrees formed 'St. John's Lodges'; Brethren of the fourth degree, Knights Elect, and of the fifth, Scottish Knights, formed 'Scottish Chapters'; Brethren of the sixth degree, Knights of the East, and of the seventh, Knights of the Rosy Cross, formed the 'Supreme Capitular Scottish Lodge' or Chapter.

The Grand Lodge of Poland prospered: in 1770 it counted seven dependent Lodges. Its increasing activities attracted the attention of the same redoubtable personage, Catherine II. of Russia, and her Embassy in Warsaw was instructed to secure the direction of Polish Freemasonry.

In 1779, Count Ian Poninsky, on the authority of a very dubious warrant, founded in Warsaw a 'Scottish' Lodge—"Catherine under the Northern Star." This name was explained as a token of "homage to the enlightened Sovereign, Protectress of Freemasonry in Her Realm," *i.e.*, Catherine II. In February, 1780, the new Lodge was recognised by the Grand Lodge of England. Two sons of the all-powerful Russian Ambassador at the Polish Court, Count Stackelberg, joined "Catherine under the Northern Star," which had by then assumed the title of a 'Mother-Lodge.' Its 'Daughter-Lodge,' "The Northern Shield," also reckoned among its members agents of the Russian Government.

In 1781, Count Ignatius Potocky united the Polish Lodges and obtained their recognition from several foreign Grand Lodges and Orients. Three members of this brilliant Polish family took a prominent part and inscribed their names in the annals of Polish Freemasonry.<sup>3</sup>

This Count Ignatius, born in 1750, was elected Grand Master on the 27th December, 1781, and retained this title until 1783, when he left Poland; he died in 1809, as Deputy of the Duchy of Warsaw, in Vienna.

Count Stanislaus Felix Potocky, born in 1745, was Grand Master for a short time in 1789: he died in 1805.

Count Stanislaus Kostka-Potocky, born in 1757, Artillery-General and a Cabinet Minister in 1815, became Grand Master on the 1st March, 1812, and retained his position until the dissolution of Polish Freemasonry; he died on the 14th September, 1821.

The first Grand Master Elect of the united Polish and Lithuanian Lodges, Count Ignatius, had played a conspicuous part in their history. He gave a definite and well-ordered organisation to Polish Freemasonry, which until then had been rather chaotic.

In March, 1784, the Grand Orient of Poland was opened officially. It united thirteen Lodges: four belonging to the Orient of Warsaw ("Catherine under the Northern Star," "Sanctuary of Isis," "Northern Shield," "Goddess of Eleusis"); four under the Orient of Vilna ("Perfect Union," "Jealous Lithuanian," "Good Shepherd," "Temple of Wisdom"); three under the Orient of Poznan ("Crowned Constancy," "White Eagle," "School of Wisdom"); one under the Orient of Dubno ("Perfect Mystery"); and one under the Orient of Grodno ("Happy Deliverance"): It is interesting to note that the Constitution of the Polish Grand Orient, not recognising the first political partition of Poland, considered its Masonic powers to be spread over all former Polish dominions. The

<sup>1</sup> Related to the reigning house of Saxony.

<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, the German Strict Observance System also made considerable headway in Poland, under Count Frederick Aloys Bruehl.

<sup>3</sup> *Handbuch*, ii., 603.

Constitution left a great deal of liberty to St. John's Lodges in their ritualistic work, but the real power behind individual Lodges and the Grand Orient was the 'inner circle,' the Grand Chapter, which consisted of twenty-seven members of the seventh degree.

Count Ignatius Potocky's successor was for a short time General Andrew Mokronovsky; after him, in 1785, Schensny-Potocky became Grand Master; he resigned in January, 1789. General of Artillery and Marshal of the Polish Diet ("Seym"), Prince Kasimir-Nestor Sapieha, widely known for his patriotism, was elected Grand Master in the same year. The anti-Russian movement, then spreading in Poland, penetrated also into Polish Masonry, and the Lodge of "Catherine under the Northern Star" was re-named as the "Lodge of Stanislaus-Augustus under the Northern Star."

The internal troubles of Poland, its second partition, and the ultimate fall of the Polish Kingdom, could only have a detrimental effect on Polish Lodges, and in fact caused the closing of the Grand Orient in 1794. All Masonic archives perished; a number of Polish Masons emigrated to France. In Polish districts apportioned to Austria and Russia, all Masonic organisations were forbidden; by the Austrian Government in 1795, and by the Russian Government in 1797. In the districts swallowed up by Prussia, Masonry was allowed to develop but under the guidance of the three Grand Lodges of Prussia, faithful to the views and designs of the Prussian Government.

The change came in 1807, when Napoleon I. formed out of Polish lands conquered from Prussia, a new Polish entity, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Polish Masonry received a fresh stimulus, yet quite different from previous tendencies of Polish Lodges, for now it followed implicitly the policy and work of French Masonry. A French Lodge of the "United Polish and French Brethren" was established at Warsaw. At the same time several old Polish Lodges resumed their work: "Sanctuary of Isis," "Goddess of Eleusis," and "Northern Shield," in Warsaw; "Prejudice Conquered," in Cracow. Prussian Lodges in Polish districts became dependent on Paris, and the whole of Polish Masonry was looking for guidance and inspiration to Napoleon's satellites and French Lodges.

On the 22nd March, 1810, the Grand Orient of Poland was re-established under Ludovic Gutakovsky, President of the State Council of the Duchy. Six Lodges joined this new Grand Orient: "Eastern Star,"<sup>1</sup> "Goddess of Eleusis," "Sanctuary of Isis," "Northern Shield," "United Brethren," and "Prejudice Conquered." Some of the best known Polish Statesmen were among their members, such as Prince Joseph Poniatovsky, Alexander Potocky, Ignatius Sobolevsky; also some celebrated writers of that time: Oginsky, Brodinsky, and others. Gradually the Grand Orient, animated by Polish patriotism, assumed a purely nationalistic colour; both French and Prussian Lodges became its dependents, the work was done in the Polish language, national emblems were introduced into its ritual.

A brilliant and tragic figure, prominent in Polish Freemasonry, was that of Prince Joseph Anton Poniatovsky, the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, who was drowned in the muddy waves of the river Elster during the retreat of the French troops from Leipzig, on the 19th October, 1813. A magnificent Lodge of Sorrow was held in honour of this Polish hero, and a large amount of money was collected on this occasion for soldiery in Polish hospitals, to be distributed without any difference either of rank or nationality.

Political events of 1812-1813 again interrupted Masonic activities in Poland. On the 30th January, 1813, the Grand Orient decreed the closing of Lodges: yet, secretly, Masonic work, even the Grand Chapter itself, continued, and Masonic charitable institutions were active in assisting those who had suffered during the Napoleonic wars.

A new period of Polish Masonry began in 1815, when a great part of the Duchy was joined to the Russian Empire as an autonomous Polish Kingdom. The hopes of Polish Masons were now turned to the liberal-minded Russian

<sup>1</sup> As a 'Mother-Lodge.'

Emperor, Alexander I.<sup>1</sup> A special banquet in his honour was arranged by Polish Masons during his sojourn at Warsaw, in November, 1815. Alexander I., himself a member of the Polish Grand Orient, accepted with pleasure the patriotic orations of his Polish Brethren and left generous gifts for the needs of the Grand Orient. In this pointed benevolence to Polish Masons, Alexander I. was guided by two aims: to unite, by means of Brotherly intercourse in Lodges, Poles and Lithuanians; and, at the same time to utilise the Grand Orient, with its increased influence, as a support for the Russian Government.

General Alexander Rojnesky was chosen in 1816 Deputy Grand Master of the Polish Grand Orient. An intimate friend of the Russian High Commissioner in Poland, N. N. Novosilzov,<sup>2</sup> this new leader of the Grand Orient in the end did little more than carry out the Emperor's projects.

First of all, Rojnesky strengthened Polish Freemasonry numerically. In 1815 only thirteen Lodges were known in the Polish Kingdom: in 1817 there were already twenty Lodges; and in 1821 as many as thirty-two. Polish Freemasonry spread also in Lithuania; for 1818-1819 the List of the Polish Grand Orient numbered twelve Lodges in Lithuanian districts. The much-desired union between Polish and Lithuanian Masons took place in 1819. This was, however, too late. Alexander I., already swayed by his reactionary advisers to the opposite side, looked askance at any further Masonic gains by Poland. Even Russian Masons apparently considered the establishment of a Polish-Lithuanian Union to be against their interests.

To carry out the other aim of the Imperial Government, Rojnesky proposed in 1816 the adoption of a new Masonic Constitution, to replace the Rules of 1784, deemed by him too democratic. This Constitution would have given, in practice, an absolute power to the Grand Master and his Supreme Council of seven members, acting under a secret governmental control. The proposal worked out by Rojnesky, supported by Novosilzov and the Chief of the Polish Army, the Grand Duke Constantine,<sup>3</sup> did not meet with any objection on the side of the Polish Grand Master, Stanislaus Potocky. It provoked, nevertheless, disagreements and a division in the ranks of Polish Masonry and led to the formation of "National Polish Masonry," which united those who looked with alarm at the subservience of the Grand Orient to the Russian Government.

An autonomous body that took the title of Polish 'National' Masonry was formed in 1819 by Valery Lukacinsky, Major of Polish Infantry. It was 'national' in the narrowest sense of the word; only Poles were admitted, and the main object was to help in the work of a full restoration of the Polish Kingdom. Revolutionaries and extremists soon penetrated into its ranks, and Lukacinsky himself, in 1820, declared the Lodges of 'National' Masonry closed.

The changed attitude of the Russian Emperor towards the aims of the earlier period of his reign and the dangerous political elements which had succeeded in penetrating into Polish Masonry, were the chief reasons for the Imperial Edict of November, 1822, closing all secret societies in Poland, from the application of which *Masonic Lodges were not excluded*. Novosilzov proceeded to convert the Masonic archives into money, and dissipate the funds destined for charity; the latter were used by him mainly for the benefit of the Police, perhaps sometimes a worthy object of charity, but hardly what was intended by the Emperor himself.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Born 23rd December 1777; succeeded Paul I. on the throne in 1801; and died, under somewhat mysterious circumstances, on 1st December 1825. See *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 6, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Senator; born 1761; died 1838.

<sup>3</sup> Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovitch, the second son of the Russian Emperor-Mason, Paul I., and a grand-son of the other Emperor-Mason, Peter III., was born on the 8th May, 1779; he is said to have been initiated into Masonry at the same time as his brother, the Emperor Alexander I., and intended to become Grand-Master of Russian Masonry. He died on 27th June, 1831. The date of his initiation is, however, uncertain. (*Handbuch*, ii., 147; Solkolovskaia, 169.)

<sup>4</sup> See Novosilzov's report below.

The closing of legitimate Masonic Lodges did not stop, in fact they were rather strengthened, by driving underground the undesirable activities of those members who were using them for political purposes<sup>1</sup>; the law-abiding majority, who had been pursuing the philanthropic work of regular Freemasonry, dispersed and foregathered but seldom, concealed from curious eyes, to continue Masonic studies in well-guarded friendly circles.<sup>2</sup>

On the 12th January, 1828, the 'liquidator' of Polish Freemasonry, Novosilzov, wrote to the Emperor:—

So long as Masonry existed openly, it could be supervised by local authorities; but should it continue in secret, it would thus be removed from every observation and become a weapon for conspiracies.

At the same time he related the fate of Masonic archives in Poland:—

According to His Majesty's permission, all masonic archives, masonic ornaments of lodges, jewels, instruments, and the books themselves, were gathered into one place under the supervision of a Committee specially appointed for this purpose, which Committee, having disposed of everything that could suit a public sale, added the sums thus obtained to the funds available in lodges; these moneys were given, as decreed by the Government, together with other immovable masonic property, to charitable institutions<sup>3</sup>; the masonic objects, properly so, were either destroyed under the observation of the Committee, or are now being preserved in the hands of the Government, for example, the archives,—for possible future reference; in such manner any re-appearance of the Masonic Union, bound together by the objects which served for its Emblem, has been, as far as possible, prevented.

What a tragic fate! Was this tragedy, however, not the fault of many of the Brethren themselves? Is not such a fate an object-lesson to every successor of theirs in the Fraternity—to avoid, even if animated by the most laudable patriotic feelings, any introduction of political aims and motives into Lodges?

Well did one of the Brethren of those days define the tendencies of true Freemasonry, saying:

"Masonry is the education of Man's eternal spirit,"

and

"Masonry is a burial ground for *selfish* aims."

Had most of the Brethren, even in those turbulent and difficult times—for Poland often especially so—followed in the steps of this Brother of eminence and brilliancy, Count Michael U. Vielgorsky,<sup>4</sup> who knows whether Lodges would not have grown and prospered in the cultured Polish nation as has been the case in Anglo-Saxon countries!

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#### LIST OF PRINCIPAL WORKS CONSULTED.

Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, Leipzig, 1865.

The History of Freemasonry, by R. F. Gould, London, 1886.

Masonry in its Past and Present,<sup>5</sup> Moscow, 1915.

Novikov and Moscow Martinists, an Investigation by M. N. Longinov, Moscow, 1867.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Toll. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Sokolovskaia, 20.

<sup>3</sup> The Police amongst the latter, apparently.

<sup>4</sup> Sokolovskaia, 177-178; F. F. Vigel's *Reminiscences*, iv., 148; also Puipin, 314, 322.

<sup>5</sup> In the Russian language.

*Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, vol. xxxviii. (Some Aspects of Russian Freemasonry during the Reign of the Emperor Alexander I.).

Masonic Action, an historical study of the Decembrists' Conspiracy, by Countess S. D. Toll, St. Petersburg, 1914.<sup>1</sup>

Andreevsky's Encyclopædia.<sup>1</sup>

Correspondence of Moscow Masons of the 18th century (1780-1792), edited by the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrograd, 1915.<sup>1</sup>

Russian Masonry and its Significance in the History of Social Movement (the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century), by T. Sokolovskaia, St. Petersburg, 1908.<sup>1</sup>

Social Movement in Russia during the Reign of Alexander I., by A. N. Puipin, St. Petersburg, 1900.<sup>1</sup>

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Telepneff, for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. H. C. de Lafontaine, seconded by Bro. W. J. Williams, comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. J. Songhurst, H. W. Sayers, and E. J. Fish.

<sup>1</sup> In the Russian language.



## SUMMER OUTING, 1931.

### ROCHESTER.



THE original intention was that we should choose Norfolk for the scene of our Summer Outing this year with Norwich for our headquarters. A programme which was to include, not only Norwich itself, but Castle Rising, King's Lynn and the Broads, had been sketched out. But the tragically sudden death of our Master, Bro. Gilbert Daynes, who was keenly interesting himself in all the arrangements, put a stop to the whole scheme, and it was felt that under the circumstances any Outing on the regular lines of a Thursday to Sunday visit to some centre of Masonic interest would be better abandoned for this year. But a modified excursion, consisting of a one-day visit to Rochester was arranged in its place, for Thursday, July 2nd, in which the following Brethren took part:—

Major Cecil Adams, London, P.G.D.; F. J. Asbury, London, P.A.G.D.C.; Wm. N. Bacon, London, P.G.Stew.; H. Bladon, P.G.St.B.; F. J. Boniface, London, P.M., 2694; Walter H. Brown, London, P.G.Stew.; J. W. Charlton, London, I.G., 2823; E. Eyles, London, P.M., 167; J. F. H. Gilbard, London, 56; F. A. Greene, London, 2737; Wallace Heaton, London, P.G.St.B.; Lieut.-Col. G. D. Hindley, London, P.M. 4565; B. R. James, Pinner, D.C., 2823; Harold Johnson, London, P.M., 2191; H. C. Knowles, London, P.A.G.R.; F. A. Powell, London, P.A.G.D.C.; A. P. Salter, London, P.M., 2932; W. J. Songhurst, London, P.G.D., Treasurer, 2076; J. W. Stevens, London, P.A.G.Sup.W.; Ed. Tappenden, Hitchin, P.A.G.St.B.; J. M. Y. Trotter, Nigeria; Lionel Vibert, London, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. and Sec., 2076; R. B. Vincent, London, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Herts.; and W. J. Williams, P.M., 2696, S.W., 2076.

Leaving Charing Cross at 10.5 we arrived at Rochester at 11.13, where we were met by Bro. H. F. Whyman, P.A.G.St.B., Bro. Colonel J. G. A. Baillie, P.Dy.G.Swd.B., Bro. T. G. Marsh, Treasurer of the Rochester Masonic Hall Club, and other Brethren. We proceeded at once to Eastgate House, where Canon S. W. Wheatley was waiting for us, and under his kind and skilful guidance we perambulated the City and saw the many interesting relics of its past history, finishing up at the Guildhall, where we were received by the Deputy Mayor and the Town Clerk, and these gentlemen and Alderman Bro. F. F. Smith showed us the regalia and the unrivalled collection of City Charters. The following notes are taken from Alderman F. F. Smith's *History of Rochester*, a copy of which he very kindly presented to the Lodge Library.

#### THE CITY WALLS.

Rochester was an important Roman station, laid out on the lines of a Roman camp, on the main road from Dover to London that in later times came to be known as Watling Street. The Roman walls formed a rectangle which enclosed the ground subsequently occupied by the Cathedral and Castle, and

Watling Street entered by the Eastgate and crossed the walled area to the Bridge over the Medway. There was a moat outside the walls. On these foundations later walls were built in 1225, during the reign of Henry III., and at the same time one of the Roman towers that flanked the Eastgate was rebuilt, and the boundaries of the city were extended so as to bring in what is now the Deanery garden into the ecclesiastical area. The year 1344 saw a still further extension of the monastic precinct and the walled area. We were enabled to see a good deal of the existing fragments of masonry in which these different periods were all represented.

#### EASTGATE HOUSE.

Eastgate House and the three houses opposite it constitute the only specimens of Tudor architecture still standing in the High Street. It was built in 1591, but has since been a good deal altered. It was a private residence, and was visited in 1606 by James I. and his Queen. It is now Corporation property and much has been done to restore its original appearance. The central room on the ground-floor has contemporary panelling, and many other rooms have preserved their original woodwork; the staircase is particularly fine. The house is now a museum, one room being devoted entirely to Charles Dickens.

#### THE WATTS CHARITY.

The Almshouse for Six Poor Travellers was originally founded in accordance with the will of Mr. Richard Watts, M.P., who died in 1579. He directed that there should be six several rooms with beds and other good and sufficient furniture to lodge "poor Travellers or wayfaring men, being no common rogues or proctors," who were, however, to stay only one night unless hindered by reason of sickness; each one to have four pence at their first coming in and the use of the fire. The original house still stands, and an inscribed stone on the front of it recites the terms of the charity. But, in fact, these have been modified to bring them into harmony with modern conditions, and it is to-day managed by a body known as Watts Trustees. They maintain almshouses and also give annual grants to the Rochester Hospital and provide scholarships in the local schools.

#### THE GUILDHALL.

The present building dates from 1687, but replaces a much earlier structure. In the large Hall, the ceiling of which was put up at the expense of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, are several fine portraits, including those of William III. and Queen Anne, by Kneller. The Regalia includes a seal which goes back to the early years of the thirteenth century, and a great mace which was made in 1661, besides other maces and silver oars which remind us that the Mayor was also Admiral of the Medway, a circumstance which is also recalled by the vane on the flagstaff outside the building, which represents a full rigged ship.

But the City's great glory is its series of Charters which begin with Richard I. in 1189 and continue up to Charles I. in 1629, there being thirteen of them in all. They are fully described in Mr. Smith's book already referred to.

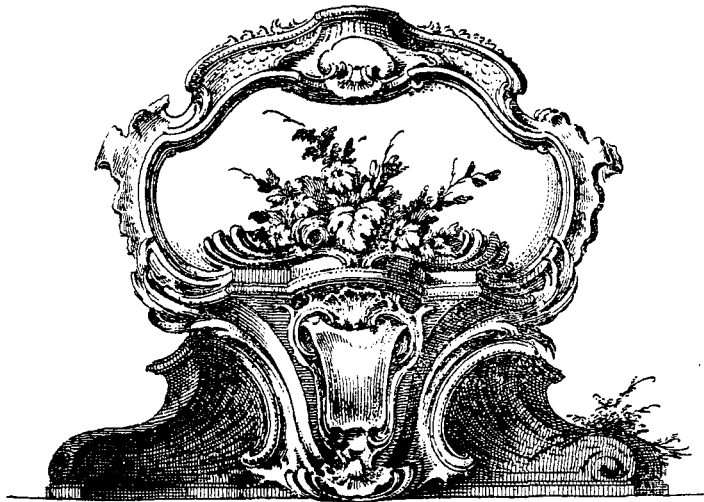
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We had lunch at the Masonic Hall, being joined there by the Master of St. Andrew's Lodge, 3948, Bro. T. H. Barker, the Master of St. Peter's Lodge, 4193, Bro. W. Meadows, and the Master of the Sir Joseph Williamson Lodge, 4605, Bro. E. H. Broomfield. After lunch, still under the kind guidance of Canon Wheatley, we visited the Cathedral, where he and the Head Verger took us over the whole edifice, including the magnificent Crypt. We were also privileged to see various interesting and out-of-the-way portions of the precincts that are not accessible to the general public.

We then went on, over the site of the old monastic buildings, the Vines, and had a view of Restoration House, a red brick building of the end of the sixteenth century, which owes its name to the fact that it was here that King Charles II. stayed on his triumphant entry into the kingdom on his restoration. We read that the Mayor and Corporation received him with great demonstrations of joy and presented him with a silver basin and ewer. And Mr. Smith has preserved for us an entry from the civic records to the effect that if the subscriptions did not come to sufficient to pay for this presentation, the balance was to be charged as a debt upon the City—paid for out of the rates as we should put it to-day.

We then made our way to the Castle, which the more energetic members of the party ascended, and eventually returned to the Masonic Hall for tea. Both the Cathedral and the Castle are too well known to require any detailed description here.

Eventually the six o'clock train brought us back to Charing Cross after a very pleasant and instructive day, only slightly interfered with in the morning by rain, and we all appreciated that the success of the visit was due entirely to the kindness and enthusiasm of Canon Wheatley and the Brethren of Rochester.





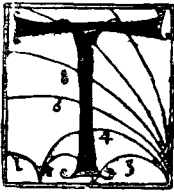
## REVIEWS.

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### SOME MASONIC DEGREES WORKED AT BOTTOMS, STANSFIELD, NEAR HALIFAX, DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

*A Paper by Bro. R. D. Matthews, 1931.*

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HIS forms a useful little Appendix to the *Historical Sketch of Freemasonry at Bottoms*, published by Bro. John E. Craven in 1886.

The first known Lodge at Bottoms appears to be Prince George (now No. 308) which is a combination of two Lodges that moved there from Haworth—seven or eight miles distant—in 1812.

It is suggested that a Craft Lodge must have been meeting at Bottoms at an earlier date, because a Royal Arch Chapter and a Knight Templar Encampment were working there in 1811. I do not think that there is much point in this, as there were many Craft Lodges in the neighbourhood from which material could be drawn, and moreover there was at that time no necessity for a Royal Arch Chapter to be attached to a Craft Lodge; though the Royal Arch was even then a qualification for the Knight Templar degree.

The Lodge of Prince George had been working at Haworth under what may be termed a Provincial Interim Dispensation dated 18th February, 1796, and this document is still in possession of the present Lodge, although when a Warrant of Confirmation was applied for in 1818 it was said to have been lost or destroyed. Lane says<sup>1</sup> that when the amalgamation of the two Lodges at Haworth was effected, Prince George sold its Warrant (*i.e.*, Dispensation) and Furniture, but this also is contradicted by the fact that the Lodge still holds the original Dispensation. Lane also shows<sup>2</sup> the other Lodge (Three Graces) as remaining at Haworth until it was erased in 1822.

The Dispensation was one of a group issued about 1794-6 by William Spencer of York, who had been a Deputy Provincial Grand Master for Yorkshire.<sup>3</sup> It gave full authority to act "as a regular Lodge until a Warrant of Confirmation shall be made out." As we know, Warrants of Confirmation were not always applied for, and some of the Yorkshire Lodges still meet, quite regularly, under the authority of these Dispensations.

So far as we can tell, all the Lodges so constituted by local Dispensation were reported to the Grand Lodge in London, and received appropriate numbers after registration, but in view of the fact that the Lodge of Hope at Bradford was at one time described with a double number,<sup>4</sup> one wonders whether Spencer had had any connection with the Grand Lodge of All England, of which we have no record after 1792. The group of Lodges authorised by him needs careful scrutiny.

The first meeting place of Prince George Lodge at Bottoms was the Freemasons' Arms, but it is not stated whether the house was known by that name before 1812. It is said that "the Inn was a noted place for the

<sup>1</sup> *Records*, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> See *A.Q.C.* xlii., 42-51.

<sup>4</sup> See *A.Q.C.* xliii., 241.

assembling of clubs and friendly societies, and, being on the coach route, was much frequented by travellers."

In the present Hall at Bottoms is a series of eight painted panels in the form of tracing boards, believed to have been used as shutters in the old Freemasons' Arms. These are well illustrated in this book, and no doubt they represent degrees which were worked there early last century. Particulars of some of these degrees are known, but of others only the names remain. They were apparently conferred under the assumed authority of the Spencer Dispensation, though only the Craft Degrees are mentioned therein, and this procedure was certainly unusual in Lodges constituted under the Grand Lodge of the Moderns. No connection with Irish Lodges or Antients has so far been traced. There were evidently some governing bodies—or bodies assuming authority—in the neighbourhood, and it would be useful if the extent of their authority could be ascertained. This book helps considerably in one direction, and it remains for other brethren to examine the records of their Lodges in order to complete the picture.

July, 1933.

W. J. SONGHURST.

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### THE MEDIÆVAL MASON.

*By Douglas Knoop, M.A., and G. P. Jones, M.A.*

Manchester University Press. 12/6.

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The sub-title of this book tells us that it is an economic history of English stone building in the later middle ages and early modern times. It thus to a large extent breaks new ground. Many years ago Mr. Wyatt Papworth wrote an important paper on *Superintendents of English Buildings during the Middle Ages*, and Gould in his *History* devoted a good deal of space to the Cathedrals and their architects. Professor G. G. Coulton has given us much information on the subject from the social aspect. In *The Mediæval Builder and his Methods* Mr. Francis B. Andrews collected a wonderful amount of detail as to the materials, tools and methods of work of the craftsmen, and the technical terms used. He also brought together lists of names of actual architects and much else of interest. For the London Company of Freemasons we have Bro. Conder's *Hole Craft*, and several other writers have dealt with associations of builders elsewhere.

Bro. Knoop is Professor of Economics in the University of Sheffield, where Mr. Jones is the Lecturer in Economic History. In their introductory chapter they explain that the fact is often lost sight of that the mediæval cathedral or castle was the product of an organising and administrative capacity no less remarkable than the technical skill or artistic genius involved. It is with that side of the stone building industry that they are here specially interested, and of its importance there can be no question. It is only necessary to remember that there were nearly a thousand monastic establishments in England and Wales, all built of stone, besides colleges and hospitals and the thousands of parish churches throughout the country. Some of these edifices were of enormous extent, and if we further add the royal and other castles and the town walls and municipal buildings, it is obvious that the industry was one of very great economic importance through a very long period. It was essentially capitalist in character, the principal employers being the Crown and the Church. The sums of money involved were very considerable. And fortunately there survive for examination a large number of building accounts and similar records, from which the authors, by a most painstaking and detailed analysis, have been able to reconstruct the economic history of the whole industry.

In particular they have examined, among many others, the building accounts at Beaumaris and Caernarvon Castles, Eton College, London Bridge, Westminster and Vale Royal Abbey. Accordingly, after a brief account of the materials employed, the imported Caen stone and the various stones of our own country, we have a chapter on the administration, the systems followed in Royal, Ecclesiastical, Municipal and private buildings respectively. The authors then deal in detail with the organisation of the operations, the supply and transport of material, the arrangements for housing and feeding the workmen, the training of the individual and his status and relation to his employer and to the Church. Chapter v. deals with conditions of employment, hours of labour, holidays, rates of wages and the mobility of labour. They bring out very clearly the remarkable fact that there were frequently a number of varying rates of wages in force at one time in the same place. The holidays and feast-days observed were numerous according to modern ideas, and we find the Quatuor Coronati brought in at Eton as an innovation in 1453. Conder had already told us that this feast was enjoined to be kept as a holiday in the London Company in 1481, but this takes it still further back. The information brought together as to the degree of continuity of employment is especially important, and, with regard to mobility, it is obvious that masons travelled, or more frequently were impressed and made to travel, over much wider areas than one would have expected, considering the difficulties of travel in those times.

In Chapter vi. are discussed the gild organisations of the masons themselves, their customs and rules and their periodical meetings. Here the authors bring in the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. and point out that the private code of the masons, so to call it, that is found in these and the later texts, differs in many particulars from the Regulations for the trade in London or the York Ordinances, and that it would appear to represent a much older body of customary law, going back possibly to the twelfth century, a period of great building activity, but modified by the masons themselves as time went on. Thus it provides for apprentices, but in the trade itself the apprentice seems to be unknown until late in the fourteenth century, so that this must be an introduction of later date than the customs themselves.

But the conditions disclosed by these two texts do accord with the facts ascertained from other contemporary sources, and the authors suggest various explanations of the somewhat puzzling circumstance that these rules appear to have been the general custom of the Craft throughout the country, and that there is no evidence of any local variations of them. They then proceed to give us a detailed and very interesting analysis of the Articles and Points and the deductions that are to be made from them. With regard to the Assembly, they come to the conclusion that there were such meetings held by immemorial custom. The very fact that the Legislature found it necessary to prohibit congregations suggests, perhaps, that the old custom had by that time degenerated and was being misused. The authors themselves do not draw that deduction; they merely point out that the illegal congregations, which were attempts to get better wages than the law allowed, cannot have been the same thing as the assemblies contemplated by the *Regius* and *Cooke* texts.

The concluding chapter traces the changes that were brought about by the dissolution of the monasteries and the influx of silver with its consequent effect on prices. The authors show how these changes are reflected in our own *Old Charges*. In London the monopoly of the Company is invaded after the Great Fire, and the right of search, which was so potent a weapon in the hands of the Company, gradually falls into disuse. The same thing happens in other centres and eventually the whole system passes away as the conditions of the industry itself come to be entirely changed.

In the Appendices the authors have given statistics of wages and prices and have also reprinted a valuable series of illustrative documents; records from

Beaumaris and Eton: orders of Edward III. to impress masons for the royal works; the well-known contract at Fotheringay Church; Ordinances from York in 1370 and London in 1356, 1481 and 1521; the Schaw Statute of 1598; the Articles and Points from the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS.; the Charges General and Special from the *Tew*, *G.L. No. 1*, and *Alnwick* MSS., and the Alnwick Orders. For these documents they have gone to the best available sources, except with regard to the *Cooke* MS., for which they have taken the transcript published by Matthew Cooke in 1861, rather than the facsimile in *Q.C.A.* ii. This earlier publication is by no means free from small inaccuracies, but the circumstance is perhaps not very material in the present instance.

The whole book is a monument of painstaking and exact investigation and presents us with a survey of mediæval stone building in England that brings before us every detail of what was, as the authors rightly say, probably the second largest industry of the Middle Ages, and certainly for us, as the speculative successors of the old craftsmen, it is by far the most interesting. It is most fully indexed and not the least useful section of it is the Bibliography which will enable the student to follow up for himself any particular section of a fascinating subject.

Copies can be had, at the published price of 12s. 6d., from the Secretary, Lodge Quatuor Coronati, 27, Great Queen Street, W.C.2.

October, 1933.

L.V.

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THE MINUTE BOOKS OF BRITISH UNION LODGE, No. 114,  
IPSWICH.

*By Bros. A. Harold Sadd and L. J. Martin.*

HISTORY OF THE DORIC LODGE, No. 81, WOODBRIDGE.

*By Bro. R. Bentham.*

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Freemasonry in the Province of Suffolk generally still awaits its historian, although there should be ample material available for him to work on, and for the senior Lodge in the Province, No. 71. Unity at Lowestoft, which first met there in 1814, we have as yet only the pamphlet written many years ago by Bro. Knocker: a full history of its career in this Province has still to be written. Although numerically it is the senior Lodge it actually commenced its career at Norwich in 1747, moving to Great Yarmouth in 1791. After a somewhat disturbed period it took up its quarters at Lowestoft, the members being now all Suffolk Brethren, the Brethren from the Norfolk side apparently all dropping out. But even this new departure was not particularly vigorous, and its active existence in the Province can hardly be said to have commenced before 1822.

The industry of Bros. Sadd, Martin and Bentham has now given us very full accounts of the early history of the two next senior Lodges in the Province, Doric and British Union. Of these British Union, notwithstanding its later number, is by far the senior. It can boast of a continuous existence at Ipswich since its constitution in 1762 by the Moderns, and it possesses its Minute Books from the very commencement: they are complete except for the four years 1813-1816. But even for these years it has been found possible to recover the names of the Masters with a considerable degree of certainty.

The Founders appear to have been the first masons to hold a Lodge at Ipswich, but where they themselves had been made masons it has not been possible to determine. The authors have been content to write a brief foreword and then to leave the minute books to speak for themselves, except where

elucidatory notes seemed to be called for. The result is a fascinating record; but the authors explain how the early records would have been more complete than they are had it not been for Sarah Burch, the daughter of Jeremiah Burch, who was Tyler from 1817 to 1846. This young lady decorated the books with childish drawings and scribbles and, I am afraid, at times abstracted leaves to convert to her own uses.

The original By-laws are lost but fortunately they had been transcribed into the records in 1779. They follow the usual lines. The first complete minute is dated 24th June, 1762, and refers to previous meetings. At this time the officers were elected for six months, the Wardens as well as the Master being elected by the Lodge. The only other officer referred to at this period is the Tyler.

The history provides us with a great deal of valuable information in the way of lists of members as well as names and Lodges of visitors: the initiates include, as one would expect at Ipswich, many military and naval men as well as "mariners." A more detailed reference to the Minutes is not possible in a brief review such as this, but we can be pretty confident that every item of interest in these records, extending as they do over a period of more than a hundred years, is now placed at our disposal in an easily accessible form. The I.P.M.'s jewel and that of the Tyler are illustrated as well as the Warrant, and the handsome engraved plate which the Lodge used for the certificates it issued to its members.

Doric Lodge was originally No. 120. But this number it acquired when it bought the Warrant and regalia of the Pilots' Lodge at Aldeburgh. The Warrant of the Pilots' Lodge had originally been issued by the Antients to a Lodge in London in 1762. But this Lodge had but a brief existence. When the Pilots' Lodge was founded in 1812 it was allotted this Warrant and, according to the custom then obtaining, retained the number as well. But in 1819 the Pilots' Lodge, now No. 120, in its turn ceased to work, and Doric bought its effects, including the Warrant, in 1823. The Brethren of Doric made a valiant attempt to claim a Centenary Warrant in 1877. But naturally there was no sort of continuity between the London Lodge and that at Aldeburgh, and although Lane treats the Pilots' and Doric Lodges as continuous, in fact they are quite distinct, with a gap between the demise of the one and the formation of the other of about four years. But the Minute Books of the Pilots' Lodge are still extant in the possession of Doric, which also has its Tyler's sword and several of its jewels.

Doric was not the first Lodge at Woodbridge. Bro. Bentham gives us the names of the Brethren who founded Prince Edwin's Lodge, No. 249, in 1804, and of these the majority came from No. 309, which at that time was a Lodge in the Second Lancashire Militia, then, as he has been able to discover, stationed at Woodbridge. This Warrant, No. 309, originally in the Fifty Second Regiment of Foot, was assigned to the Second Regiment of Royal Lancashire Militia on 20th October, 1803. A year later they took No. 120, apparently because the Regiment moved to Sunderland, although in 1805 they were back at Colchester for a short time. But No. 309 was now allotted to a Lodge at Colchester which became a civilian Lodge and is the present No. 225, St. Luke's Lodge at Ipswich. The date of this assignment is 20th October, 1804, the same day as that on which the Regimental Lodge took its new Warrant. The date of the constitution of the Prince Edwin Lodge is 21st May, 1804, and of its founders nine came from 309. This suggests that the Regimental Lodge, when its departure from Woodbridge was imminent, initiated these persons, who were not military men, to enable them to carry on as a Lodge. This Lodge moved to Melton in 1812, and to Eye in 1818, and very soon afterwards ceased to be active, being erased in 1838.

account for its having ceased to work for over a year, thus losing precedence on its revival.

The earliest existing Grand Lodge Register in Dublin does not help us with the names, for the first on the list recorded to Lodge 64 is dated 1752; therefore the identification of Lodge No. 64 with Dermott's No. 26 cannot be made certain by such a line of inquiry. Perhaps, however, the strongest argument in favour of this possible identification is that, as pointed out by Bro. Jenkinson, the Dublin numbering was used as early as 1753 outside the metropolis. So there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that Dermott should have employed it in writing the Minute of 1757.

Anyway, the facts, as here stated, supply us with a new point of view from which to regard the whole question. It need never become a vexed one.

J. HERON LEPPER.

**The Orthes Lodge in the Royal Warwickshire Regiment in the Punjab.**—I am glad to be able to add some information to Bro. Fenton's interesting paper on this Lodge that was printed at pp. 70-117 *ante*.

The first record I find of the activities of the Masonic Brethren of the Orthes Lodge is in 1868, when, at the meeting of Lodge Ravee No. 1215, Lahore, held on Monday, February 17th. of that year—the first Regular Meeting held after its constitution—the following Brethren attended as visitors:—

Wor. Bro. Cockburn, P.M.  
 Bro. A. Austin, J.W.  
 Bro. D. K. Evans, S.D.  
 Bro. F. Baird, J.D.  
 Bro. C. Wilson, I.G.  
 Bro. F. Grundy  
 Bro. G. Shields  
 Bro. A. Whitworth  
 Bro. A. Quin

Whether the Lodge accompanied the Regiment I know not, but it was evidently not working in 1871 when the Regiment moved to Peshawar.

The Masonic Brethren were a welcome addition to the struggling Frontier Lodge Khyber No. 582, and the following joined this Lodge during their stay:—

Wor. Bro. Cockburn  
 Bro. G. Beedle  
 Bro. G. Shields  
 Bro. Lt. F. L. Grundy  
 Bro. C.Sgt. E. Hanworth  
 Bro. Eus. H. B. Harward  
 Bro. Lt. H. C. M. Turnbull  
 Bro. Capt. A. Austin

In 1873 the Regiment moved to Sialkote in the Punjab, where it found little Lodge Wahab or Benevolent, No. 988, owing to Military movements, almost on the point of expiring. During the previous Quarter the Lodge, then only ten strong, had lost seven of its members, and one can imagine the welcome which awaited this old Masonic Regiment from the three remaining members.

The Brethren immediately rallied round Bro. Lt. F. L. Grundy, who with Bros. Lt. A. Whitworth and Sgt. E. Hanworth joined up at once.

Bro. Grundy, whose previous Lodge is given as De Tabley No. 941, Knutsford, was elected Master and occupied the Chair for two years.

From then on the 6th Regiment almost appropriated Lodge Wahab as its own, and the following members of the Regiment joined or were initiated in this Lodge:—

1. Lt. F. L. Grundy, Joined 7/4/73 from De Tabley No. 941.
2. Lt. A. W. Whitworth, Joined 7/4/73 from Khyber No. 582.
3. Sgt. E. Hanworth, Joined 7/4/73 from Khyber No. 582.
4. Major E. B. Gardyne, Joined 5/6/73 from Hope & Perseverance No. 782.
5. Q.M. G. Beedle, Joined 7/8/73 from Orthes No. 352.
6. Sgt. H. Howell, Joined 18/9/73 from Surrey No. 770 I.C.
7. Sgt. W. Secrett, Initiated 21/8/73.
8. Sgt. G. Mulgrave, Joined 22/1/74.
9. Major W. Black, Joined 19/2/74 from St. John Stirling.
10. Sgt. H. Ferguson, Joined 19/2/74 from Star in the East No. 650.
11. Sgt. R. Hanworth, Initiated 4/6/74.
12. Sgt. F. Brown, Initiated 4/6/74.
13. Sgt. G. Garnell, Initiated 2/7/74.
14. Sgt. Maj. J. Smedley, Initiated 3/12/74.

Bro. Beedle took over the Chair in 1875 and the Regiment left Sialkote towards the end of this year.

For three years the 6th Regiment filled the offices of the Lodge and during this period the membership of the Lodge rose to 32.

Thus did this Regiment during its stay in the Punjab District maintain its reputation as one of our keenest Masonic Regiments and so well assisted in re-establishing Masonry in the Punjab after the difficult times of this period.

It is interesting to record that the sterling work of W. Bro. Grundy and W. Bro. Capt. Beedle was suitably rewarded, the former being given the rank of Dist.G.J.D. in 1875, and the latter the same rank in 1876.

G. REEVES-BROWN, Dis.G.Sec.

**A Master of the Spalding Lodge.**—William Sandes, architect, carver in stone, was a member of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, 1745. He died in 1751. He "drew three plans and designs of stages and uprights for a new mansion-house at Burton Pedwardine, near Stamford, in Lincolnshire, for Thomas Orby Hunter, esq., lord of that manor: who was himself a curious craftsman, and designed the house himself, but altered his mind and added to his house at Croyland." Nichols vi., 111: See p. 72 of Walter Lynn, M.D., who drew up the following epitaph, placed against the window near to the Vestry in Spalding Church "over Mr. William Sandes, architect, and late member, and master of a Freemason's Lodge in Spalding":—

In memory of M<sup>r</sup>. William Sandes.

Who died Oct. 2, 1751, aged . . .

His minutes he improved, a wide-concerted plan

To lengthen time, when life is but a span.

Lynn was the "Inventor of the Nycotopsia, M.B., performer in music, and author of "A dissertation on the true and safest Method of treating the Distemper of the Small-pox as used in like cases by the Antients, revived and restored," and was a member of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, Nov. 3, 1712.

W. K. FIRMINER.

**Alexander Gordon.**—Bro. W. J. Williams, in his "Masonic Personalities, 1723-39" (*A.Q.C.* xl.), is concerned with persons whose names appear in *Q.C.A.* x. and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He has, however, passed over Alexander Gordon, who appears in *Q.C.A.* x., pp. 14 and 41, as a member of the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Great Queen Street. A notice of Alexander Gordon, author of *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, will be found in Vol. 5

of Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* (1812), where too much is claimed for him when he is said (p. 335) to have been "grandmaster of the Society of Free Masons." In the year 1726 his head was "full of a project to make a communication between Clyde and Forth by a canal," and he is said to have "made a trial of all the ways by which a man can get an honest livelihood." "He in 1736," writes Stukeley in his preface to *Carausius*, "was appointed Secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Learning with an annual salary of 50£; and which he resigned in 1739."<sup>1</sup> In 1736 also he succeeded Dr. Stukeley as Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries; which office he resigned in 1741 to Mr. Joseph Armes; and was afterwards for a short time secretary to the Egyptian Club, composed of gentlemen who had visited Egypt (viz. Lord Sandwich, Dr. Shaw, Dr. Pococke, etc.). "This Society was begun under the presidentship of Lord Sandwich. The purpose of it was, to enquire into Egyptian antiquities: Lord Sandwich was met by Dr. Pococke, Dr. Perry, and Capt. Norden, the Swedish gentleman, all having been in Egypt: they nominated Mr. Martin Folkes, Mr. Charles Stanhope, Dr. Stukeley, Dr. Milles, Mr. Dampier, Mr. Mitchell, associates, and with them founders of the Society. The Dukes of Montague and Richmond, Lord Stanhope, Mr. Dayrolles, and some others were nominated candidates. A sistrum was placed before the President as the insignia of office. At one of these meetings. Jan. 22, 1742, the Duke of Montague was pleased to ask me the purport of that so celebrated instrument. I spoke of it to the satisfaction of those present, but particularly of the Duke, and he requested me afterwards to give it to him in writing." The Doctor stated that it was the instrument used by Abraham to drive the birds from the sacrifice. (Genesis xv., 11.) The Club met at the Lebeck's Head in Chandos Street. Nichols records that Gordon "went in 1741 to Carolina with Governor Glen: where he purchased the office of registrar of the province, obtained a considerable grant of lands, and died a justice of the peace leaving a handsome estate to his family." Bro. A. Gordon was a member of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding. See several references in *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. W. Stukeley, D.D.*

W. K. FIRMINGER.

**The Rev. J. P. Stehelin.**—This Brother, who was a member of the French Lodge at the Swan, Long Acre (*vide Q.C.A.* x., 159), and a F.R.S., was born in 1688. In 1729 he was one of the Comité Ecclesiastique, and was minister of several French Churches from 1727 till his death in 1753. He printed a Treatise on Transubstantiation, consisting of sermons "prononcés dans la Chapelle de Hammersmith." "He was famous as a linguist, having mastered the following languages:—Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, French, German, Italian, Danish, Dutch, Coptic, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, Chaldean, Gothic, Old Tudesco or Druro, Anglo-Saxon, besides Spanish, Portuguese, and Welsh." D. C. A. Agnew: *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV.*, 2nd Ed., 1881, Vol. ii., p. 277-8. *London and Scots Magazine* for 1753.

*The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1753, p. 334, records the death of the Rev. John Peter Stehelin, F.R.S. Minister of the French Church Leicester Square.

Agnew (Index Vol. p. 224) mentions a work of Stehelin: *Rabbinical Literature, or the Traditions of the Jews contained in their Talmud and other Mystical writings*, 3 vols.

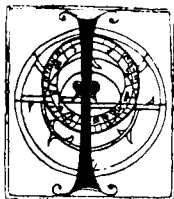
W. K. FIRMINGER.

<sup>1</sup> This Society was founded by Mr. Bowyer, the publisher, in 1736, and the Duke of Richmond was its president. One of the candidates for Gordon's post in 1739 was the ill-fated Dr. Alexander Blackwall, tortured and executed in Sweden, August 9, 1748, on the suspicion of his being implicated in a plot. Nichols, *op. cit.* ii., pp. 93-95. Stephen Le Bas (see *Q.C.A.* x., pp. 287 and 302) was Treasurer of this Society in 1739. Gordon gives as his address: Slaughter's Coffee House, St. Martin's Lane. *Cf. Q.C.A.* x., p. 240.



## OBITUARY.

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It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**John Rankin Andrew**, of Glasgow, on 15th April, 1931. Our Brother was Provincial Grand Master and held the rank of Past Grand Deacon. He was a member of Chapter No. 189, and he joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1921.

Sir **Arthur David Brooks**, of Birmingham, on 7th April, 1930. Bro. Brooks had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1899.

**William James Cooper**, of Manchester, in May, 1931. Our Brother was P.M. of Stockport Lodge No. 3656. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1917.

**Frederick Joseph William Crowe**, F.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., of Chichester, on 9th April, 1931. Bro. Crowe held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.), and Past Grand Warden (Hon.) Grd. Lo. Iowa. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1888, and was elected to full membership of the Lodge in November, 1898, becoming Master in 1910.

**Charles Henry Dunn**, of Durban, Natal, on 6th June, 1931. Our Brother was a member of Eshowe Lodge No. 2596, and of Addington Chapter No. 1937. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1920.

**William John Hodge**, of London, S.E., in 1931. Brother Hodge held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., and P.Dis.G.J. (Arg. Rep.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1901.

**George Henry Hutchinson**, of Sheffield, on 29th April, 1931, at the age of 84 years. Our Brother held the rank of Pr.Pr.G.Treas. (W. Yorks.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1912.

**Hubert Johnson**, J.P., of Hull, on 12th May, 1931. Bro. Johnson was a P.M. of Humber Lodge No. 57, and a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1907.

Hon. **Robert Judson Kenworthy**, of New York, on 8th June, 1931. Our Brother was Grand Secretary, and had held the office of Grand Master. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1898.

Rev. **John Alfred Latham**, M.A., of Northampton, in April, 1931. Bro. Latham held the rank of P.Pr.G.Ch., Lancs. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1918.

**James E. G. Lawrence**, of Chepstow, Mon., on 17th April, 1931. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1914.

Major **Norman Sisson Hurt Sitwell**, R.A., of Paris, on 10th June, 1931. Bro. Sitwell held the rank of P.Dis.G.St.B., Bombay, and was P.Z. of Hope Chapter No. 109. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1910.

**Wilfrid Lawson Winning**, of Glasgow, on 9th May, 1931. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 1215, and P.Z. of Chapter No. 189. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

# Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

## PUBLICATIONS.

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### MEMBERSHIP MEDAL.

Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only. In Silver Gilt, engraved with the owner's name, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel. 10/6 each.

# Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



**SECRETARY:**

LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

**OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:**

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

44x



# →: Ars :← Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE  
QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.,  
AND LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

## VOLUME XLIV. PART 3.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.  
1934.



## THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is two guineas, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigraha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

### CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meeting are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the *Transactions*.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic, or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that for only a quarter of the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

False Proceedings approved and  
Confirmed by the whole Lodge on the  
Evening of the 12<sup>th</sup> August 1830.

Thos  
Secretary



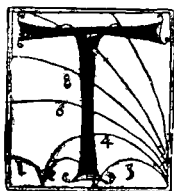
Orthes Lodge: part of Minute of August 12, 1830.

Truly and cordy Obedt. I I  
 N. B. I am Master of the Lodge and have  
 been Propagator since 1808. I was at  
 the place where the Lodge was first  
 established and has been since. I  
 appears to be 80. 15. 11 of the  
 Lodge.

Minutes of St. John's Old Kilwinning Lodge. Dec. 14. 1744.

FRIDAY, 2nd OCTOBER, 1931.

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THE Lodge met in the New Premises at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. H. Cart de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M., as W.M.; W. J. Williams, S.W.; D. Knoop, as J.W.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M., as I.P.M.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., G.Ch., J.D.; B. Telepneff, I.G.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W.; and F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. S. J. Fenton, A. G. Harper, Geo. W. Bullamore, Ed. M. Phillips, J. F. Jansen van Raay, G. W. South, E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D., W. T. Dillon, P.A.G.Purs., H. F. Mawbey, John I. Moar, R. J. Sadlier, P.A.G.St.B., A. E. Gurney, L. G. Wearing, F. W. Davy, P.A.G.Reg., Major G. T. Harley Thomas, P.A.G.S.B., Dr. F. Lace, P.A.G.St.B., Geo. Simpson, A. Regnauld, James S. Charters, W. Young Hucks, Major Cecil Adams, P.Dep.G.S.B., W. H. Smeaton, Lambert Peterson, W. P. Breach, A. H. Edwards, James W. Charlton, A. E. Wynter, Chas. H. Cornelius, H. F. Whyman, P.A.G.St.B., C. Nassen, Wm. Lewis, J. F. Halls-Dally, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, J. F. H. Gilbard, W. L. Rind, W. W. Woodman, H. Johnson, G. D. Hindley, W. Francis, R. P. Hilton, C. J. Woosnam, Fred. I. Mote, D. Pryca Jones, B. Ivanoff, Jas. Fiddes, F. W. Mead, Wm. Smalley, T. Simpson Pedler, W. Brinkworth, J. C. Harvey, C. F. Sykes, Major C. W. Cowell, P.A.G.Sup.W., and Major-Gen. Sir Geo. M. Franks, P.G.S.B.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. G. Bignell, J.D., Nore Lodge No. 3610; H. J. Williams, Kent Lodge No. 15; G. R. Todman, Ethelbert Lodge No. 2099; J. A. Jacks, Arts and Crafts Lodge No. 3387; J. H. Rankin, Royal Arthur Lodge No. 1360; and Matthew Warren, P.M., South Norwood Lodge No. 1139.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Ivor Grantham, W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; A. W. Oxford, M.A., Almoner; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M., and Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.

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Bro. William James Williams, S.W., was elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., was re-elected Treasurer, and Bro. J. H. McNaughton was re-elected Tyler.

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Upon Ballot taken

BRO. SYDNEY JAMES FENTON, 82, Featherstone Road, King's Heath, Birmingham, Metal Merchant's Representative. Member of Old Sinjins Lodge No. 3232, Prometheus No. 4209, and Warwickshire Installed Masters No. 4538. P.Pr.G.D. Warwicks. Librarian to the Provincial G.L., and Curator of the Provincial Museum at Birmingham. Author of papers on *The Lodge Summons*, etc., and of a paper read in Lodge: *The Records of the Orthes Lodge*.

was regularly elected a Joining Member of the Lodge.



One District Grand Lodge, one Lodge, one Study Circle, and twenty-six Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. S. J. FENTON.

Set of Certificates issued to William Kaye:—

- (1) Craft. Issued by St. Stephen's Lodge, Gatehouse of Fleet. No. 214 (S.C.). 17th October, 1817.
- (2) R.A. Issued by the Royal Arch Chapter held under the sanction of Lodge No. 173, Greyabbey in the County of Down, Ireland. 19th March, 1821. Six signatures and a seal.
- (3) Red Cross. Issued by the Red Cross Chapter held in the Masonic Lodge No. 173 Greyabbey. 19th March, 1821. Five signatures and the seal of the Encampment.
- (4) K.T. Issued by the Royal Arch Knight Templar's Chapter held under the sanction of Lodge No. 173 Greyabbey. 19th March, 1821. Six signatures and the seal of the encampment.
- (5) K.T.P. Issued by the Anahilt Grand Union Band under the protection of Lodge No. 173. Seven signatures each with its own seal, and also signed by the Secretary and sealed with the seal of the Union Band. The wording of the seven seals makes up the sentence: Weep not : behold the : Lion of Juda : have prevailed : and opened the : book and loosed : the seven seals.

The same names reappear on all these last four.

Apron. R.A. Irish Constitution, also belonging to William Kaye.

By Bro. D. PRYCE JONES.

Seal matrix of the Cornubian Lodge of Free Gardeners, Hayle.

By Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE.

Jewel of a French Lodge: Silver. Double triangle. On the lower triangle the square, compasses, trowel and mallet, and anchor. On the upper 5868 Fidele Maçonne. Or: de Cherbourg.

This Lodge was constituted in 1782 and was still at work in 1816 when it issued a medal. (*Vide Misc. Lat.*, xvi., 44.) After a period of dormancy it was revived in 1865. The exhibit is evidently a membership jewel. The name does not imply that this was anything other than a Craft Lodge. Several French Craft Lodges had similar feminine names.

From the Lodge Library:—

A copy of the History of the Lodge *Les Neuf Sœurs*, by Louis Amiable. The reference to Paul Jones is on p. 150.

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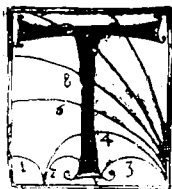
A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent objects for Exhibition.

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Bro. H. C. DE LAFONTAINE read the following paper:—

## PAUL JONES.

BY W. BRO. H. CART DE LAFONTAINE, P.G.D.



HERE may be many who will think that I have made a curious choice in selecting such a character as Paul Jones to be the subject of this paper. It requires some amount of moral courage to write about a man who in his time was by his own countrymen spoken of as a renegade, a pirate, and a buccaneer. I suppose I should never have ventured on such a course had it not been that my attention was forcibly drawn to his heroic deeds of daring whilst I was collecting materials for my paper on Benjamin Franklin.<sup>1</sup> I must ask leave to recapitulate to a modest extent what I then wrote about Jones. I was calling attention to the fact that he became a joining member of the French Lodge, *Les Neuf Secours*. I wrote as follows:—"I believe there are even to-day some people who regard the name of Paul Jones with horror, and conjure up some terrific picture of a ferocious pirate, a sort of Gilbert and Sullivan creature, coming on the stage, staggering under the weight of fire-arms, and roaring at the top of his voice, 'I am the Pirate King.' My youthful fancies of such a commonly acknowledged desperado were of a fierce bully with a pistol behind each ear and a dagger between his teeth. But this is all wrong. Paul Jones was a most accomplished man; the darling of the ladies, and the one-time favourite of the great Empress Catherine, who made him a Rear-Admiral. So much was he thought of in France that the King presented him with a sword of honour, and created him Chevalier. Franklin, ever since he had known him, had always been his guiding genius, and the relation between the two was really more like that of father and son, than friend to friend." This extract from my Franklin paper will show you what was forming in my mind, a desire to brush away some of the superstitions that have in process of time obscured what is really a very interesting personality.

I cannot say that Jones was a notable Mason. The arduous nature of his career would doubtless militate against any idea of Masonic progress. But I do say that his association with our fraternity made him a better man than he otherwise might have been. You may possibly now exclaim, "Even if that be granted, are we to exhibit feelings of brotherly love for a man who renounced the land of his birth and fought against his own kith and kin?" A large charity is or ought to be a distinguishing characteristic of all Masons. I do not mean the charity which is expressed, oftentimes most nobly, in pounds, shillings, and pence, but the old *caritas*, the love of one's neighbour that leads to the love of one's God. The world's survey is not always quite the correct one. Taken on the surface, I grant you that Jones' action is a sad reflection on the facility with which home ties can be and have been broken. But there are always attendant circumstances to be considered. I cannot enter into political matters, and recount to you the underlying motives which brought about that great event, the establishing of American independence. But I can ask you, before forming any hasty judgment, to look into the history of that epoch, and weigh up the rights and wrongs of the contending nations, and then say, without prejudice, whether the faults did not lie in heavy balance on one side. Jones would never have disclaimed his nationality had not an unfortunate trend of events

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C., xli., 3.

dried up and soured the mother milk with which he had been nourished. He was a man of egregious faults, of insatiable ambition, a wayward lad, an impetuous youth, a man of strong passions. Against these things one may set his ardent love of justice, his gentleness to the fair sex, his constant thought for those in distress, his lion-hearted courage. Time after time he yearned after a life of quiet pastoral contentment, but the iron entered into his soul when he found his possessions abroad ravaged, destroyed, and laid waste by his own countrymen. I do not defend him in his subsequent actions, but at the same time I do not unthinkingly condemn him. The obloquy which was heaped upon Jones in this country belonged to the multitudes who listened to carefully-prepared untruths, and swallowed these so eagerly that in due course they ran about in terror of their lives, almost persuading themselves that if this corsair landed at any point their children would be devoured alive. The name of Jones carried terror into many a haven and harbour of refuge in this land. And yet, after the cessation of hostilities, this same Jones is fawned upon by the aristocracy of Britain, and is almost as much lionised as he was when treading the streets of Paris as the hero of the hour, or when in Amsterdam, after the wonderful battle with the *Serapis*, the Dutch people acclaimed him as a wondrous conqueror.

It is difficult to know how to lay out details regarding the doings of this remarkable character in the most attractive manner, but if time permits I will endeavour to speak, first of all, about his Masonic career, for that should be of primary interest; then to give you a rapid sketch of his life as a whole; then to embellish the same with extracts drawn mainly from fiction, correcting these when necessary with actual fact: and, lastly, to form a general estimate of his character. By such a variation I hope to engage the attention of my listeners, so as to avoid anyone falling into that somnolent condition which sometimes is the attitude of the acting Master. It is necessary now to state, to follow the course of events, that John Paul Jones was born in 1747 at Arbigland, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland. In early life he was known as John Paul, a gardener's son, and it was under this name that in November, 1770, he was initiated. The form of petition presented to the Lodge ran thus: "To The Worshipful Master Wardens and Remanents Brethren of Free and Accepted Masons of the Lodge St. Bernard Held Kirkcudbright. The Petition of John Paul, Commander of the John of Kirkcudbt. Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner for a considerable time byepast haith Entertained a strong and sincere regard for your Most Noble Honourable and antient Society of free and accepted Masons, but hitherto no meeting with one seasonable opportunity Do now most humbly crave the benefits of receiving and admitting me Into Your fraternity as an Entered Apprentice promising as louving ane engaidgement to you. That I shall in all Rules and orders of your Lodge be most obsequient and observante. That I shall on all things Deport behave and Act Answerable to the laws and instructions of the Lodge and in everything to which I may be made lyable promising faithfull obedience. The Compliance of your Worshipful Wardens and rest of the Brethren will singularly oblidge and much honour, Right Worshipful your most Humble Petitioner and most Humble Servante. Jno. Paul." To this was appended: "I do attest the Petitioner to be a goodman and a person whom I have no Doubt will in due time become a worthy Brother. James Smith." This application for admission is preserved in facsimile at Douglas Castle, at St. Mary's Isle. The petition is an earnest attempt at the formal phraseology which he deemed the occasion demanded. There are instances of mis-spelling which do not occur in the letters of his later years.

Philipps Russell, speaking of Jones' initiation, says: "The early part of the eighteenth century saw a tremendous spurt in the growth of Freemasonry.

Bro. Fred. W. Larter has very kindly furnished a transcript of the original document. He adds that Bro. John Paul was entered on 27th November, 1770, and passed on 28th February, 1771, but that there is no record that he was raised in the Lodge, or that he subsequently visited Kirkcudbright.

The period being a transitional one, and hence troubled, men instinctively sought to band themselves together, swearing to respect and protect each other in a democratic brotherhood of man. The most conspicuous men on both sides of the Atlantic sought the shelter of Masonry. Among these was George Washington. His example was followed by a host of Colonial leaders who afterwards became the generals and statesmen of the Revolutionary War. To this day American Masonry is proud to call John Paul Jones a member."

Jones took only his first and second degrees in the Lodge of St. Bernard. The Master's degree he took somewhere in America, but where or in what Lodge has not been ascertained. It is said that while Jones was in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, getting out his ship, the *Ranger*, he visited St. John's Lodge, No. 1. "The records of the Royal White Hart Lodge of Halifax, Province of North Carolina, during the period in which Jones was in Halifax, are lost, but Masons met regularly at that time, as Masonry was at its zenith in Halifax, and if those lost records are ever found, we believe the tradition that Jones was a visitor of this Lodge will be found true, as he visited Masonry wherever he went."

During a time of great stress and extreme penury Jones had the good fortune to meet a certain Dr. Read, a Mason, who was later Grand Master of Virginia, and the author of an *Ahiman Rezon*, published in Richmond, Virginia. It is conjectured that the meeting may have taken place at Fredericksburg. When they disclosed to each other that they were both Masons, Dr. Read took the forlorn wanderer to his own home, and gave him generous and abiding shelter. It may have been Read who introduced Jones to the Virginian leaders, with whom he seems to have been on friendly terms—Washington, Jefferson, the Lees, and the Dandridges, all of them Freemasons. It may be mentioned that it was at this period that a romance developed between Miss Dandridge and Jones, but though it grew rapidly, it came to an abrupt termination, and the cloud-capt towers came tumbling down at the disillusioning news that the fair one had given herself to a middle-aged widower as his second wife.

For a continuation of Jones' Masonic activities we now have to transport ourselves to France. The influence of Freemasonry upon the selection of American leaders in the War has already been noted. Washington, Putnam, Montgomery, Anthony Wayne, Sullivan, Warren, Paul Revere, Thomas Paine, Lafayette, Kosciusko, Baron De Kalb, Count Pulaski, and Benedict Arnold were all Masons, and so were many Colonial statesmen, including Jones' friends on the Marine Committee—Joseph Hewes and Robert Morris. The Grand Master who presided over the destinies of the French Lodges at the time when Jones was in Paris was the Duc de Chartres, afterwards the Duc d'Orleans, and his Duchess was a leader in an 'adoptive' Lodge of women Masons affiliated with the Lodge of Candour. "Many ladies of the Court were proud to be 'francmaçonnnes,' including the Princesse de Lamballe, Madame Campan, and the Countess de Polignac. It may be imagined how delighted these ladies were to welcome a genuine hero from an exotic land as a fellow-member, this being the young man who had once joined the humble Lodge at Kirkcudbright as plain John Paul, mariner." Amongst a number of French ships which Jones assembled as a battle squadron, there was a privateer named the *Monsieur*. This is described as being a splendid vessel of forty guns, but the reason that I mention it here is that it was said to be "a new ship built for an East Indian, but purchased by an association of ladies of Marie Antoinette's court, of whom the leading spirit and chief contributor was Marie Adelaide, Duchesse de Chartres." So that Jones had in his squadron a vessel which might truly be called Masonic, one which would continually remind him of his popularity with the *haute monde* of the Paris of that day.

Jones, during the highest time of his prosperity, when he was feted and adulated by countless French admirers, joined the famous Lodge *Les Neuf Soeurs*. No doubt the fact that Franklin was then occupying the chair of the Lodge greatly influenced him. A notice in Bachaumont's *Memoires Secrets* gives us

many details respecting Jones' introduction to the Lodge. You will observe the mellifluous terms in which it is couched. "Everyone knew that the celebrated Paul Jones was a sailor, following in the footsteps of our greatest men in that walk of life: but they did not know that he courted Apollo before enrolling himself under the banner of Mars: this is news given us in an oration delivered by the orator of the Lodge *Les Neuf Soeurs*, M. de la Dixmerie, on Monday, May 1. 1780." In this discourse Brother Dixmerie refers to the origin of Masonry, which he throws back to the time of the ancient chivalric Orders, which in themselves bear traces of resemblance to still older mysteries. He reminds the assembled brethren that they are holding a special Lodge for the purpose of welcoming one who has been accounted a hero, one to whom, faithful to the traditions which govern their Lodge, they wish to do signal honour. He goes on to point out that in order to clear away any suspicion of mean denunciation of England, or any cynical comment on her actions, he is endeavouring to render justice where justice is due, and that he therefore places on the same plane, as both possessed of equal worth, Paul Jones, the victor, and Pearson, the defeated English naval commander. He concludes his speech with a quatrain, which I forbear to translate, as, when Anglicised, it loses its delicate sentiment, though I believe I did attempt a feeble rendering in my paper dealing with Franklin.

Jones died in Paris in July, 1792, and for about a year before his death he was in the habit of meeting many revolutionary celebrities at a house in the Rue Vivienne. "Some of these men were Freemasons, a fact which doubtless abated Jones' original prejudice against them. But the French Freemasonry of that day had but little in common with the club-like form developed in America or with the conservative type known to England and Scotland. It was socially radical, politically liberal, free-thinking, and permeated with the rationalism and scepticism preached in the prolific volumes of Voltaire. In consequence the tradition that Freemasonry is subversive of governments was set up in continental Europe, and this explains why to this day it is suspected and banned by certain rulers and dictators."

These are the salient features of Jones' Masonic career, and I must now pass on to tell you something of his life. But in the transition from one phase of our subject to another, I cannot resist making some quotations from a letter written by Mrs. Adams, the wife of the well-known John Adams, during her residence in the French capital, as it is an amusing commentary on some of Jones' characteristics. So let us hear what Abigail Adams has to say:—"Chevalier Jones you have heard much of. He is a most uncommon character. From the intrepid character he justly supported in the American Navy, I expected to have seen a rough, stout, war-like Roman: instead of that I should sooner think of wrapping him up in cotton wool and putting him in my pocket, than sending him to contend with cannon balls. He is small of stature, well-proportioned, soft in his speech, easy in his address, polite in his manners, vastly civil, understands all the etiquette of a lady's toilet as perfectly as he does the mast, sails and rigging of his ship. He knows how often the ladies use the baths, what color best suits a lady's complexion, what cosmetics are most favorable to the skin. We do not often see the warrior and the Abigail thus united."

Before entering on a rapid sketch of the life of Jones, I should like to say that my mind has recently been occupied with the life and doings of a great Scottish worthy, Robert Burns. Strange and paradoxical as it may seem to say so, I do discern some faint points of similarity between Burns and Jones. They were both Scotch born and bred: they both sprang from humble origins: they both displayed in mature years an extraordinary intellectual activity: both were fond of music; both owned allegiance to the Muse of poetry; both moved with ease and efficiency in the world of fashion; both were more than susceptible captivated by female charms; both struggled against what were at times overwhelming odds: both died disappointed men; both were Masons; both were well acquainted with the French tongue; both died when comparatively young men. Thus far and no farther: my similarities are exhausted. You may think they are far-fetched, but even the most critical will acknowledge points of contact.

And now some details as to the life of Paul Jones. I have already stated the time and place of his birth. All that is known about his childhood is that he played, waded, and sailed toy ships on the shores of the Solway Firth: that he sometimes crossed in fishermen's boats to the English town of Whitehaven: and that he was in time sent to school by his Presbyterian parents. When twelve or fourteen years old he made his first trip to America, as an apprentice on the brig *Friendship*, and landed at Fredericksburg, Virginia, where his brother William had settled. This little Virginia town on the Rappahannock became a lodestar to the youthful Paul. He said in later years that "since his earliest boyhood America had been the country of his fond predilection." Paul eventually served as mate on various trading ships, and even for a time on a slaver, the latter giving him an experience which, though distasteful and hateful to him, stood him in good stead in lessons of humane treatment of those sailors who were afterwards under his authority, and for whom he had ever a watchful care. During an interval of this career at sea, in which he passed his early manhood, he, when in Jamaica, joined a theatrical troupe, and played Bevil in "The Conscious Hour," an experience which is credited with giving him that self-assurance and courtly grace which distinguished him everywhere.

It was while Paul was serving as a mate in a British ship that he was made a Mason. He was then twenty-three years old. When he was twenty-six he was made captain of a ship called the *Betsy*. Whilst this ship was at Tobago, in the British West Indies, trouble arose through Paul, who was a strict disciplinarian, flogging a carpenter who refused to work. The enraged fellow filed charges against Paul, but the Court dismissed the case as trivial. The wildest rumours were set afoot concerning this incident; it was even said that Captain Paul had found the carpenter asleep, had anointed his head with turpentine, and had laid a train of gunpowder and set him afire. But this was not the worst misfortune, for at a later time, and again at Tobago, Paul accidentally killed a mutineer, who threatened him with a cudgel. This caused such an outburst of native feeling that Paul, at the advice of his friends, had to escape from the probable danger of being lynched. His enemies did not forget these events: the sad memory of them dogged his footsteps all his life: and slanderous tongues in later years, when jealous of his success, even hinted that in an access of rage he had killed his own nephew. From the time when he fled from Tobago, for a period of nearly two years, all actual data disappear, and conjecture is our only guide as to Paul's movements. It may be supposed that it was during this time that he met the Dr. Read whom I have already mentioned. It has also been suggested that during part of this time Paul was a house guest of Willie and Allen Jones, of North Carolina, and that in gratitude for their fostering care he with their consent took the name of Jones, thus becoming John Paul Jones. Another suggestion is that he called himself Jones, because the name was sufficiently common on the American continent to enable him to avoid undesirable attention and escape possible identification.

Just how Jones made the leap from the pines of inland Virginia to the quarterdeck of one of the first American fighting ships has never been adequately explained. It was on the *Ranger* in 1777 that Jones set sail, being appointed messenger to carry the news of the surrender of General Burgoyne to the American Commissioners in Paris. In 1778 France made public her Treaty of Alliance with the American Colonies, and this happening excited the martial ardour of Jones. He drew out of Brest, still in his ship, the *Ranger*, and headed North into the Irish Channel. He made an attack on Whitehaven, the town of his childhood's memory, but it somewhat miscarried from its original plan. Still it was sufficient to carry fear and confusion amongst the inhabitants, and such fear was further enhanced by the report of the attack on St. Mary's Isle. Jones' explanation of this second attack was that he meant to seize the Earl of Selkirk as a hostage to be exchanged for American prisoners who were being scurvily treated in English jails. But the Earl was not at home, and the only means of pacifying those seamen who were

eager for loot was to seize the family plate. There may have been a more hidden reason for this raid. Jones, for a good part of his life, entertained, through rumours he had heard, the belief that he was an illegitimate son of the Earl, and he allowed the rancorous poison of this belief to act as a canker-worm, and he may have devised this attack out of petty spite for the shame that he thought had been cast upon him. Later years dissipated this baseless belief. It is only fair to Jones to say that, on returning to France, he bought back the plate and returned it to the Countess, with a lengthy letter, from which I must make a quotation. He writes:—"Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of man, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. Before this war was begun, I had, at an early time of life, withdrawn from sea service in favor of 'calm contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favorite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace among mankind. The honor of a line from your hand will lay me under a singular obligation. I wish to know the exact behavior of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty." After some delay the plate arrived at Castle Douglas intact, "with the tea leaves still in the kettle, where even to this day it is offered to the inspection of any American visitors."

It was during this expedition in the *Ranger* that the British war sloop, *Drake*, was captured, and was taken triumphantly into the harbour at Brest. After many months of enforced idleness and weary scheming to obtain a new command, Jones obtained an interview with the French king, which had as a result a Royal order for the *Duras*, a forty-gun ship, to be placed under Jones' command. The *Duras* was re-named the *Bon Homme Richard*. This was Jones' compliment to his esteemed friend, Franklin. It was this ship that engaged the British ship *Serapis* off Flamborough Head, and a battle resulted which is famous in the annals of naval warfare. Whoever reads the story of that engagement, and can appreciate the fact that though the *Bon Homme Richard* was riddled to death by shot and shell, she yet sank as victor in the combat, will not be able to resist a thrill of admiration for the undaunted courage displayed by Jones in this terrific struggle. Nor will anyone fail to admire the generous way in which Jones treated his captive, Captain Pearson. "No further triumphs awaited Jones in the ensuing years: no great fleets were ever placed under his capable command; this was his unique and crowning achievement. This unforgettable exhibition of his personal quality and potentiality raised him at once to equal rank with the greatest naval commanders of history. His astonishing reply to Pearson, when asked if he had surrendered his doomed and sinking ship, expressed in his characteristic simple phrase, 'I have not yet begun to fight,' has become a national battle-cry, and is his password to the company of heroes."

On Jones' return to Paris, Louis XVI. bestowed on him a sword of honour, and also awarded the medal of Military Merit and the right to use the title of Chevalier. Marie Antoinette was anxious to see the hero, and had him presented at one of the Court levées. She afterwards had him brought to her box at the Opera, and presented to him a fob chain and seal. I may quote, as an instance of the popular enthusiasm which now animated the Parisians, this passage from Bachaumont's *Memoires*:—"Paul Jones is still here; after having received rounds of applause at different theatres, he has appeared on the boulevards. When it was known that he was going to the Opera, an immense crowd assembled to see his entry. M. Parisot, the director, had conceived the idea of suspending a crown in the air, and this by means of a pulley was at the given moment to hover over the head of the hero and finally descend upon his brows. Jones, who had been forewarned of this stupidity, humbly begged that the ceremony should be omitted. The play performed was 'The Siege of Granada,' M. Parisot took the part of the Comte d'Estaing, and at the conclusion of the performance came forth in his stage costume and conducted Paul Jones to his carriage."

There are many interesting occurrences in Jones' life which I have not space or time to relate, so I pass on to the period when representations were made to him which induced him to take service under the Empress Catherine in Russia. It was once believed by European gossips that Catherine, attracted by the fame and gallantry of Jones, sent for him with a view to adding him to her staff of lovers, and that she expected him to impart a new sensation to her somewhat worn emotions; but there is little ground for such an hypothesis. It has been suggested that her interest in Jones may have been heightened by the fact that he was a Freemason, she herself having become *tutrice* of the Masonic Lodge of Clio in Moscow. It was the French Ambassador, the Comte de Segur, who presented Jones to the Empress. Jones seems to have been overwhelmed by the introduction, for he writes:—"Her Majesty gave me so flattering a reception and treated me with so much distinction, that I was overcome by her courtesies, and put myself in her hands without making any stipulation for my personal advantage. I demanded but one favour, that I should never be condemned unheard." The nobility of St. Petersburg besieged Jones with invitations, and for a fortnight he lived in the same blaze of glory that had distinguished his enthusiastic reception in Paris.

Before Jones arrived in Russia the Empress had already issued an order to Prince Potemkin "to change by our grace the rank of Paul Jones to that of Rear Admiral, as soon as he presents himself to you, and to confer a charge upon him in the fleet of the Black Sea according to your appreciation." She also sent Jones by special courier a thousand ducats to defray the expenses of his journey. Jones was given command of the fleet in the Liman, but his command was divided with the Prince of Nassau, so he started his campaign against the Turks under somewhat hampering conditions. The war in which Jones was to engage had for its primary object the taking of the town of Otchakov on the Black Sea. Catherine's ultimate purpose was the conquest of Constantinople, and the re-establishment of the Greek empire. Jones was not long in putting to flight part of the Turkish squadron. Nassau claimed the victory for himself, and Potemkin wrote to Jones to thank him for assisting Nassau. As a result of his representations the Order of Saint-Anne was bestowed on Jones. As time proceeded, matters did not develop happily for Jones. An extract from the Memoirs of the Comte de Segur will explain the position:—"Paul Jones, a sharer in the victories of the Prince of Nassau, had returned to Petersburg; his enemies, unable to bear the triumph of a man whom they treated as a vagabond, a rebel, and a corsair, resolved to destroy him. On a sudden Catherine commanded Jones to appear no more in her presence. He was informed that he was accused of assaulting a young girl of fourteen, and that probably he would be tried by the Courts of Admiralty, in which there were many English officers, who were strongly prejudiced against him. I went to see him: he was moved even to tears by my visit. 'I swear to you upon my honour,' he said, 'that I am innocent, and a victim of the most infamous calumny. This is the truth.' " And it was the truth, for it was discovered afterwards that the old woman who was accompanying the girl and passing herself off as her mother was herself a professional prostitute. The Count goes on to say that Catherine, when possessed of the actual facts of the case, revoked her rigorous orders, recalled Jones to Court, and received him with her usual kindness. But that is not historically accurate, for though Jones was indeed permitted to appear again at Court, it was merely for the ceremony of taking leave of the Empress, when he had been virtually dismissed from Russia. And so, after various journeyings on his way to France, we find him once more in Paris, fretting his heart out at enforced idleness, always hoping to be recalled to Russia, ever scheming to get another naval command. But the end was approaching. He returned to Paris in 1790; in the summer of 1792 he began to exhibit symptoms of Bright's disease, and on July 18th of that year he passed away, aged forty-five years. He died in his residence in the Rue de Tournon. Some weeks ago, when I was in Paris, I called one afternoon at No. 19, which is the house, and which has now an antiquary's shop on the ground-floor. But the shop was locked up for the



remainder of the day, it being a Saturday. I do not suppose I should have got any information, as Jones has entirely passed from memory there. Some time ago I asked some French friends, who live in the same street at No. 31, if they knew anything about Paul Jones. They had never heard of the man!

Jones' funeral rites were very simple. His body was placed in a lead coffin and taken to the St. Louis Protestant Cemetery. The National Assembly appointed twelve members to "assist at the funeral of a man who has so well served the cause of liberty." The Americans present numbered three. One of these wrote, "there was no priest, nor any funeral service, but a few soldiers fired a volley of muskets in honor of the naval hero over his grave." A funeral oration was delivered by Henri Marson, a member of the Assembly.

One may here appropriately introduce those wonderful words of Carlyle, which may be found in his *French Revolution*:—"On thee, too, for country's sake, O chevalier John Paul, be a word spent or misspent. In faded naval uniform lingers Paul Jones visible here: like a wineskin from which the wine is all drawn. Like the ghost of himself! What changes, culminatings, and declinings! In far lands, with scarlet Nassau-Siegens, with sinful Catherinees, is not the heart broken, even as at home with the mean? Poor Paul! Hunger and disappointment track thy sinking footsteps: once or at most twice, in this Revolution tumult, the figure of thee emerges: mute, ghostlike, as 'with stars dim-twinkling through.' And then, when the light is gone out, a National Legislature grants 'ceremonial funeral.' As good had been a natural Presbyterian kirk-bell and six feet of Scottish earth, among the dust of thy loved ones."

America did not altogether forget Paul Jones. In 1831 Lieutenant Pinkham of the United States Navy, when travelling in Scotland, found the house where Jones was born and had it restored at his own expense. In 1834 Congress authorized the naming of a ship after John Paul Jones. In 1845 George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, was asked for permission to convey the body to America, but legal complications interfered. In 1899 General Porter, United States Ambassador to France, resolved at his own expense to find the body of Jones. Much search located the forgotten cemetery, and excavations began in 1905. After examining five leaden coffins that were brought to light, a nameless one was fixed upon as containing the body of Jones. The remains were preserved in alcohol. The studies of several distinguished French scientists convinced them it was Jones. It was found that the kidneys had been affected by disease. The body was removed, the excavations subjecting General Porter to law-suits which lasted for years. The funeral service held in the American church at Paris was attended by a most distinguished audience. The coffin was then conveyed to the Esplanade des Invalides and placed upon a catafalque erected beneath a tent of superb construction. The troops filed by the remains and rendered the highest military honours to the illustrious dead. Crowds of Parisians viewed the solemn pageant. From Paris the coffin was taken to Cherbourg and placed on board the *Brooklyn* amid the thunder of the guns of the American and French ships. Eventually the coffin was placed in a sarcophagus in a beautiful crypt built of marble and bronze in the chapel of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. General Porter, in his memorial address at Annapolis, said: "The history of John Paul Jones reads more like a romance than reality. His rise from the humble master's apprentice to the command of conquering squadrons; his transition from a low-born peasant boy to the favorite of imperial courts; crouching at times within the shadow of obscurity, at other times standing on the highest pinnacle of fame—these are some of the features of his marvellous career that appeal to the imagination, excite men's wonder, and fascinate the minds of all who make a study of his life."

It would be unfair if, as a counterblast to all I have written, I did not mention a work which is entitled *Authentic Memoirs of Captain Paul Jones, the American Corsair*, and was published in London in 1779. It purported to be written by Mr. Theophilus Smart, "who escaped from Jones' vessel a few minutes before she sank." On page 7 of this work we are informed that "society now justly execrates Paul Jones as a monster of ingratitude and cruelty."

Page 10 tells us that Jones was considered "as a public nuisance to the country for several miles round—he associated only with those of the most profligate and abandoned manners," and on page 11 we read that Jones "seemed to derive a peculiar satisfaction from putting the domestic animals about the house to the most extreme torture." A little further on Jones is presented to us as a wholesale seducer, attempting to violate every woman with whom he came in contact. He is then presented to our gaze as a ruthless highwayman. He then abandons his wife, which is highly entertaining news, as Jones was never married. He continues his amatory adventures on reaching a French watering place called Bologne. (I perceive that Mr. Smart could not even spell correctly.) He later apparently married an Irish barmaid at this same Bologne, and gave an elegant entertainment to the customers of the house, in which he assumed the functions of head-waiter. To the poorer sort he distributed wine, spirits, and roast beef. This item is printed in capital letters, and then follows this remark: "In this last instance he paid one mark of respect to Old England." This monster eventually came to London, and hired a lodging in Mercer's Street, Long Acre, and immediately proceeded to debauch his landlady's daughter. Finally we are told that "the day after his landing, Paul Jones appeared in the 'Change at Amsterdam, dressed very similar to the naval uniform of this country. So greatly did this desperado excite public curiosity that a total stagnation was put to the business among the traders, and he was followed through the streets by immense crowds of people, who complimented him with loud acclamations on account of his hard-won victory." From these references you can begin to understand what Paul Jones had to endure during his lifetime from some unruly spirits who occasionally served under him as seamen.

I am afraid I have but little space left for the matter of embellishment. However, I must squeeze in as much as I can. In *Israel Potter*, a book which is now becoming a rarity, there is a good deal about Franklin, as also about Jones. There is an excellent portraiture of Jones in this passage:—"Jones was a rather small, elastic, swarthy man, with an aspect as of a distinguished Indian chief in European clothes. An unvanquishable enthusiasm, intensified to perfect sobriety, couched in his savage, self-possessed eye. He was elegantly and somewhat jauntily dressed as a civilian: he carried himself with a rustic, barbaric jauntiness, strangely dashed with a superinduced touch of the Parisian 'salon.' His tawny cheek, like a date, spoke of the tropic. A wonderful atmosphere of proud friendliness and scornful isolation invested him. Yet there was a bit of the poet as well as the outlaw in him, too. A cool solemnity of intrepidity sat on his lip. He looked like one who never had been, and never would be, a subordinate."

In a heated interview with Franklin regarding war and preparations for the same, Jones is made to say, "Everything is lost through this shillyshallying timidity called prudence. To be effectual, war should be carried on like a monsoon: one changeless determination of every particle toward the one unalterable aim. But in vacillating councils statesmen idle about like cat's-paws in calms. My God, why was I not born a Czar!" I content myself with these extracts from a novel which is really a scholarly contribution to Jonesian (I must coin the word) fiction.

In *The Tory Lover*, Jones, when addressing a party of gentlemen in the house of Colonel Hamilton, in America, becomes autobiographical:—"I was easily enough tempted to follow the sea: I was trading in the *Betsy* at seventeen, and felt myself a man of experience. I began to follow the sea when I was but a child, yet I was always ambitious of command, and ever thinking how I might best study the art of navigation. I myself have flung away friends and fortune for my adopted country, and she has been but a stingy young step-mother to me. I go to fight her cause on the shores that gave me birth: I trample some dear recollections under foot." In another part of the book Jones is conversing with his friend, Lieutenant Wallingford, and when the conversation turns to French affairs, Jones bursts forth with this impetuous exclamation, "My

heart leaps within me when I think that I shall soon stand upon the shore of France," and he continues, "Within a few days I shall see the Duke of Chartres. No man ever took such hold of my affections at first acquaintance as that French prince. We knew each other first at Hampton Roads, where he was with Kersaint, the French commodore. 'Tis now two years since we have met, but I cannot believe that I shall find him changed: I can feel my hand in his already." When Jones arrived in France he betook himself with Wallingford to see Franklin in Paris. Franklin, in the course of conversation, says with his usual sententiousness, "When you are as old as I, Captain Paul Jones, you will have learned that delays appear sometimes to be the work of those who are wiser than we. If life has anything to teach us, it is patience: but patience is the hardest thing to teach those men who have the makings of a hero in their breasts." When the two have left Franklin, Jones turns to his companion and says, "You sat there, most of the time, like an elder of the kirk, but you and Mr. Franklin seemed to understand each other all the better. The higher a man gets the less he needs of speech. My Lord Selkirk and his mates, and my dear Duke of Chartres, they do it all with a nod and a single word, but poor folks may chatter the day through." On another occasion of converse with Wallingford on board the *Ranger*, Jones displays his inner feelings in these words: "I loved Britain as a man may only love his mother country; but I was misjudged and treated with such bitter harshness and contempt in my younger days that I renounced my very birthright. I cannot help it now; I have made the break, and have given my whole allegiance to our new Republic, and all the strength of me shall count for something in the building of her noble future."

Cooper's *Pilot* is a work which treats mainly of Jones' attack on St. Mary's Isle. Jones is the Pilot, and he appears shrouded in an air of mystery throughout the various nautical adventures which go to make the story. I think that Cooper speaks with some discernment when he says in his preface: "The *Pilot* could scarcely be a favourite with females. The story has little interest for them, nor was it much needed by the author of the book, in the progress of his labors. His aim was to illustrate vessels and the ocean, rather than to draw pictures of sentiment and love." I shall give you only one extract from this book, and that is a passage which may be found at its end. A husband and wife are talking about Jones, whose death they have seen announced in the papers, and the husband very practically and very truthfully makes these remarks about the departed Pilot:—"His devotion to America proceeded from desire of distinction, his ruling passion, and perhaps a little also from resentment at some injustice which he claimed to have suffered from his own countrymen. He was a man, and not therefore without foibles—among which may have been reckoned the estimation of his own acts; but they were most daring, and deserving of praise! neither did he at all merit the obloquy that he received from his enemies. His love of liberty may be more questionable: for if he commenced his deeds in the cause of these free states, they terminated in the service of a despot!"

In *Richard Carvel* you will find some highly entertaining references to Jones. Carvel touches upon Jones' fondness for poetry, and as I have only faintly hinted at this characteristic, I may quote the passage:—"Jones was in particular partial to the poets, could quote at will from Gay and Thomson and Goldsmith and Gray, and even from Shakespeare. Saving only Dr. Courtenay of Annapolis I had never met his equal for versatility of speech and command of fine language: and, having heard that he had been at sea since the age of twelve, I made bold to ask him at what school he had got his knowledge. 'At none, Richard,' he answered, 'saving the rudiments at the Parish School at Kirkbean. Why, sir, I hold it to be within every man's province to make himself what he will, and I early recognised in Learning the only guide for such as me. I may say that I married her for the furtherance of my fortunes, and have come to love her for her own sake.'" In the course of the narrative we light upon Horace Walpole's first impression of Jones:—"A strange, Scotch sea-captain, who talked French like a Parisian, and quoted Shakespeare like Mr. Burke or Dr. Johnson. He may have been M. Caron de Beaumarchais,

for I never saw him, or a soothsayer, or Cagliostro the magician, for he guessed my name." *Richard Carrel* is a book quite worth the reading. It is written by Winston Churchill, not the Winston you are possibly thinking about, but the American author of that name.

There has just now come into my possession a book published in 1826. *Paul Jones, A Romance*, by Allan Cunningham, and a romance it truly is, for it presents a story which is not only highly coloured, but in many instances so highly absurd as to raise more than a smile. It is now a very rare book, and it is extremely difficult to get hold of a copy. I should like to give you two instances of its extreme romanticism, which almost borders on caricature. In the third volume we are in Russia, and the description given of the Empress and her surroundings is simply ridiculous. We come to a handsome lodge amid an encampment of tents and huts. The lodge seems to be suddenly transformed into a palace, for we read: "The porch of this palace in the wilderness was emblazoned with the arms of Russia, and on its summit the Imperial banner was unfurled." Jones and his companion, Lord Dalveen, "now entered the lodge, and found it filled with the noble youths of Russia—with ladies of the court and the Imperial officers. They were conducted into a hall of audience, and there sat the Empress Katherine, on a couch covered with leopard-skins, with a footstool under her feet overlaid with gold. Her look was noble, her high white forehead was shaded with luxurious tresses, and her eye seemed to look through one. A jewelled robe was thrown with careful negligence over her person—the crown of her empire lay at her feet, and on her right hand and on her left stood two young noblemen, their hands placed on the crosses of their sheathed swords, with pistols of the costliest workmanship at their belts. 'Strangers,' said Katherine, 'what would ye with the Empress of all the Russias? Come ye to offer her service, or come ye as suppliants?'" Jones explains that he is the bearer of despatches; the Empress reads them exultingly, and praises her gallant Nassau. Paul is incensed at the omission of his name, and tells the Empress straightly that the Prince of Nassau has abused her ear and given her a false report; to this the Empress answers, "Admiral Paul Jones, Katherine of Russia is glad to see you, and, since her chief admiral has overlooked your merit, the Empress will now acknowledge your worth herself. Kneel down." Paul knelt at her feet, and with her own hand she decorated him with the star of the order of St. Anne. "Round the neck," said the Empress, "where the fair dames of France wound their arms, I have placed the order most revered in my empire." Later on, when she has sufficiently dallied with Lord Dalveen, the Empress again addresses Jones, and in these terms: "Katherine gives you leave to retire from her Court: the air of France will be favourable for your health, and your principles will no longer alarm your sensitive countrymen in my service. Accept this signet-ring as a mark of my admiration of your bravery. Your pay as an admiral will be regularly remitted. One word more, Chevalier; write to Katherine of Russia, and write in verse, in which I hear you excel." Apparently, Mr. Cunningham is quite undisturbed by the use of anachronisms.

Another passage relates how Jones, caught up in the swelling tide of a revolutionary crowd in Paris, is hurried along to the entrance to a cathedral. "He was conducted into the edifice by a private way; the saints were cast from their niches, the flags won in foreign wars were trodden under foot; in the middle stood an altar, and on it sat a young lady of extraordinary beauty, with no other covering but a large white veil and a clustering luxuriance of tresses. A man came forward and cried with a loud voice, 'Citizens and fellow-republicans, the superstition of priests is abolished, the religion of nature is established! Behold the fairest of her works, come ye therefore and worship.' The veil as he spoke was withdrawn, and there sat the Goddess of Nature in unattired loveliness. Disgusted and shocked, Paul escaped from this scene of folly and guilt." Paul appears then or later to have been dragged along to the Hall of Convention in order that he might mount the tribune, and harangue the raging populace. "Prince Egalité," once the Duc de Chartres, appears to be there also. If it had ever happened, what a strange meeting! Brother Masons,

and yet now how divided! One near his death in the loneliness of his chamber, and the other even now almost under the shadow of the guillotine! So you see our friend Cunningham gives us to think, as the French say, even if he does concoct, goodness knows from what materials, the most amazing history of his hero.

*Drums* is also a book that makes mention of Jones, but in this one only gets occasional glances of the hero: still, the work has its interest as a reflection of the times and manners of a bygone age.

I ought to mention that Dumas wrote a play about Jones. *Le Capitaine Paul* was produced on the French stage, but it met with but little success. It is intensely melodramatic, and deals almost entirely with some supposed amorous adventures of Jones when in the tropics.

There is another work of fiction which figures forth Jones, *Over the Hills and far away*, by George Fleming, but I have never been able to find a copy of it.

And now as to a general estimate of the character of Paul Jones. I will say, in the words of Mrs. de Koven, that "in the traits which characterize the ideal naval officer, he resembles Nelson, who was, like Jones, quick to resent an affront, and as quick to forgive. In idleness he was taciturn, falling, like Nelson, into uncontrollable discomfort and ill-health. 'I have almost killed myself with grief,' he wrote, while waiting for his command from the French government. 'In truth, I have been half-dead.' Nelson declared in a like period of inaction. If Nelson despised to make his fortune out of his services to his country, so did Paul Jones give freely out of his little hoard to pay the crews of his ships." Jones' vague assertion to Lady Selkirk that he was a citizen of the world, and the general avenger of the wrongs of human nature, may be assigned to his desire to excuse his seeming disloyalty to his native land. The country of his 'fond election' may well pardon this seeming disloyalty of word, in view of the glorious services he performed. Those services he many times reviewed and estimated, leaving in the following phrases a summary which might well have been inscribed upon his monument: "In 1775 Paul Jones arrived and embarked in the first American ship of war. In the Revolution he had twenty-three battles and rencountres by sea: made seven descents in Britain and her colonies: took of her navy two ships of equal and two of superior force, many store ships and others: constrained her to fortify her ports: suffer the Irish volunteers: desist from the cruel burning in America and exchange as prisoners of war the American citizens taken on the ocean and cast into the prisons of England." If Jones shared certain of the characteristic sailor qualities with Nelson, in native traits and constructive energy he was still more like Alexander Hamilton. "A fatal lack of physical endurance, a failure in philosophy, combined with a truly perverse and pursuing fate, overwhelmed Paul Jones with disappointment and buried his ambitions and his possibilities of further usefulness in an untimely grave. Opportunity came with providential ease to Hamilton, and in the high companionship of Washington and the happiest domestic associations his marvellous years grew to their full perfection."

Phillips Russell says of Jones that "it was his misfortune to be born a little too late. In another century, or even in the first half of the eighteenth, his romantic impulses, his knightly rôle, might have had fuller scope. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, which saw him reach maturity, the world was hardening. With the birth of industrialism and the development of commerce, society was becoming 'practical minded': and so the Don Quixotry of a 'Bayard of the ocean' appeared to some of his employers to be eccentric if not actually wild. The windmills, already feeling the colder currents of the nineteenth century, broke his slender sword in pieces and tossed him to one side, unwanted."

Let us quickly recapitulate, with the aid of Buell, the phases of Jones' career:—Sailor at twelve: mate at seventeen: captain at twenty: naval lieutenant at twenty-eight: captain at twenty-nine: commodore at thirty-two;

at thirty-three a Knight of France, the most famous sea-victor of his time: at thirty-six selected as special envoy to the most aristocratic of courts: at forty voted a gold medal by Congress: at forty-one a vice-admiral in the navy of an empire; at forty-three a figure in the French Revolution—and at forty-five dead."

My task is now finished. I hope you are not disappointed with my introduction of this subject. I said in the beginning that I wanted to clear away the mists of superstition; I trust I have succeeded in doing so. Henceforth I shall be on the look-out for those who, with a withering sneer, say, "Oh, Paul Jones, he was only a pirate." My introduction of extracts from works of fiction may have seemed to you unnecessary. I am not of that opinion—they may not be of much value in themselves, but put them together and they form a more or less correct image, a personality, and that is what we want, a mind picture of the man who is engaging our attention.

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Items marked thus (\*) are magazine articles.

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A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. de Lafontaine, on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. D. Knoop; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. Brinkworth, T. Simpson Pedler, Ivor Grantham, H. W. Sayers, Geo. W. Bullamore, and W. W. Corey-Crump.

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Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

It is my privilege to propose a vote of thanks for the paper we have just heard read. This adds one more to the series of interesting and instructive biographical sketches by which we have been at once enlightened and entertained. We can always be sure of a literary treat on such occasions.

Our Brother has returned to one of his old loves, namely, the Lodge *Les Neuf Soeurs*. And it is true that in that Lodge there were several eminent personages.

At different times our Brother has dealt with the careers of Voltaire, and of Benjamin Franklin, and now we have a word portrait of Paul Jones. All three were members of the said Lodge.

In these expositions our Brother has thoroughly enjoyed himself in a way which is joyfully infectious.

In dealing with such a character as Paul Jones he has toned down the sanguinary and emphasized the more agreeable side of his hero.

Sometimes he has perhaps acted as an advocate rather than as an exponent, and has paid at least due heed to the mollifying couplet:

"Be to his faults a little blind,  
Be to his virtues very kind."

Our Brother certainly places before us at least two sides of the character of Paul Jones, and appears to weigh him up in ethical balances: which are notoriously difficult to adjust.

He was this that and the other in the category of undesirability, but yet he was polite to the ladies, and was intimately acquainted with the mysteries of their toilette.

One sometimes wonders whether such debit and credit accounts are capable of being compared or whether they are incommensurables.

It cannot, however, be denied that history (and especially biography) gives us many instances of the two-sided nature of men and verifies the paradox of Ralph Erskine:

"To good and evil equal bent,  
I'm both a devil and a saint."

The people of Whitehaven probably concluded that they had seen the dark side of Paul Jones, formerly surnamed Paul, and were likely to be sceptical about the existence of any conspicuous virtues which might modify their original and calamitous first impressions.

It may be the case that Paul Jones had never heard the charge which enjoins the initiate to act as a good citizen:—

"Above all by never losing sight of the allegiance due to the sovereign of your native land, ever remembering that Nature has implanted in your breast a sacred and indissoluble attachment towards that country whence you derived your birth and infant nurture."

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Paul Jones departed entirely from the path so marked out for us, if not for him, and that he was not slandered if he were called a traitor to his King and Country.

It is now over fifty years ago since I first read a book on Paul Jones, and, although the book made much of his daring exploits, the impression remaining on me was that expressed by Lord Byron of "The Corsair," of whom (in the last two lines of the Poem so entitled) he says:—

"He left a Corsair's name to other times  
Link'd with one virtue and a thousand crimes."

Our Brother tells us that Paul Jones time after time yearned after a life of quiet pastoral contentment.

If so, he went about his quest for peace in a very singular way. Not content with attacking his fellow countrymen and allying himself with their enemies, he must needs enter the service of the gentle Empress Catherine of Russia.

He did not seek peace and ensue it, but rather his motto seems to have been:—

"Peace, Peace, no peace; peace is to me a War."

"I spread it out on a large table in the Museum and made a careful examination of it. There was nothing particular to learn about the flag itself as there was no information on the attached tag or label with the flag excepting its serial number and designation. It is about 6½ feet long and 6 feet wide and contains 13 stripes and 12 stars in a blue field, as shown in pictures of this particular flag. It is in fairly good condition, having been restored by the usual flag restoring process in the small number of worn places or bullet holes.

"I next proceeded to the Congressional Library, and there obtained Volume I., Publications of the Naval History Society, 1911—edited by Lieutenant-Commander John S. Barnes, U.S.N. Pages 22 and 23 give a log of the *Serapis*—sheets of which were torn from the log and placed in the Peter Force Collection, Volume VI., No. 29. I quote from the latter:—

" 'A battle started at 6 P.M.—Friday 24th Spt. 1779. *Bon homme Richard* sunk 11 A.M.—25th.'

" 'From *A Journal kept on board the SERAPIS*, 'Remarks on Sunday 26th Sept. 1779':—

" 'People employed refitting the Rigging, & of the *Serapis*, which Ship Capt. Jones as Commodore, had Hoisted his Flag the *Bon Homme Richard* sinking from the damage she received the Night of the Action.'

" 'Sunday Nov. 21st 1779. Account of Sundry Articles sent from on Board the *Serapis* . . . to the *Alliance* the 20th, 21st & 22nd of November as follows \* \* \* \* 1 Broad American Pendant, 1 American Ensign.'

" 'It would appear that this evidence substantiates the sinking of the *Bon Homme Richard* did not take place until the day following the battle. Other items along with those quoted distinctly show that this was the fact.

" 'In the list of articles sent from the *Serapis* the '1 American Ensign' that was sent aboard the *Alliance* would tend to show that this is probably the flag in question or at least is evidence that a flag was removed from the *Bon Homme Richard* to the *Serapis* and then to the *Alliance*, from which place it was sent to the Navy department and it is reasonable to assume that the flag now in the National Museum is that flag.'

In addition I might now add that it was and is the custom to use the flag as the visible object of the Commission of the presiding Naval Officer and if nothing else was saved from the battle, and the *Bon Homme Richard* floated many hours after the battle, thus making this possible, the commission flag would be recovered, above all else.

I congratulate Wor. Brother Lafontaine on his excellent presentation of the subject of his choice.

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BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

Few of us are absolutely bad or absolutely good, and no doubt Paul Jones was something other than unadulterated evil. In these latter days the heroes of the past have found their detractors, while the villains of history have had their merits set forth, and suitable apologies devised in explanation of their crimes. The chief exception seems to be King John, but I still entertain hopes that someone will point out that the Monkish chroniclers, from political bias, forbore to mention his numerous virtues, and that, in reality, he was fighting the good fight against a grasping and rapacious papacy.

A comparison of Paul Jones and Robert Burns, however, suggests dissimilarity rather than likeness. Burns was an endearing personality, loving his native land and happy in the kindly fellowship of his countrymen. There was



nothing snobbish about him, and in the society of lords and ladies he was probably not concerned in the manner in which it heightened his importance but in the feast of reason and flow of soul to which it gave rise. Paul Jones, on the other hand, had to abandon the life of a peaceful trader to avoid being lynched for murder. Then under a Welsh name he achieved success as a licensed pirate or privateer. In this career his talents were devoted to the slaughter of his countrymen, and the destruction or theft of their property, a traitorous use of the knowledge of his birthplace being an asset to him. Envy or worship of rank appears to have been an obsession, but he consoled himself for many years by cherishing the idea that he was really an earl unfortunately born on the "wrong side of the blanket." He promptly abandoned republican America to bask in the smiles of royalty in France. In that country, however, aristocracy was on the down grade, the very coinage having a King's head on one side and a cap of liberty on the other. So Paul Jones accepted rank and fame in Imperial Russia, and would have remained there but for his expulsion on a charge of immorality. The covering letter which accompanied the restoration of the silver plate to the Countess of Selkirk suggests that the underlying motive was a desire to show that he was now the social equal of these aristocrats of his boyhood's days. From the letter itself we learn that he was not slaughtering and robbing his countrymen in the cause of America, but to uphold the rights of man. Similar lofty sentiments were held by the most bloodthirsty judges of the reign of terror and the murderers of the late Czar. The truth is that Paul Jones was unmoral and was prepared, for his own advancement, to slaughter Britons, Turks or any other people.

While shedding a tear with Bro. Lafontaine over the hard fate which prevented Paul Jones from reaping greater benefits from his acts, we may console ourselves with the thought that, in being called to a maritime career, he was a favourite of fortune. His special talents, had he remained a landsman, might have led to his name being recorded on the scroll of fame with Richard Turpin and other popular heroes, in which case he might still have come to an untimely end, though not from Bright's disease.

Bro. Lafontaine mentions the love of music as a point of contact between Robert Burns and Paul Jones. Nisbet states that Burns had no aptitude for music. "Both the poet and his brother Gilbert took lessons in music, but, says their teacher, 'Robert's ear in particular was remarkably dull; it was long before I could get them to distinguish one tune from another.'" For a comparison, I should prefer to look in another direction. Wainewright, the poisoner, raised himself from a common soldier to be an essayist, forger and murderer. He wept tears of happiness and gratitude over Wordsworth's poems, and when in prison describes himself as the possessor of "a soul whose nutriment is love, and its offspring art, music, divine song and still holier philosophy." The late Charles Peace also was predatory, not averse to taking life, and had a very real passion for music. These are three points of contact with Paul Jones and research might increase the number.

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Bro. DE LAFONTAINE *writes*, in reply:—

Bro. Williams, with his usual graceful courtesy, says many charming things about the writer of the paper, and he is so honest a man, that I thank him for the thoroughly undeserved compliment.

I hope he does not think that I have too often assumed the rôle of "advocatus diaboli"; it has been my aim, so far as I could, to present an impartial picture of Jones, and if I have erred it will be noticed that in the beginning of my paper I have pleaded for Masonic tolerance. Perhaps a careful

and unbiassed judgment would help to restore to a necessary equilibrium those "ethical balances," which Bro. Williams cannot manage to adjust. Of course, if one throws into one "ethical balance" such unconsidered trifles as feminine adornments and sex-flattery, the consequent oscillation threatens an impending instability, which is somewhat alarming to a sober temperament. I hold no brief for Paul Jones either as a man or as a Mason, but I am persuaded that Franklin, with all his integrity of purpose, and sane outlook on life, would never have bestowed such paternal affection on Jones, if he had found him to be a worthless renegade and a sanguinary desperado. It always must be remembered that Jones suffered great provocation at the hands of his countrymen. He was almost forced to act as he did as a matter of self-defence. If Bro. Williams had read my paper carefully, he would have seen that the praise which he thinks was on my part over-done, is an actual quotation from the writings of one who was able to form a better estimate of Jones' bravery than ever I could have done.

Bro. Grantham refers to a dance called "Paul Jones." This has been brought to my notice on more than one occasion since I wrote the paper. I know nothing about the dance in question, but it seems to me, though bearing a faint resemblance to the old Lancers, to be as inane as any other modern dance. It might as well be called "The Rape of the Sabines" as "Paul Jones." But it is pleasing, when talking about Paul Jones in any form, to introduce once more that fascinating word "pirate." I shall soon begin to wonder what this word really does mean. Fancy a pirate kneeling before a French king to receive at his hands a sword of honour and the title of Chevalier. I can only smile at the idea.

Bro. Covey-Crump has pointed out that the scene mentioned in Allan Cunningham's book as taking place in a cathedral must refer to the Goddess of Liberty festival, which mad orgy took place a year after Jones' death. My only remark on that is "Stet"; it serves to add to the absurd anachronisms in the novel.

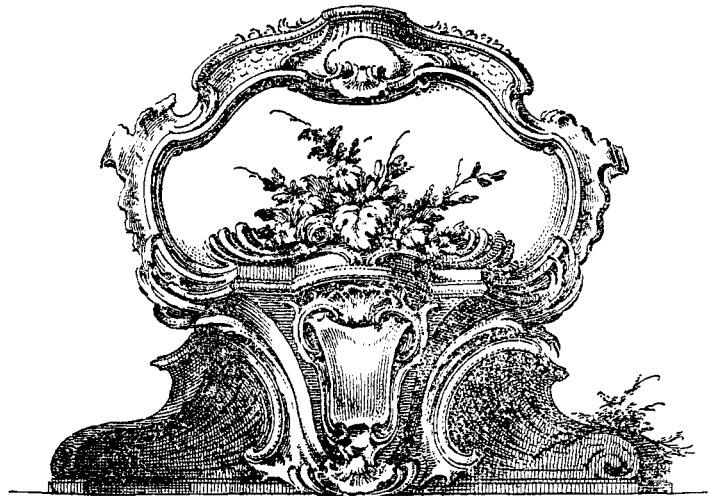
Bro. Sayers gives some interesting details regarding the formation of the American Navy. Perhaps I may venture to enlarge on them. The two "swift vessels" he alludes to are, if I mistake not, the *Lexington* and the *Reprisal*. The names of the committee, originally three in number and afterwards increased to seven, included such well-known ones as John Adams, Stephen Hopkins, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Henry Lee. It is related that Hopkins wrote out on the back of Jones' original lieutenant's commission his new commission as captain of the *Providence*. And so began Jones' acts of piracy, actually winked at by the American Congress, at least so Jones' detractors would have us believe. As a set-off against the attack on Jones in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1792, which Bro. Sayers quotes, I may quote some lines from a letter of Franklin's which purported to have been written by Jones:—"A pirate is defined to be 'hostis humani generis' : . . . A pirate makes war for the sake of rapine. Ours is a war in defence of liberty." But I must not continue further, or I shall be led into politics, a course against which I have set my face.

I am much obliged to Bro. Voorhis for his temperate and useful comments on my paper. I took the statement—that Jones visited St. John's Lodge No. 1—from an American magazine, *The Sojourner*, and it is also stated that he most likely visited the Royal White Hart Lodge of Halifax. *The Builder* also states, in an article on Paul Jones, that "both before and after the Revolution Jones was a frequent visitor at the Lodges in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York." Bro. Patten Brown tells us in another number of *The Builder* that it was whilst at Portsmouth that Jones chose Elijah Hall as first lieutenant of the *Ranger*. He goes on to say that the first anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated by the local Masonic Lodge making Hall a Mason. "'May you ever abide by its lessons,' said Jones to Hall."

In Mrs. de Koven's *Life and Letters of Paul Jones*, it is stated, with regard to the flag mentioned by Bro. Voorhis, that "a flag now preserved in Washington is claimed to have been the flag used by Jones on the *Ranger*, and afterwards on the *Bon Homme Richard*. It was probably never used on either ship, for Jones states in his account of the engagement with the *Serapis* that he lost all his flags, except a box of signals." Bro. Voorhis, however, seems to me to present a perfectly circumstantial account.

Bro. Bullamore empties out a flood of vitriolic wrath, which comes unexpectedly from one who is usually engaged in peaceful pursuits. The word "pirate" seems to inflame him almost as much as does the red cloth carried by the matador in a Spanish bull-fight. Bro. Bullamore can think what he likes about Paul Jones. We shall both hold our own opinion, but I think I know which is the more humane, righteous, and truthful one. To my mind, to mention in the same breath Jones, Wainwright, and Peace, is absolute nonsense.

A point on which Bro. Bullamore comes nigh to shipwreck is his allusion to music and Robert Burns. He does not weather the gale so skilfully as would an experienced "pirate." He says rightly that Nisbet writes that, as a lad, Burns had no aptitude for music. And is not that the case with countless other boys, who do not want another subject "to swot at," when they might be in the playground? But what of Burns' later life? Perhaps Bro. Bullamore would read carefully this passage from the introduction to "Notes on Scottish Song," by James Dick:—"Burns contributed at least 235 songs to the 'Scots Musical Museum,' as well as others not his own. He is now famed throughout the civilized world as one of the best song writers that ever lived." I could produce abundant proof of the truth of this statement. So let us hear no more about Burns not being musical.

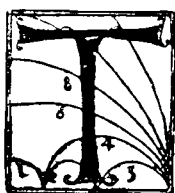


## SOME NOTES ON THREE EARLY DOCUMENTS RELATING TO MASONS.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP, M.A., AND G. P. JONES, M.A.

### I. A VALE ROYAL ABBEY BUILDING CONTRACT OF 1359.

#### (i.) *History of the Contract.*



THIS document and the other references to the works at Vale Royal contained in *The Black Prince's Registers*,<sup>1</sup> may be regarded as an addendum to our paper on *The First Three Years of the Building of Vale Royal Abbey, 1278-1280*.<sup>2</sup> The first reference occurs in September, 1353, when the prince made a grant of 500 marks to the abbot and convent of Vaureal towards the completion of the works of their church.<sup>3</sup> In February, 1354, on learning that the abbot and convent of Vaureal could not obtain as many workmen as they required for the works of their church, the prince ordered a commission to be made out to their nominee to take such masons and other workmen as were needed for the said works, at reasonable wages to be paid by the abbot and convent.<sup>4</sup> In September, 1358, the prince visited Vale Royal Abbey, and whilst there made a grant of 500 marks towards the completion of the church.<sup>5</sup> In June, 1359, new steps were taken to expedite the building operations. By an agreement between the prince and the abbot and convent of Vaureal of one part and Master William de Helpston, mason, of the other,<sup>6</sup> the abbot at his own costs was to begin the foundation of

<sup>1</sup> We have to thank Mr. H. C. Johnson, of the Public Record Office, for very kindly drawing our attention to these *Registers*, and for transcribing the Contract of 1359. Part iv., published in 1933, throws new light on the earlier career of Henry de Yevele. In March, 1358, he undertook to build certain walls, chimneys and staircases for the prince at Kenyngton, for which he was paid by instalments, all apparently discharged prior to 15th September, 1359, amounting in all to £221 4. 7. (*Register*, part iv., pp. 247, 248, 313.) On 25th October, 1359, an order was issued to the prince's receiver-general to pay £60 to "Henry de Yevele, the prince's mason," for work done at Kenyngton. (*Ibid.*, p. 327.) Part iii., published in 1932, contains the information about Vale Royal.

<sup>2</sup> *J.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Register*, part iii., p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144. On a previous occasion in 1351, when the prince ordered a commission to take masons to be issued to John de Tirynghon (*see* London Masons' Regulations, 1356, printed in Knoop and Jones, *The Mediaval Mason*, p. 250) and John de Pouke of London, masons, in connection with works at Kenyngton, it was specified that they might take masons in all places outside the works of the King and Queen, provided always that they did not enter a fee of the Church. (*Register*, part iv., p. 24.) On impressment of masons, see also Section II. below.

<sup>5</sup> *Register*, part iii., pp. 309, 310, 320. There is nothing definite to show whether this was a new grant or merely a confirmation of the grant made five years previously. The funds to be charged, however, were different.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 344, 345. This mason was very possibly the son or the brother of the John de Helpston, *cimentarius*, who was engaged by the Chester authorities in 1342 to erect a tower and walling. (*The Mediaval Mason*, p. 41.) Towards the end of 1361, William de Helpston was admitted to the office of master mason and surveyor of all the prince's masonry works in the counties of Chester and Flint and in North Wales. (*Register*, p. 428.) About the same time, he was appointed by the prince to be supervisor of the murage of the city of Chester. (*Ibid.*, pp. 425, 426.) Apparently he succeeded John de Tichemersh in both these offices, the former carrying a wage of 6d., the latter of 4d. per day. (*Ibid.*, pp. 311, 424.) In October, 1365, he received a gift of 40s. from the prince in consideration of the trouble and expense he had incurred in the prince's service. (*Ibid.*, p. 483.)

twelve chapels round the choir of the church, both below and above ground, as far as the lowest stringcourse, whilst William de Helpeston was to complete the chapels so far as masonry was concerned at his costs, *i.e.*, he was to find and pay the masons and necessary servants and to provide all their tools<sup>1</sup> and what was necessary for the repair thereof, except charcoal for the forge. For the said work he was to receive £860 from the prince, at the rate of 200 marks yearly, by equal portions at Midsummer and Christmas, the prince's chamberlain being ordered to take security from him for the fulfilment of the covenants. He was also to have for himself and a groom suitable board within the house of Vaureal, and forage and provender for his two hackneys. He was further to receive a pension of 40s. for life from the abbey and the abbot was to find him fuel and bedding for the masons.

Two months later we learn<sup>2</sup> that William de Helpeston could not find security for performance of the covenants, and the chamberlain was ordered to pay the 200 marks each year by two instalments to the abbot, until the sum of £860 had been fully paid, so that the abbot might have control of every payment made to Helpeston and might see to it that every instalment was expended on the works before the next was paid. In place of the previous covenants a new indenture was made in August, 1359. It is this contract which is printed below. The last reference in the *Register* to the contract is on 20th May, 1362,<sup>3</sup> when a letter was sent to the abbot and convent of Vauroial ordering them to carry out the covenants made by indenture between them and William de Helpeston, mason, touching the new works of the chapels.

(ii.) *Significance of the Contract.*

Vale Royal Abbey, in any case in its early stages, had been built by 'direct labour' under the control of a master of the works, as the accounts analysed in our Vale Royal paper clearly show. The implication of the statement that the abbey could not obtain enough workmen in 1354 seems to be that the 'direct labour' system was still being employed, but presumably without much success even after the Prince's commission to take masons had been issued in favour of the abbot's nominee, to judge by the subsequent introduction of the 'contract system.' Whether the indenture of 1359 should be regarded as the first building contract at Vale Royal is doubtful, in view of the statement in the indenture that Helpeston was to work to the height of a chapel "newly made by him near the said choir." There is nothing to show whether he had built that particular chapel as a mason-contractor, or as master mason of the abbey. The contract under consideration, whether it be the first building contract at Vale Royal or not, was in respect of a substantial building operation, timed to take some 6½ years and calling for the employment of a score of masons and labourers—apart from quarriers and carters—to judge by the sum to be paid and the costs for which Helpeston was responsible. The execution of this substantial contract at this particular time may perhaps be accepted as evidence that the Black Death, and the consequent scarcity of labour, accelerated the introduction of the 'contract system,' which had not been very common prior to that date.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the Black Death was very far from marking the beginning of the end of the 'direct labour' system: it flourished on big building jobs until the seventeenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. contract below. On subject of masons' tools generally, see *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 62 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Register*, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 445.

<sup>4</sup> For contract to build Hammes Hall in 1321, see *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 100; for work done by contract at Kenyngton in 1346 and 1347, see *The Black Prince's Register*, part i., pp. 27, 109.

(iii.) *Conditions of the contract.*

Attention may be drawn to three points not usually occurring in mediæval building contracts. In the first place, William de Helpston, the mason-contractor, was to select the masons, baiardors, mortar-makers and winders of stone and the abbot and convent were granted a commission to take these masons and other workers by impressment. Normally, so far as we are aware, a contractor was left to find his workers as best he could.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, though William de Helpston was to find all the iron and steel required to make and mend stone-axes (*haches*) and "irons"<sup>2</sup> for the masons, it was expressly stated that he was to be responsible for no other tools. This statement with regard to responsibility for tools is one of the clearest we have met.<sup>3</sup> In the third place, in the event of the building coming to a stop or of the abbot and convent causing a loss to Helpston, it was provided that the compensation to be paid to him should be determined by "good people of the country and masons," presumably by some kind of jury together with a number of masons. We do not recall a similar provision in other building contracts and can only regret that the document does not indicate how the jury was to be appointed or the masons selected.

VALE ROYAL ABBEY BUILDING CONTRACT OF AUGUST, 1359.<sup>4</sup>

Ceste endenture faite parentre lui nobles homme monsieur Edward Prince de Gales ses chapelains . . . abbe et covent de sa maisoun de Vaureal dune part et Mestre William de Helpston masoun dautre part tesmoigne qe le dit William ad empris le ouereigne de masounerie de dusze chapelles envyronances le goer de la eglise avantdite vers le est affaire et apperfourmr ove leide dieu en bone et covenable manere a chaunger et ordiner ses moldes a sa volentee et a cesser le orbe ouereigne de les chapelles susditz saunz chalange de nully, comenceant la dite ouereigne de les chapelles avantdites al ligement table paramont la terre en hautesse tanqe la crest del alure duee chapelle esteant ioust le dit coer de novel par le dit William faite. Et auxint le dit William nomera et eslira touz les masouns et autres ouerours quant il enbusoigne pur les dites chapelles cestassavoir masouns bayardours mortermakeres wyndres des porrez pur queux les ditz abbe et covent purchaceront commission de nostre dit seigneur le Prince pur faire venir les ditz ouerours deinz sa seigneurie trovez au dit William. Et quant ils ne sont profitables pur le dit ouereigne ils serrount remuez par le dit William a sa volente issint qil ne soit mye delaie nendamage del dit ouereigne. Et estre ce le dit William trovera fer et assier a faire et damender les instrumentz des masouns susditz, cestassavoir haches et feres saunz estre charge dascunes autres instrumentz. Et estre ce le dit William paiera a les ditz masouns bayardours mortermakres et wynderes de pieres lour salarie et a feure pur soun ouereigne des ditz haches fers lower saunz ascunes autres charges ou autres choses a trover touchantz le ouereigne des chapelles avantdites forpris louereigne dun traisour deinz mesme leglise en certain lieu entre eux limitez, cestassavoir en la partie de la North crose pernant des ditz abbe et covent pur la dite trasour dis marcs dargent devant la meyn. Et estre ce les ditz abbe et covent troveront touz maneres des ouerours et touz autres choses prests sur la place touchants louereigne avantdit al garnissement le dit William. Et auxint les ditz abbe et

<sup>1</sup> For examples of royal commissions to take masons for non-royal works, see *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 93, 94. The Norwich example there quoted was certainly a case of the municipality employing direct labour, and the others were probably of the same character.

<sup>2</sup> Probably including 'points,' 'gadds' and 'chi-els,' which occur in other documents of the period.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the somewhat contradictory evidence regarding the supply and maintenance of masons' tools, see *ibid.*, pp. 62-69.

<sup>4</sup> *Black Prince's Registers*, part iii., fos. 197 d and 198.

covent troveront a les ditz masouns et ouerours maisouns fowail et liter. Et en cas qe la dite ouereigne soit arrerise ou le dit William endamagee par les ditz abbe et covent qe adonques amendes y soit fait au dit William par les ditz abbe et covent selonc la taxacion des bons gentz du pays et masouns. Pur quele ouereigne des chapelles avantditz nostre dit seigneur le Prince paiera par an au dit William en la dite abbee par les meyns le dit abbe deux centz marcs dor ou dargent a les festes de Saint Michel et de Pasque par oweles porciouns tanqe la somme de DCCCLX. *li.* dor ou dargent soit pleinement paie comenceant le primer terme de paiement a la feste de Seint Michel preschein ensuant la confection du cestes. Et en cas qe nostre dit seigneur le Prince cesse de soun paiement faire au dit William apres qe la tierz partie du dit ouereigne soit fait qe adonques la tierz partie dun corrodie et dun empension de xls. grauntez au dit William pur terme de sa vie par les dites abbe et covent solounc le purport du faite meismes ces abbe et covent demoerge au dit William pur terme de sa vie selonc de meisme le faite et le remenant du dit corrodie et empension cesse en toute en cas qe nulle defaute soit trove en les ditz abbe et covent des choses susdites ou ascunes dycelles, et outre le dit William soit alarge de faire son profit aillours saunz chalange de nostre dit seigneur le Prince ou des ditz abbe et covent ou nulle autre. Et en cas qe nostre dit seigneur le Prince cesse de son paiement faire au dit William devant la tierz partie de dit ouereigne y soit faite et nulle defaute y soit trove en les ditz abbe et covent des choses susdites ou dascuns dycelles qe adonques le dit William soit a large de faire son profit saunz chalange de nully et les dites corrodies et empension cessent en toute. Et apres lacomplissement du dit tierz partie du dit ouereigne tanqe a la complissement de les trois parties de mesme louereigne devise en quatre soient les dites corrodie et empension enresceez proporcionement selonc la quantite del travail le dit William countre la tierz partie dycelle come dessus est dit. Et apres lacomplissement des ditz trois parties du dit ouereigne en cas qe nostre dit seigneur le Prince sesse de son paiement faire au dit William qe adonques le dit William soit a large de faire soun profit saunz chalange de nully et les dites corrodie et empension demoergent entierement au dit William solounc le purport du fait susdit. issint toutesfoiz qe les ditz abbe et covent soient trovez en ascun defaute durant la dite ouereigne par quel la dite ouereigne soit delaie ou destourbe qe adonques les avantdites corrodie et empension demoergent entierement au dit William pur terme de sa vie solounc le purport du faite susdite. En tesmoigne de quele chose les parties avantditz a cestes endenteurs ount mys lour seals. Donne etc. a Cestre le xx jour Daugst lan etc. dengleterre xxxiij et de Fraunce xx. Ceste copie stoit examinee par Delves en la presence de Wolveston.

## II. THE SHERIFF OF YORK'S EXPENSES TAKING MASONS. 1363.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting sidelight on the life of the mediæval mason is thrown by a bundle of Public Record Office documents<sup>2</sup> relating to the despatch of pressed masons from Yorkshire to Windsor Castle in 1363, when William of Wykeham was in charge of the works there. The bundle contains the following:—(i.) A writ, in French, directed to Thomas de Musgrave, sheriff of York, commanding him to take "vint & qatre masons," in addition to others named in a schedule previously sent to him, and to send them to Windsor Castle in March, 1363. (ii.) An indenture, in French, witnessing that 29 masons, named, had been delivered there. (iii.) The sheriff's statement of expenes, in Latin. This gives, first, the purport of the writ referred to above and then the expenses, which, according to the sheriff, had been necessary in obeying it. We give below the list of names in the indenture and a translation of the sheriff's claim for

<sup>1</sup> For the whole subject of the impressment of masons, see *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 90-94.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchequer K. R. Accounts*, 598/7.

expenses. It will be noted that the Exchequer disallowed several of his charges and drastically corrected his arithmetic. The chief points of interest in the document are the provision of a kind of uniform for the masons, the supply of horses to carry them on the six days' journey from York to Windsor (implying an average distance of some 30 miles a day), and the payment of wages at the rate of 6d. per day, for the period of the journey:—

#### LIST OF MASONS DELIVERED AT WINDSOR.

Nicholas de Ripon, William de Seton, Robert de Pokethorp, John de Swynton, Thomas de Ampulford, John de Watton, Robert de Esteby, William de Elmesleye, Richard de Lincoln, William de Dingilby, Richard de Selby, John de Heton, William de Hesill, Roger de Chestre, Pieres de Cresacre, John de Ripon, Rauff de Patrington, John de Goldale, Thomas de Gaynesburgh, John de Lymby, Robert de Hermeston, John de Eccleshales, William de Bolton, John de Staynegreue, Thomas de Hoton, William de Brumpton, John de Crakhall, Robert de Roston and William de Wollay.

#### SHERIFF'S STATEMENT OF EXPENSES.

Cancelled because the sheriff ought not to charge anything in his bailiwick	}	First, in expenses of the same sheriff in person, with 6 of his officers ( <i>valetti</i> ) and other servants, with 6 horses, in divers liberties in his bailiwick, viz. Handen, Beuerlay, Hull and elsewhere in his bailiwick in various places, in choosing and taking masons ( <i>lathomos</i> ): viz. 8 days in the month of March	100s.
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Item, in expenses of John Walshagh, *valettus*, and 6 others of the sheriff's servants going to divers places in Westr[iding] in the aforesaid county about taking and choosing the said masons so that they could be sent to Windsor . . . 10 days 40s.

Item, in expenses of John de Nessefeld, clerk of the Crown and 5 others of the sheriff's servants travelling in Estr[iding] . . . 10 days in the said month 33s. 4d.

Item, in expenses of John de Whitburn and 5 others . . . in Estr[iding] . . . 10 days 30s. 6d.

Item, in expenses for 30 red caps (*xxx. rubeis capiciis*) with other liveries of dyed *ffustyan*, bought for 30 masons chosen and taken in the aforesaid county and to be sent to the King's castle of Windsor, lest they should escape from the custody of the conductor (*ductoris*) of the same masons 50s.

(*All the above items are scored through.*)

Item, in wages of the said 30 masons chosen and taken, with 30 horses, going from York Castle to the King's castle of Windsor, during 6 days in the aforesaid month, viz. to each mason 6d. per day 6l.

(*The 6l. crossed out and £4. 10. 0 written above.*)

Item, in wages of John Walshagh, *valettus*, and 2 others (*these crossed out*) of the sheriff's servants, travelling and leading the said masons from York to Windsor, 8 days (*crossed out*) and remaining there to deliver the said masons to the keeper of the King's works there, 2



days (*crossed out*), and returning thence to York, 8 days (*crossed out*);  
 viz. 20 days in all (20 *crossed out* and 12 *substituted*) 4l.  
 (*The 4l. crossed out and 6s. entered instead.*)

### III. WAGE LIST OF THE YORK MINSTER MASONS, 1472.

Students of the history of operative masonry have long regretted the fact that the Rev. James Raine in preparing his edition of *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*<sup>1</sup> omitted the names of the masons in the great majority of cases, though generally giving in footnotes the numbers employed and the total wages paid. Many of the names of the craftsmen working on the Minster in the fourteenth century are now, unhappily, lost to us for ever, for some of the fabric rolls are too fragile to be examined without risking their final dissolution. The fifteenth century rolls are in a better condition, and it is much to be desired that, while the work is still possible, a copy of them should be made, at any rate, of what is omitted from Raine's text. Meanwhile, in order that some idea of the omissions may be formed, we give below a translation of the entries under the heading *Vadia Cementariorum* in a roll of which the top has perished, but which Raine dated 1472.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Chief Masons Employed on the Fabric.*

The fabric roll shows that during 1472 William Hyndeley succeeded Robert Spillesby as chief mason. Spillesby had been appointed master mason in 1466,<sup>3</sup> in which year he was also admitted a freeman of York,<sup>4</sup> which suggests that he had been brought to York from outside. A Robert Spillesby, *latomus*, worked at Eton College in 1445-6,<sup>5</sup> apart from which we have failed to trace any mason of that name. William Hyndeley undoubtedly came to York from Norwich, as a later fabric roll shows<sup>6</sup>: he was admitted a freeman of York in 1473<sup>7</sup>: two years later he was one of four "serchiours of the masons and wrightes in the cite of Yorke" to decide a dispute about the gutter of a certain chantry belonging to the church of St. George.<sup>8</sup>

There are some points of doubt concerning the appointment of William Hyndeley. It will be noted that Spillesby was paid for 10 weeks and Hyndeley for 24. Unless some of these weeks were concurrent, it seems natural to suppose that in the interval of 18 weeks the Chapter sought a successor to Spillesby, found him in Hyndeley at Norwich, and arranged for his release and transfer to York. Whether Hyndeley succeeded immediately to Spillesby's office is not clear. The entry recording the succession runs as follows:—

Et in vadio Willelmi Hyndeley, Gardiani Logii Cementariorum, dicto Roberto sublato [et ?] officio magistratus cementariorum vacante, operantis per xxiiii. septimanas, in septimana iiis. iiid.

Hyndeley's office, it will be observed, was the wardenship of the masons' lodge and the passage would not exclude the possibility that for some weeks he worked in that capacity under Spillesby, the master of the masons. That is not, perhaps, very likely, but since we cannot tell exactly what weeks Hyndeley

<sup>1</sup> Surtees Society, vol. xxxv. (1859), referred to in these Notes as Raine.

<sup>2</sup> See Raine, pp. 79 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Raine, p. 72 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Freemen of York*, i., p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> *The Mediaeval Mason*, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> See Raine, p. 80 and below p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> *Freemen of York*, i., p. 194.

<sup>8</sup> *York Memo. Book*, ii., p. 250. In this particular case, no description is added to the names of the four searchers: on a former occasion about 1457, when John Porter was one of the searchers to decide a dispute, he is described (*ibid.* p. 219) as "Master Mason of the cathedral church of St. Peter, York," and his colleague, Robert Couper as "Master Mason of the City of York."

worked at York, and do not know what his status was at Norwich,<sup>1</sup> we cannot be certain that his first appointment at York might not have been to a subordinate post. Further, the passage does not explicitly assert that on Spillesby's death Hyndeley became master of the masons. He received the same wage as Spillesby had drawn, and, in the next surviving fabric roll, he is called *magister cementariorum*, but, so far as this 1472 fabric roll is concerned, his office is described by a different name from that used to describe his predecessor's.

A different name, however, does not necessarily mean a different office. At certain periods it was contemplated that two master masons would be employed on the minster fabric, a *magister principalis* and a *magister secundarius*, or *subcementarius*.<sup>2</sup> The difference between them perhaps corresponded to the difference between the *magister latamus* and the *gardiani* mentioned in the regulations of 1408.<sup>3</sup> Thus, in 1422-1423, when a relatively large number of masons was employed, John Long was master, at £10 a year, and William Waddeswyk warden, at 3s. a week.<sup>4</sup> At other times, when fewer masons were employed, only one chief mason might be considered necessary, and that was evidently the case in 1472. This chief mason was called master, but it may be that we should regard him as corresponding in status rather to the *magister secundarius* of 1351 and 1352 than to the *magister principalis*. In that case, there might be little or no difference in meaning between the titles *magister cementariorum* and *gardianus logii cementariorum*, and both might be included within the general term *magistratus*.<sup>5</sup>

One other point of interest in connection with Hyndeley's succession is that the Chapter paid the expenses of his removal from Norwich and defrayed the cost of some legal proceedings, of what kind we do not know, taken against him in London. The record of these payments occurs under the heading *Radia Cementariorum* in a fabric roll assigned by Raine to 1472 or 1473. Upon examination of this roll, its date will be found clearly indicated on the back, in what has every appearance of being a contemporary hand:—

Quintus computus domini Willelmi Ward, custodis ffabrice, factus in  
crastino Epiphanie Domini anno Domini millesimo cccclxx quinto,

*i.e.*, January 7th, 1475-6. It thus appears that William Hyndeley, who came to York in 1472, had to wait some time for his expenses.

From the fabric roll of 1472 we learn that the wage paid both to Spillesby and Hyndeley was 3s. 4d. per week, the former receiving a rent allowance of 10s. per annum in addition, and the latter a reward of 13s. 4d. in addition. The fabric roll of 1475 shows that besides his wage of 3s. 4d. per week, Hyndeley received 5s. towards the rent of his house and a reward of £1. 6. 8. Earlier master masons at York Minster, *e.g.*, William Hoton in 1351,<sup>6</sup> Robert de Patryngton in 1370,<sup>7</sup> John Long in 1421-22,<sup>8</sup> and Thomas Pak in 1433-34<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In John L'Estrange, *Cal. of the Freemen of Norwich*, the entry is, "William Hyndeley, freemason, 6 Edw. IV." (1466).

<sup>2</sup> Regulations of 1352 (Raine, pp. 171-173): *cf.* the provision in William de Hoton's contract (Raine, p. 166) that, in certain circumstances, he might have to forfeit from his fee half the salary of the *magister secundarius*.

<sup>3</sup> Raine, pp. 198-199.

<sup>4</sup> Raine, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> At the first examination of this fabric roll we were inclined to read *maioratus* in this place, and to explain the term in the light of *maiores latomi* (Raine, p. 199) and the *major* (perhaps the second master) who is said, in the inquisition of 1345, to have hindered the master mason (Raine, p. 163: *quia impeditur per majorem*). The Rev. H. Poole (*A.Q.C.*, xxxix., p. 231), however, read the word as *magistratus*, and Canon F. Harrison, the Minster Librarian, who very kindly re-examined the passage at our request, confirms the reading *mag[ist]ratus*.

<sup>6</sup> Raine, p. 166, prints the indenture of appointment, which also provides for a house.

<sup>7</sup> Raine, p. 180.

<sup>8</sup> Fabric Roll, 1421-22.

<sup>9</sup> Fabric Roll, 1433-34.

had received £10 per annum. In 1441-42, the first mason named on the list, though not described as master mason, was John Bowde, who was paid for 52 weeks at 3s. 4d.<sup>1</sup> In 1444-45, John Barton, the first mason named on the list was also paid 3s. 4d. per week; Barton was paid at the same rate in 1445-46 and 1446-47.<sup>2</sup> In 1457-58, John Porter, who came to York from Lincoln,<sup>3</sup> very possibly in 1453, the year in which he was admitted a freeman of York,<sup>4</sup> appears first on the list of masons, though not described as master, and was paid 3s. 4d. per week for 23 weeks, together with a reward of £1. 6. 8.<sup>5</sup> Had he been paid for the full 52 weeks, the wage received ( $52 \times 3s. 4d. = £8. 13s. 4d.$ ), together with the reward of £1. 6. 8., would have amounted exactly to £10, the sum formerly paid to the master mason at the Minster. In 1495, William Hyndeley, described in the Fabric Roll of that year as master mason, was paid for 52 weeks at 3s. 4d., together with a reward of 26s. 8d. and an allowance for house rent, so that he actually received the same remuneration as his predecessors had done in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, apart from any financial advantage he may have gained from taking apprentices, to which reference is made below. No information is available to show why a change in the method of remunerating the chief mason was introduced, apparently somewhere about 1435 or 1440.

For purpose of comparison, the remuneration of a fifteenth century master mason at Canterbury Cathedral may be quoted. When Richard Beke was appointed to the post in 1435, his remuneration was to consist of a weekly wage of 4s., a convenient house or 20s. in lieu, 8s. per annum for fuel, 10s. for clothes, if the priory gave him no livery, and two pairs of hose.<sup>6</sup>

*Other Masons Employed on the Fabric.*

(A) *Regularity of Employment.* Apart from the chief masons, sixteen masons were employed during the year 1472. They worked for varying periods, amounting to some 302 weeks in all, the periods being approximately as follows:—

1 mason(s) worked for 48 weeks.				
1	..	..	..	47 ..
1	..	..	..	36 ..
1	..	..	..	26 ..
1	..	..	..	23 ..
3	..	..	..	16 ..
1	..	..	..	15 ..
2	..	..	..	12 ..
2	..	..	..	10 ..
1	..	..	..	8 ..
1	..	..	..	4 ..
1	..	..	..	3 ..

This method of staffing the building operations raises two questions, firstly, as to whether it was typical, and, secondly, as to where all the masons working short periods came from.

<sup>1</sup> Fabric Roll, 1441-42: a John Bulde, mason, was admitted a freeman of York in 1430. (*Freemen of York*, i., p. 144.)

<sup>2</sup> Fabric Rolls, 1444-45, 1445-46, 1446-47.

<sup>3</sup> Raine, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Freemen of York*, i., p. 174.

<sup>5</sup> Fabric Roll, 1457-58.

<sup>6</sup> Canterbury Cathedral MS. L. 169 and Woodruff and Danks, *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral* (1912), p. 200. The indenture is partly quoted in *Hist. MSS. Com.* 9th Report, p. 114.

(i.) During the course of the century the system of employment at the Minster appears to have undergone a definite change. In 1421-22, for example, when seventeen masons apart from John Long, the master mason, were employed, all were paid for 49, 50 or 51 weeks,<sup>1</sup> or say for 50 weeks on the average, compared with an average of 19 weeks paid for in 1472. The average number of weeks worked by the masons at the Minster in successive decades was approximately as follows<sup>2</sup>:—

1411-20	42	1451-60	29
1421-30	46	1461-70	12
1431-40	32	1471-80	24
1441-50	38	1481-90	25
		1491-1500	21

The figures show that in the early fifteenth century most, if not all, of the masons employed must have been more or less regularly in the employ of the Minster, whereas later in the century a considerable reliance was being placed on masons engaged for short periods only.

(ii.) As only three or four masons were apparently in the regular employ of the Chapter in 1472, the provenance of the other ten or twelve calls for consideration. The evidence available seems to indicate that two or three were independent craftsmen, or little masters, established in business in York, who were engaged for a few weeks to assist the regular Minster staff. William Mader, mason, had been admitted to the freedom of York in 1459, and John Bell, mason, had been admitted to the freedom in 1465.<sup>3</sup> In 1473, they were the searchers of the masons of the city of York.<sup>4</sup> If we are right in assuming that Thomas Brugg was the same as a man named Thomas Brigges, mason, who was admitted a freeman of York in 1469,<sup>5</sup> we feel that in him we have another local master. William Pawson, the apprentice, was admitted a freeman in 1474,<sup>6</sup> and we are disposed to associate him with Henry Pawson and to regard them both as local masons. A similar case of a local master being employed temporarily at the Minster occurred in 1478-9, when James Dam, carver, was paid 39s. for 13 weeks at 3s. per week and 14s. 7d. for 'intailyng' 175 'crockettes' at 1d. each. James Dam, carver, had been a freeman of York since 1456<sup>7</sup>; his son, John, a goldsmith by trade, was admitted a freeman by patrimony in 1482.<sup>8</sup> We are disposed to think that when local masters like Mader, Bell and Brugg worked at the Minster for a few weeks in 1472, they were probably accompanied by their journeymen or servants, and that this may account for the other short-service masons in the list.

(B) *Classification of Masons.* In the wage list of 1472, no distinction is made between hewers and layers, which is hardly surprising as in the fifteenth century sixpence a day, or 3s. a week, was the predominant rate at the more important undertakings outside London for all classes of masons.<sup>9</sup> So far as weekly rates were concerned, therefore, there would be no differentiation; on the other hand, one would expect hewers to be more continuously employed than layers, with whose work the weather would be likely to interfere. It is possible that this was the case in 1472, when employment varied from 48 to 3 weeks.

<sup>1</sup> Fabric Roll, 1421-22.

<sup>2</sup> The figures are calculated from a table given in *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 136, which is itself based on information contained in Raine.

<sup>3</sup> *Freemen of York*, i., pp. 179, 186.

<sup>4</sup> *York Memo. Book*, ii., p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> *Freemen of York*, i., p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>9</sup> See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 236.

Yet in a year like 1421-22, in which the Fabric Roll shows that all the masons were employed for 49, 50 or 51 weeks, there was no loss of employment such as would suggest layers being off work in winter, three months or more being the inactive period on most building operations. This suggests that at the Minster no sharp distinction between hewing and laying was drawn, and that all the regular masons employed were capable not only of laying but of dressing stone, that being work which could be done in winter. Certainly in the fifteenth century at London Bridge, where a staff of craftsmen was maintained to deal with repairs and renewals, the masons appear to have been responsible both for dressing and for laying stone.<sup>1</sup> In some of the earlier Fabric Rolls, viz., 1432-33, 1433-34, 1444-45 and 1445-46, reference is made to setting, in each case the masons concerned receiving an extra payment or reward, over and above their usual wages: on the first two occasions, two masons shared 26s. 8d., on the third, two shared 21s., and on the fourth, four shared 14s. 8d. When in the Middle Ages hewers and layers were paid at different rates, the former tended to receive rather more than the latter<sup>2</sup>; cases of "setters" receiving more than any other class of mason did occur, however, at Eton College in the 1450's, at King's College, Cambridge, in 1509, and at Sandgate Castle in 1539-40.<sup>3</sup> At Eton, where these especially well-paid "setters" were normally employed as freemasons or hewers, we concluded that they were engaged temporarily in setting some particularly delicate work: at York, where on three out of the four occasions it is mentioned that the masons concerned were setting stones over the belfry, we are disposed to think that it was especially dangerous work for which the rewards were given.

(C) *Rates of Pay.* Perhaps the most interesting point about the wage rates was not that the same rate was paid to different classes of masons, to which reference has already been made, but that the same rate was apparently paid in winter as in summer. According to the masons' ordinances of 1352,<sup>4</sup> winter rates at York Minster applied from Michaelmas to Easter, whilst according to the ordinances of 1370,<sup>5</sup> they applied from Michaelmas to the first Sunday in Lent, the weekly reduction of the wage in winter being in each case equivalent to one day's pay, *i.e.*, a summer wage of 3s. was reduced to 2s. 6d. in winter. Notwithstanding these regulations, in 1421-22 we find seventeen masons being paid for 49, 50 or 51 weeks at 3s. per week, whilst in 1472, as the wage list appended shows, one mason was paid for 48 weeks and one for 47 weeks at 3s. per week, so that in neither of these years do winter rates appear to have been enforced. At most mediæval building operations, daily or weekly wage rates were lower in winter, when the days were short, than in summer.<sup>6</sup> At London Bridge, where no such differentiation was made in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, it was introduced in 1441: at Eton College, where 3s. per week, or 6d. per day, had been paid all the year round from 1442 to 1454, higher summer rates for freemasons were introduced in 1456.<sup>7</sup> Thus the change in wage policy which appears to have occurred at York Minster towards the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth century, was the reverse of what happened some years later at London Bridge and at Eton College.

The effect of holidays or feast days on wages can hardly be traced from the wage payments of 1472, because no mason lost less than three weeks' wages in the year, which loss may, or may not, have been accounted for by holidays without pay. The old rule at York Minster, according to the ordinances of

<sup>1</sup> See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Raine, p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> Raine, p. 181.

<sup>6</sup> See *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 116, 117.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.* p. 118.

1352. was that if two feast days fell in the same week, the masons lost one day's pay; if three feasts occurred, they lost half a week's pay.<sup>1</sup> As no Fabric Roll appears to show how many, or what, feast days were observed, it is not possible to say with certainty that those masons who were paid for 51 weeks in 1421-22 had suffered no deductions of pay in respect of feast days, though it is not unlikely that three feast days in a week were observed at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun. Cases of apprentices receiving wages for the complete 52 weeks do occur in the Fabric Rolls,<sup>2</sup> so that unless they were accorded better treatment than the journeymen, it is probable that the masons suffered no deductions for holidays.<sup>3</sup>

Brief reference may be made to two other points concerning wages which cannot actually be illustrated from the 1472 Roll, viz., monetary rewards, other than master masons' rewards, and allowances for ale. Rewards for setting stones over the belfry were mentioned above; other cases of rewards occur in two earlier Fabric Rolls. In 1421-22, two rewards of 13s. 4d. and two of 6s. 8d. were given to masons, whilst in 1422-23, two rewards of 13s. 4d. and one of 6s. 8d. were given. The former sum would represent a bonus of roughly 10% and the latter of 5% on a mason's normal annual earnings. Another kind of bonus, which, when granted, presumably affected all the masons, was an allowance for drink. Thus in 1421-22, 1422-23 and 1433-34, sums of 13s. 4d. were spent on potations for the masons. In the first of these Rolls we read:—

given to the masons (*cementarii*) for their potation (*ad potacionem suam*) 7th February, 13s. 4d.

A year later, on 8th February, a similar item occurs, whereas in 1433-34 the entry is somewhat differently worded:—

Reward to the masons in potations at divers times by custom (*ex consuetudine*) 13s. 4d.

We assume, therefore, that the sum of 13s. 4d. represented the yearly outlay on beer for the masons and corresponded to what was clearly entered in 1421-22 as 6s. 8d. *per annum* and in 1422-23 as 7s. *per annum*, given to the sailors and workmen for drink, and not to the 3s. 4d. spent on beer for the masons and carpenters at London Bridge on Ash Wednesdays.<sup>4</sup>

(D) *Apprentices.* The two last names which appear on the wage list of 1472 were William Pawson, apprentice, and John Diconson, apprentice. This is not the first occasion on which the description 'apprentice' is attached to a mason's name: "Robert Willyamson, apprentice," at 2s. per week, occurs amongst the masons in the Fabric Roll of 1469-70, and we think it highly probable that John Sanderson, who worked 50 weeks at 2s. 6d. in 1421-22 and 28 weeks at 2s. 6d. and 24 weeks at 3s. in 1422-23, and Robert Newbygyng, who worked 51 weeks at 2s. 4d. in 1421-22 and 52 weeks at 2s. 4d. in 1422-23, were also apprentices though not described as such in the Rolls. There is nothing in the Roll of 1472 to show whose apprentices William Pawson and John Diconson were, but we are disposed to think that William Pawson, who was employed for only 8 weeks, was the apprentice of one of the local master masons—very possibly of Henry Pawson—who worked on the fabric of the Minster for a few weeks in 1472. A

<sup>1</sup> Raine, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*, in 1433-34, 1441-42, 1442-43, 1475.

<sup>3</sup> It is most likely that the apprentices were all bound to the master mason, who drew wages in respect of them, very possibly on the same conditions as he drew his own, which were presumably paid holiday or no holiday. The treatment accorded to the master mason and his apprentices in the matter of payment for holidays may not have applied to the masons in general.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 115.

William Pawson, mason, was admitted a freeman of York in 1474,<sup>1</sup> whilst a mason of that name worked at the Minster at 3s. per week in 1484-5,<sup>2</sup> which facts both strengthen our feeling that William Pawson was a York mason. Diconson, on the other hand, was probably serving his apprenticeship at the Minster, bound most likely to Hyndeley, the master mason. He was still an apprentice at the Minster in 1475, as the following entry in the Fabric Roll of that year shows:—

and in the wages of John [Di]consun, apprentice, working on the fabric  
24 days at 4d. (8s.) and 107½ days at 5d. (£2 4s. 9½d.)    £2. 12s. 9½d.

Why he worked for approximately only half the year both in 1472 and 1475-6 there is nothing to show, though it is not impossible that in 1472 he arrived at the Minster with Hyndeley, who was paid for 24 weeks that year.

In the Fabric Rolls subsequent to 1472, entries relating to apprentice masons become more common. In 1475-6 we read:—

and in the wages of Robert Scalyng, apprentice, working on the  
fabric 49½ days at 4d. (16s. 6d.) and 264 days at 5d. (£5 10s. 0d.)  
£6. 6. 6d.

In 1478-79 Christopher Horn, apprentice, worked 42 weeks at 2s. 6d.: he was still an apprentice at 2s. 6d. per week in 1481-82, when John Theker and William Taverner were also apprentices, their wages, however, being 2s. per week. In 1484-85, there were three apprentices, William Taverner, Stephen Thrope and John Kirke, all at 2s. 6d. per week. In 1495, there were two apprentices, Christopher Rayner at 2s. 6d. and William Hurlbek at 2s. per week. In 1498-99 there were three apprentices, Christopher Rayner at 2s. 6d. and William Hurlbek and Edward Banez at 2s. per week.

Though the rates paid in respect of the apprentices appear to be high according to modern ideas, compared with the mason's standard rate of 3s. per week, they were quite normal for the period.<sup>3</sup> It has to be remembered that it was the apprentice's master who was entitled to what his apprentice earned, whilst responsible for his board, lodging and clothing,<sup>4</sup> so that if Hyndeley, as master mason from 1472 to 1505, had two or three apprentices in most years, whose wages were assessed at 2s. or 2s. 6d. per week, it really provided him with a substantial addition to his income, as the apprentices' maintenance would hardly cost more than 10d. or 12d. per week.<sup>5</sup>

The most interesting of these apprentices was undoubtedly Christopher Horn[er]: he was an apprentice at the Minster at 2s. 6d. per week in 1478-79 and in 1481-82: he was admitted a freeman of York in 1489<sup>6</sup>; he worked at the Minster as a mason at 3s. per week in 1495<sup>7</sup>; in 1505 a Christopher Horner was appointed Master Mason of the Minster,<sup>8</sup> being so described in the Fabric Rolls of 1507-8, 1509-10, 1515-16 and 1518-19.<sup>9</sup> By his will, dated February 12th, 1522-23, he left all his tools within the masons' lodge to the work of St. Peter<sup>10</sup> (*i.e.*, the fabric of the Minster), and he presumably died shortly afterwards, as by November, 1525, he had been succeeded as Master Mason by John

<sup>1</sup> *Freemen of York*, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Fabric Roll, 1484-5.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 163 n.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 214 n.

<sup>6</sup> *Freemen of York*, p. 215.

<sup>7</sup> Fabric Roll, 1495.

<sup>8</sup> Raine, p. xx.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94 n, 95 n, 96 n, 97 n.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208 n.

Forman.<sup>1</sup> In Christopher Horn[er], mason, assuming all the references quoted relate to one and the same mason, which seems highly probable, we have a cathedral master mason whose career can be traced to some extent for 25 or 26 years before he attained his important office, which he then held for some 18 or 19 years. Whether he worked continuously on the Fabric, or whether he carried on the trade of mason in the city of York at one period, it is impossible to say, though the fact that he took up the freedom of the city in 1489, rather suggests that for a time at least he carried on his trade in the city.

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MASONS' WAGES AT YORK MINSTER IN 1472.

And in wages of Robert Spillesby, master of the masons, working on the fabric ( <i>in fabrica</i> ) for 10 weeks at 3s. 4d.	£1. 3. 4
And in wages of William Hyndeley, warden of the masons' lodge (the said Robert having died and the office of the mastership of the masons being vacant), working for 24 weeks at 3s. 4d. a week	4. 0. 0
John Whyte for 36 weeks and 3 days at 3s. per week	5. 12. 6
Richard Whyte 47 6½ 3s.	7. 4. 3
Robert Thomson 46 5 3s.	7. 0. 6
Richard Hunt 16 1 3s.	2. 8. 9
Robert Stevenson 23 — 3s.	3. 9. 0
Thomas Brugg 10 1 3s.	1. 10. 6
Richard Otteley 16 1 3s.	2. 8. 6
John Bell 15 5 3s.	2. 7. 6
Christopher Holbek 12 3 3s.	1. 17. 6
Henry Pawson 10 2 3s.	[Hole
John Cutton 14 5 3s.	in
William Mader 12 — 3s.	the
Henry Thomson 4 1 3s.	manu-
James Drew 3 1 3s.	script.]
William Pawson, apprentice, 8 weeks 1½ days at 2s.	16. 6
John Diconson, apprentice, 26 weeks at 20d.	2. 3. 4
In money given to Robert Spillesby abovesaid for the rent of his house for 3 years at 10s. by mandate of the said masters ( <i>dominorum</i> ) and chapter	30s.
And in reward given to the abovesaid William Hynley, warden, by grace of the said masters	13s. 4d.

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<sup>1</sup> Raine, p. 99 n.



## "THE MEDIAEVAL MASON" AND THE PARISH CHURCHES OF ENGLAND.



THE Craft owes to Professor Douglas Knoop and Mr. G. P. Jones a debt which is difficult to exaggerate for their work on "The Mediæval Mason," which was reviewed in our last part. Nor is it easy to over-estimate the labour which has gone into its making—only those who have also studied in detail the papers which they have laid before the Lodge, to say nothing of others which have appeared in *Economic History* and the *Economic History Review* will realise that the laying of the foundations, as well as the completion of the edifice, was very largely the work of these indefatigable collaborators. And the book, which is fully equipped with a valuable bibliography, an interesting appendix of illustrative documents, and a very serviceable index, not only seems likely to prove a most efficient contribution to the literature of the subject on which it bears directly (it forms one of an "Economic History Series"), but also raises and discusses a number of questions of interest to the speculative Craft.

The results obtained are based for the most part on a rather small number of large-scale undertakings—the building of Vale Royal Abbey, the Castles of Carnarvon and Beaumaris, London Bridge, Eton and Windsor, and a few others. But although such works—in most cases carried out under Crown or Church authority—were generally of a decidedly larger type, one has only to look round the English countryside to see, in our venerable Parish Churches, few of which underwent no enlargement or improvement in the fifteenth century, what may well have kept a still larger number of masons employed for still longer periods. And one cannot help feeling that the whole story has not been told.

To say this is by no means entirely a criticism of the writers; because the material for the study of the 'economics' of the building of our Parish Churches does not exist. And these short notes are written not so much to draw attention to what I believe to be a definite and by no means small area of the subject left untouched by the authors of the book, as by way of a plea for the undertaking of the necessary work, which will have to be done in comparatively small areas in various parts of the country, and made available for such constructive workers as the authors of this book, if the whole story is ever to be written.

There are surprisingly few Churches of the building of which we have any information at all, even to the exact date (except so far as this can be deduced from the style). But I venture to doubt if the cases of Bodmin and Adderbury, both quoted by the writers, are not quite exceptional. In the former case the townspeople not only levied on themselves for the cost of the building, but turned out to work at it. In the latter, perhaps because the body responsible for the building (New College, Oxford) was accustomed to larger scale work, the organisation was much on the lines of that for an Abbey or a Castle, but on a smaller scale. For my own part, I cannot help feeling that the small contract made with a 'Master Mason' (and a number of such documents survives—several are quoted by the writers) must have been the more normal procedure.

Whether this was so or not we may perhaps never know; but in any case the contracts give us almost the only information we have to enable us to correlate the quantity of building with the total cost and with the time allowed. I am not now concerned with the cost; but I am concerned with the fact that

Jon Marys was given three years to build the 100-ft. tower of Dunster Church (Somerset) in 1443; and the same time was allowed to Richard of Cracall in 1412 for the building of a complete Church—nave with two aisles, chancel and west tower—at Catterick: while in 1409 the comparatively small task of adding an aisle of three bays to the Church at Hornby (N. Yorks) was to be completed by Richard of Newton in eight months. A great deal, of course, must have depended on the number of men employed, and on the extent to which the contractor was responsible for the clearing of the ground, the supply of material and so on. But without any such discrimination I suggest that such figures as these may be used as a rough method of determining times.

By some such rough method it ought to be possible to arrive at an estimate of the actual number of years' work for what we may call a 'normal party' in any given area in any datable period; and the results, I feel sure, will tend to dispose of the impression created by this book that there was not really enough work to go round, and that it may have been quite a normal situation for a mason to have a by-occupation to work at in slack times. As to the former, the writers' statement that "... the number of small stone building jobs, the contracts for which might be let to independent craftsmen, must have been very few and far between before the end of the fifteenth century. Mediaeval stone-building operations were essentially large undertakings which in nearly all cases were carried out with what we should now call 'direct labour' by the Crown or by the Church, the two chief building employers in the Middle Ages" (p. 95) will, I think, be seriously disputed by anyone who compares the quantity of building in the Churches with that of (say) the Castles and Abbeys in almost any area.

But we can go further than the getting of a mere estimate of the total quantity of building work done in an area: we can to some extent assign it to the individual Mason or party of masons, by the help of their 'marks.' On the subject of Masons' marks there is all too little available literature of a quantitative or constructive type. But the mark must have played some definite part in the 'economics' of the craft: and I cannot help feeling that some reference to the system might with advantage have been made by the authors of this book, if only to dispose of some patently false notions which have grown up around the subject. Whatever its exact purpose, whatever the significance to be attached to examples of buildings which show none—whether, for instance, this indicates that the work was being done at 'time' and not 'piece' rates—one thing, at any rate, seems clear, that the mark on a stone represents virtually the signature of the hewer: and thus enables us in some cases to reconstruct the activities of a mason or a group of masons.

Let me illustrate by a piece of work (unfurnished as yet) done by myself in an area of about 15 miles radius, extending into West Yorkshire, Lancashire and Westmorland. In that area we have six fifteenth century Churches all bearing the mark of a single man (a very distinctive one); and his programme may be roughly reconstructed as follows (sequence not yet determined):—

Arkholme—small church—south aisle & arcade	(say)	8 months
Beetham—large church—chancel aisles & arcades	..	16 ..
Dent—large church—chancel aisles & arcades	..	16 ..
Kirkby Malham—large church, complete	..	36 ..
Over Kellet—very small. ? complete	..	12 ..
Warton—large church—aisles, arcades & porch	..	20 ..

We have thus a total building programme of 108 months, or full employment for 9 years (not necessarily continuous); while the marks on a number of Churches of the period in the area have not yet been examined. Actually the time would probably have been longer: taking into account the possibility that operations more or less ceased during the winter, the work might well have

occupied a total of ten or twelve 'seasons.' And within an area somewhat larger—say 25 to 30 miles' radius—embracing the activities of this man, there are certainly not less than 56 Churches wholly built or considerably extended with aisles or towers during the same period: and the same thing was happening all over the country at the same time. Whatever may have been the state of affairs during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—and the *comparatively* small amount of church-building which survives must be to some extent, at any rate, due to the large amount of re-building and enlarging in the next—no one can look at the fifteenth century remains in any part of the country without being convinced that they represent work for many years for a very large number of masons: and the possibility of impressing masons for a royal undertaking to the extent of 40 per county over a large area, as recorded in this book, points in the same direction.

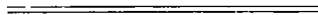
Such an examination as I have outlined above may also throw light on the general question of 'mobility,' as regards movement from place to place, on which I am inclined to regard the conclusions reached in this book as neither exhaustive nor final. That a mason might at any moment find himself transported from Yorkshire to Windsor for the King's work, under pain of imprisonment, is clear—60 masons were so impressed in 1361; but, however often this sort of thing happened, it can only be regarded as abnormal. Whether at their own will, or as the result of the needs of employers, there must have been a considerable amount of movement from the earliest days: and the wide range of 'place-names' in other lists of masons besides those of royal buildings bears witness to this. No doubt the authors are right in suggesting that the masons "would tend to remain in their own districts"—so long as there was work to be done there. But this raises the very interesting question (on which, again, there is a complete absence of available evidence) as to the probability of more or less permanent local organisation on large or small scales. In the example quoted above from the Lancs.-Yorks. border, the mason in question was accompanied in all but the large work at Kirkby Malham by a number of other masons, one of them throughout. It seems by no means unlikely that, within the neighbourhood, they would usually be found working in more or less permanent 'gangs'; while it seems extremely probable that it may have been at such operations, rather than on large-scale works under royal authority, that apprentices learned their craft.

The authors have raised the question, "is it chance . . . that there is such a paucity of reference to municipal guilds of masons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, compared with references to other misteries . . . ?" Is it not possible that the answer lies in the fact that such comparatively small 'local' but not 'urban' organisations were the rule and not the exception? The very widespread provenance of the surviving copies of the "Old Charges" (at any rate in the north of England) might well point to some such circumstance.

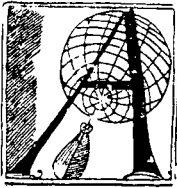
To what extent we may ever be able (by such methods as I have sketched above, or otherwise) to reconstruct the history of a *group* of masons, has yet to be seen, as it does not seem ever to have been attempted. Much work on these lines awaits the doing—work of a by no means uninteresting character, as I have found in the small piece which, so far, I have done myself. And I conclude by expressing my conviction that, until a number of areas in different parts of England have been surveyed from this point of view, the full story of the Craft cannot be written.

February, 1934.

H. POOLE.



## CHAUCER AND HENRY YEVELE.



T. A. Q. C., xxi., 249, in his article *Henry Yvele, the King's Master Mason*. Bro. Wonnacott remarked that Geoffrey Chaucer was appointed "Clericus Operationum" in 1390 and that he must therefore have been in close contact with Yevele, who was at that time Surveyor of the works within the Palace of Westminster, and elsewhere. Bro. W. J. Williams had the happy thought of consulting the publications of the Chaucer Society, with results of considerable interest, as they cast additional light on the life of our great craftsman and incidentally tell us something of the difficulties of persons to whom Richard II. owed money.

Part iv. of the volume *Life Records of Chaucer* contains references to six documents in which the poet and Yevele are associated. On 1st September, 1369, a writ of Privy Seal directs the issue of divers lengths of black cloth to the members of the King's Household, as mourning at the funeral of Queen Philippa. Among some scores of names we have Chaucer and Yevele, each allotted three ells. (Doct. No. 58.) On 7th December, 1390, another document (No. 223) records payments made by Chaucer to Yevele on account of his work at Westminster, for which he has given an acknowledgment.

The three documents, of which a full transcript is now given, are only briefly abstracted in the Chaucer Society volume, but Bro. Williams has very kindly had these transcripts made for us from the originals in the Public Record Office, and, together with a document of 18th October, 1389, which is printed in full in the *Life Records* as No. 222, they make an interesting quartet. The first of the present transcripts, of date 27th September, 1389, may be thus summarised:—"Inasmuch as our grandfather King Edward by letters patent conferred a salary of twelve pence a day upon Henry Yevele for his life, in respect of the works in progress in the Palace of Westminster and the Tower, and in our other Palaces, a grant which we, Richard by the Grace of God, confirmed on the 7 March in the first year of our reign (1378), we now direct you, our beloved Geoffrey Chaucer, our clerk of the works, that you should pay so much of the said salary as is in arrears, and take his receipt for it, and the said payment shall be a charge on our Treasury." This is issued in the thirteenth year of the reign, and one wonders how much was really owing to the unfortunate King's Master Mason. Document No. 222 of the Chaucer Society's volume is a corresponding direction to the Treasury officials, to the effect that Chaucer has been directed to make this payment and that they are to allow the item in his accounts. But no actual sum of money is mentioned in either of them.

Bro. Wonnacott tells us that in 1390 the pension of a shilling a day was cancelled and replaced by an assignment of the revenues of two manors in Kent, Tremworth and Vannes. This payment of arrears was possibly the prelude to this new arrangement. But just what did take place it is not easy to make out. The second document now transcribed is a receipt by Yevele for seventy-nine days' pay, in 1390, together with payments on account of these manors in Kent. So that, apparently, he was getting both his twelve pence a day and his income from the manors. The text speaks of a part payment, the annual value of the manors being twenty-five shillings. Yevele describes himself as "capitalis cementarius Domini Regis."

The third document is a similar receipt given in the following year, and here the manors are not referred to by name, but he has received 18s. 5½d. in full settlement of all monies due to him in respect of the twelve pence a day, and the proportion of his twenty-five shillings a year, for a period of nearly three years, from the 12th July in the twelfth year of the king (1388) to the 17th June in the fourteenth year (1391). (The regnal year began on 22nd June.) I cannot explain these figures. But as there had been a payment in the previous year for part of this same period, they presumably represent the balance of what was owing; one can only hope that this was indeed the case. L.V.

E101/502/10 m. 2.

Ricardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie dilecto clerico suo Galfrido Chaucer clerico operacionum suarum salutem Cum dominus Edwardus nuper Rex Anglie Auus noster per litteras suas patentes quas septimo die Marcij anno regni nostri primo confirmauimus concesserit dilecto sibi Henrico de Yeuele quod ipse haberet et perciperet duodecim denarios per diem ad totam vitam suam videlicet durantibus operacionibus in Palacio dicti Aui nostri Westmonasterii et in Turri Londonie vel in altero locorum predictorum per manus clerici operacionum predictarum qui pro tempore foret prout in litteris et confirmatione predictis plenius continetur tibi precipimus quod eidem Henrico id quod ei aretro est de predictis duodecim denariis diurnis a predicto septimo die Marcij soluas iuxta tenorem litterarum et confirmationis predictarum Recipiens a prefato Henrico litteras suas acquietancie que pro nobis sufficientes fuerint in hac parte per quas et presens mandatum nostrum tibi inde in compoto tuo ad scaccarium nostrum debitam allocacionem habere faciemus Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xxvij die Septembris Anno regni nostri terciodecimo.

Burton

[No seal; no endorsement]

E101/502/10 m. 8.

Nouerint vniversi per presentes me magistrum Henricum Yeuele Capitalem Cementarium domini Regis recepissee et habuisse die confectionis presencium de Galfrido Chaucer clerico operacionum dicti domini Regis pro vadiis meis videlicet duodecim denariis per diem a duodecimo die Julij Anno regni Regis predicti duodecimo vsque vicesimum nonum diem Septembris tunc proxime sequentem per septuaginta et nouem dies. Septuaginta et nouem solidos et in persolucionem viginti quinque solidorum, anuorum michi per dictum dominum Regem concessorum percipiend' per manus dicti clerici annuatim vltra septemdecim libras michi in partem solucionis dictorum vadiorum meorum concessorum (pro maneriis de Tremworth et Vannes in Comitatu Kancie)<sup>1</sup> videlicet a dicto vicesimo nono die Septembris Anno terciodecimo Regis predicti usque festum sancti Michaelis tunc proxime sequens videlicet per vnum annum integrum viginti et quinque solidos. De quibus quidem denariis supradictis fateor me fore solutum dictumque Galfridum heredes et Executores suos inde acquieto per presentes. Sigillo meo signat[as]. Dat' in crastino Sancti Michaelis. Anno regni Regis Ricardi supradicti quartodecimo.

Summa Ciijs.

[Seal blind; no endorsement.]

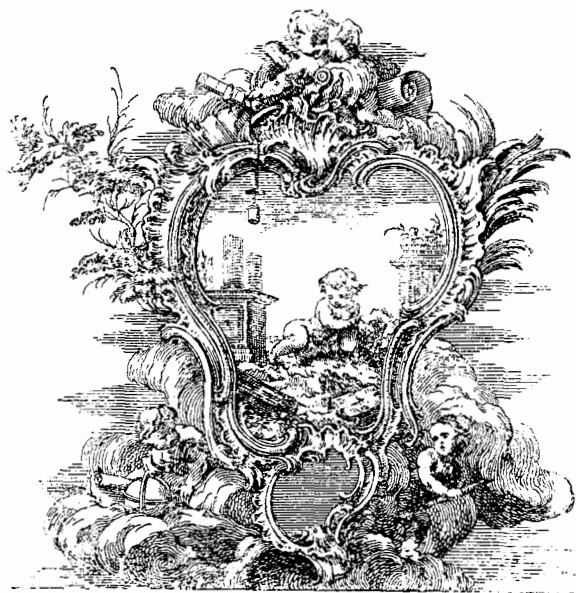
E101/502/10 m. 12.

Nouerint uniuersi per presentes me Magistrum Henricum Yeuele Capitalem Cementarium domini Regis percepissee et habuisse die confectionis presencium de Galfrido Chaucer nuper clerico operacionum domini Regis octodecim solidos quinque denarios cum quadrante in plenam solucionem omnium vadiorum

<sup>1</sup> Interlineated.

meorum videlicet ad duodecim denarios per diem ac rate porcionis mee videlicet ad viginti quinque solidos per annum per dictum dominum Regem michi concessos percipiend' per manus Clerici operacionum pro tempore existentis videlicet a duodecimo die Julij anno regni dicti Regis duodecimo usque decimum septimum diem Junij inclusive Anno eiusdem Regis quartodecimo De quibus quidem octodecim solidis quinque denariis cum quadrante fateor me fore solutum ac prefatum Galfridum [heredes et] executores suos inde acquieto per presentes Sigillo meo insignat[as]. Dat' vndecimo die Mensis Octobris Anno regni Regis Ricardi supra dicti Quintodecimo.

[Seal wanting: no endorsement.]



## Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

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SATURDAY, 7th NOVEMBER, 1931.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M., as W.M.; W. J. Williams, S.W.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, G.Ch., J.D.; B. Telepneff, I.G.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; Douglas Knoop, and F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Geo. P. Simpson, F. P. Reynolds, A. E. Gurney, J. P. Hunter, Percy Webber, Barry S. Anderson, N. S. Dejean, G. Stevens, W. T. B. Foster, Geo. Simpson, H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., L. A. Margetts, L. G. Wearing, A. W. L. Robertson, R. J. Houlton, P.G.St.B., F. A. M. Taylor, A. H. Smith, Geo. C. Williams, W. E. J. Peake, A. N. Gutteridge, Alfred J. Barter, Wm. E. Bull, Chas. J. Hobden, J. F. Vesey-FitzGerald, P.A.G.R., Arthur Abbott, C. J. Pocock, A. W. Hare, G. D. Hindley, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.P., J. F. H. Gilbard, S. J. Smith, D. A. Burl, Lambert Peterson, E. Oetzmann, Cecil Powney, P.G.D., E. W. Mason, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., J. A. Gorsky, Arthur Tutte, E. L. Bristoll, Chas. S. Cole, W. Emmerson, W. Brinkworth, Fred. Underwood, C. Challen, Allan Ramsay, E. Eyles, F. W. Meade, L. Danielsson, C. S. Bishop, N. H. Brewster, C. R. Hopping, R. J. Sadlier, P.A.G.St.B., S. M. Hills, R. Cropley-Davies, H. C. Bruce Wilson, Fred. S. Terry, A. W. H. Jones, J. H. Clark, and J. Johnstone.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. P. A. Selfe, P.Dis.G.S.B., Bengal; Eric M. Baxter, St. Martin's Lodge No. 2320; S. A. Pope, P.A.G.D.C.; H. A. Horsnell, Lodge of St. James No. 765; Ray J. Morgan, Justinian Lodge No. 2694; Reginald Large, J.W., Moorfields Lodge No. 4949; E. A. Turner, I.P.M., Alma Lodge No. 3524; Pat W. Moran, Lancastrian Lodge No. 2528; G. B. Redfern, S.W., Cornerstone Lodge No. 4941; and P. E. Brinker, W.M., Bolingbroke Lodge No. 2417.

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Letters of Apology for non-attendance were reported from:—Bros. Ivor Grantham; H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; and A. W. Oxford, M.A., Almoner.

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Eighteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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W.Bro. William James Williams, the Master Elect, was presented for Installation, and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. H. C. de Lafontaine, assisted by Bros. G. P. G. Hills, David Flather and F. W. Golby.

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The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. David Flather	S.W.
W. K. Firminger	J.W.
W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
W. J. Songhurst	Treasurer
Lionel Vibert	Secretary
G. P. G. Hills	D.C.
B. Telepneff	S.D.
D. Knoop	J.D.
A. W. Oxford	Almoner
G. Elkington	I.G.
J. H. McNaughton	Tyler

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBIT:—

By Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE.

Button Badge. A gold square and compasses on a light blue field, surrounded by the inscription "Liverpool Masonic Cycling Club" in gold on a dark blue border. The maker's name is A. A. Parker, Liverpool. There is no date and no other inscription.

The Cycling and Athletic Lodge, No. 2335, was constituted at Liverpool on 28th November, 1889, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Geo. W. Bullamore, who had kindly lent it for Exhibition.

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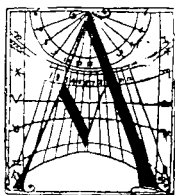
The WORSHIPFUL MASTER then delivered the following



## INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

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BRETHREN,



As the time approaches when, in the customary order of events, the Wardens of this Lodge contemplate the prospect of their election and installation and the fulfilment of their responsibility as Master of the Lodge to address the Brethren from this Chair, the first question which insistently demands an answer is that of the subject to be dealt with in that address. The answer is not always easily found. There were at least two subjects which successively presented themselves to me as probable answers to that question.

One such subject was the records of Wills of Masons and Freemasons, and the other was the elucidation, by means of the Records of the Corporation of the City of London, of certain outstanding items connected with the history of the Craft in London. Whilst these matters were being pondered, the decision was practically made for me by the unrelenting hand of Death.

Never in all the years (now upwards of 45 years) since this Lodge was consecrated on the 12th January, 1886, has there been such a reaping among our sheaves. Five of our Brethren were removed within the first four months of the year 1931, three of them with tragic suddenness.

First our Worshipful Master, Brother Gilbert W. Daynes, whose achievements in so short a Masonic career were almost certainly unexampled in the history of Masonic Research, completed his earthly course on 9th January, 1931.

(He was the third Master of the Lodge who did not survive to complete his year of office: the other two were Bro. Sadler, installed 1910, and Bro. Levander, installed 1916.)

Then on 9th March, 1931, in less than a week after the successful climax of a great effort to stabilise the general financial position of the United Grand Lodge, came the afflicting intelligence that our Brother and Past Master Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., and President of the Board of General Purposes, had been called hence.

Afterwards the news came that, on 9th April, 1931, while on a railway journey, our Bro. Frederick Joseph William Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., who was Master of the Lodge in 1909-1910, had suddenly ceased from all earthly journeyings.

Earlier in the year we were informed of the death at Buda Pesth of Bro. Ladislav Aurèle de Malczovitch, Representative and Past Grand Warden, Ireland, who having joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1888, became a Member of the Lodge on 5th January, 1894.

Our Brother Arthur Heiron, L.R., after months of weakness, was released on 11th March, 1931. He had only joined the Lodge on 4th October, 1929, but he was the happier because his efforts to throw light on Masonic History had been so recognised and rewarded.

By one of those coincidences which though not premeditated by him may seem to some of us to be not without a purpose, the last words written by our Brother Daynes a few hours before his death, at the end of a Masonic article, were "The night cometh when no man can work."

Such events as these, such words as those, may well direct our attention to the work which the former Members of this Lodge have in fact done. They have ceased from their labours it is true, but the lights they have kindled have illuminated and shall still illumine the path with their forward piercing rays, and make easier the present and future progress of their surviving Brethren.

One of the greatest compliments not infrequently paid to our Brethren is that they have done their work so well that the mines in which they delved have been exhausted, leaving little or nothing for their followers to do. Like many other compliments, there is an element of exaggeration in this, and our Brother Daynes himself, in his small but suggestive book on *The Untrodden Paths of Masonic Research*, has given ample proof of the fallacy of the statement. The plea of finality is the death knell of all research, and no such plea is or can be entertained in the Lodge so long as our Brethren continue to come forward at successive meetings with informative papers on so many and such various Masonic subjects. Their achievements should be our incitements. We shall the more truly honour them if we make the best use of the results of their labours. "Other men have laboured and we have entered into their labours." Even if we feel that there were giants in those days and that some of us are dwarfs in comparison, we must never forget that a dwarf elevated on the shoulders of a giant can, if his eyesight be keen, see more and see further than a giant can see.

If it is permissible for me to indulge even slightly in a didactic vein, I would urge upon the Brethren to study and restudy the *Transactions* and other productions of this Lodge and of its Members, and to extend their studies even beyond the bounds of the *Transactions* and other Lodge publications by reading the other Masonic works of our Brethren. Such a wide scope will enable us more clearly to realise how many matters of great interest there are for the Masonic Student, and how assiduously our Brethren have Thought out, Sought out, Wrought out, and Brought out so many matters of Light and Learning.

The Membership of the Lodge has been composed of about 90 Brethren, of whom 26 survive in addition to our Honorary Member the Grand Master. Although they have all been engaged on the same work, their individualities stand out in a most remarkable way. The papers and the discussions prove that our Members have not been cast in one common mould, and are no mere echoes or repetitions of one another. A representative portion of them have been members of other nationalities, including Bro. Gustav Kupferschmidt, Bro. Gotthelf Greiner, Ladislav A. de Malczovitch and Count Goblet d'Alviella, Past Grand Master, Belgium. Several other Brethren were born beyond the Seas.

The example set by this Lodge on a world-wide scale has incited and guided Brethren in the Provinces and in other Masonic Jurisdictions to form other Lodges and Associations for Masonic Research. It is, however, beyond all question that this Lodge still remains the premier Lodge of Masonic Research, and so holds a pre-eminent position which calls upon all the Members of the Lodge, and of the Correspondence Circle in all its wide expanse, to do all in their power to the utmost of their ability to maintain, support and uphold pure and unsullied the great position gained for us by the labours of our Brethren.

The first Member on the Roll of the Lodge, the first named Founder and the first Master named in our Warrant was Lieut.-General Sir Charles Warren, P.G.D. He was also the last survivor of the nine Founders.

He contributed to the *Transactions* a paper on the Orientation of Temples in vol. i., 36 (which few of us possess), and a Masonic Communication in vol. xv., 85. He will always be remembered for his work of exploration in Palestine, and for his discovery at the bottom of a shaft sunk on the site of the Temple at Jerusalem of a foundation stone bearing a Mason's mark.

The second in order of the Founders was Brother William Harry Rylands, F.S.A. He was probably the greatest Archæological expert of all who have been members of the Lodge. Both before and after the formation of the Lodge he was a great student and investigator of Freemasonry, and by his indefatigable researches in various directions elucidated facts which he published for the benefit of the Craft. He proved by his searches into public records that the men who were present at the Initiation of Elias Ashmole, in 1646, were in nearly every case non-operative masons, and that the same status was held by a large proportion of those who met at the Masons' Hall in 1682.

His paper on *The Masonic Apron* (v., 172) illustrates his practical methods and establishes the history of the development and use of that badge on a firm basis of solid fact. He was also the author of papers on other Societies, such as *The Noble Order of the Bucks, a forgotten rival of Freemasonry* (iii., 140); *The Society of the Gregorians* (xxi., 91); and the *Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England* (xvi., 189). He dealt with *The Symbolism of the Square* (xiii., 28) and wrote *Notes on some Masonic symbols* (viii., 84) and the *Legends of Masonry* (xvi., 4): but time would fail me to set forth the long catalogue of the products of his industrious and versatile genius. He edited for the Lodge the vol. *Q.C.A.*, ix., entitled *The Book of the Fundamental Constitutions and Orders of the Philo Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas*, London, 1725-1727. (This Book is undoubtedly the earliest known document showing clear of all ambiguity the actual existence of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd degrees.)

For a brief time he became the Secretary of the Lodge, and was Editor or Joint Editor of the *Transactions* for many years. One of the most charming sides of his character was the unselfish way in which he aided his Brethren in their researches, giving them in an ungrudging spirit the results of his own work in a manner which almost made them feel that he was indebted to them. He did not become Master of the Lodge until the year 1891.

The next Brother on the list of Founders was Robert Freke Gould, Past Grand Warden. His monumental history of Freemasonry is an amazing store-house of the facts of Masonic History as they were known to him and to his Brethren who so generously and extensively assisted him. Some few of his arguments may be and are dissented from, and certain conclusions arrived at by him may not meet with our unconditional concurrence, but it cannot be gainsaid that as a collection of Masonic information, as distinguished from the fantastic fancies of some earlier and later writers, there is as yet no book in the English language worthy to be compared with it. The two editions of the *Concise History of Freemasonry* (the second edition revised by Bro. Crowe) are useful introductions to the larger History, and in some respects supplement it.

Among the most interesting papers by Bro. Gould in the *Transactions* are several Biographical Memoirs of Masonic Celebrities. I will only name those of them who flourished in the eighteenth century:—*Martin Clare*, iv., 33; *Thomas Manningham*, v., 93; *The Rev. William Stukely, M.D.*, vi., 128; *The Duke of Wharton with which is combined the True History of the Gormogons*, viii., 114; also *The Medical profession and Freemasonry*, vii., 145. Some of his other contributions were on *The Assembly*, v., 203 (a subject also dealt with by Bros. Begemann, vi., 169, and Speth, vi., 173; *Degrees of Pure and Ancient Freemasonry*, xvi., 28 (also dealt with by Bro. Speth, xi., 47, and Bro. Hughan, x., 127); *English Freemasonry before 1717*, i., 112; *Military Masonry*, xiv., 42; *The Antiquity of Masonic Symbolism*, iii., 7.

He was also Editor and Annotator of the Edition of the Regius MS. published by this Lodge in *Q.C.A.*, vol. i., and the Author of works on *The Four Old Lodges* and *Military Lodges*.

The Rev. Adolphus F. A. Woodford, M.A., Past Grand Chaplain, was next on the list of Founders. His labours in Masonic Journalism were many and of great value.

He also compiled the greater part of Kenning's *Masonic Cyclopædia*. He was the first of the Founders to die, and also acted as the first I.P.M. of the Lodge.

His contributions to our *Transactions* are all to be found in the first volume, and they include his Oration at the Consecration of the Lodge, and articles on Freemasonry and Hermeticism and on the Legend of the Quatuor Coronati. He passed away on 23rd December, 1887.

Sir Walter Besant, M.A., and John Paul Rylands, F.S.A., were the next two on the list of Founders, but they made no contribution to the *Transactions*.

Colonel Sisson Cooper Pratt, R.A., the seventh of the Founders, contributed notes on *The Swastika* to vol. iv.

The contributions of William James Hughan, P.G.D., to Masonic Research can truthfully be described as invaluable. He also was one of our Founders, and died on 20th May, 1911, in his 71st year. I refrain from attempting to give anything like an account of his writings, but will stress the importance of his work *The Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry*, a new edition of which was published by the Leicester Lodge of Research only a few years ago, and the *Memorials of the Masonic Union*, with which is bound up D'Assigny's book which throws so much light on Royal Arch history.

He contributed nearly thirty articles to our *Transactions*, including a *Bibliography of the Old Charges*: their classification: articles on various other MSS., and on Engraved lists, on the York Grand Lodge; on the Three degrees, etc., etc. He also reviewed several Masonic works and was an ardent cultivator of friendly intercourse between Freemasons here and in the United States. His contributions to Masonic Magazines and periodicals are too numerous to summarise. He was also an ardent lover of justice: for having found out that the Grand Lodge had acquired the custody in some way of certain most valuable MSS. of the Old Charges which in fact belonged to the Lodge at York, he was able to arrange so that those important documents were restored to their rightful owners, who now hold them and account them among the greatest treasures of that Lodge.

Last on the Founders' Roll was the name of Brother George William Speth, P.A.G.D.C., who died 19th April, 1901, just before attaining the age of 54. He was the Secretary of the Lodge from its beginning until his death. To him has always been ascribed the conception, production and organisation of the Correspondence Circle of this Lodge. Had he done nothing more, his fame as a leader in Masonic Research would have been pre-eminent. But he did much more for Freemasonry in his comparatively brief but very full life. There are numerous articles by him in the *Transactions* covering the ancient history of the Craft and many special features of it, points arising out of the Old Charges, the Assembly, Naimus Graecus, and the number of degrees. Also articles dealing with the connection of Frederick the Great, Kaiser Wilhelm, and Napoleon, with Freemasonry: and papers on the Steinmetz theory, and Freemasonry in Prussia, in Portugal, in Rotterdam and in Scotland. He gave the Lodge the benefit of his familiarity with the German language and by such methods prevented any danger of insularity in our Freemasonry. He made a speciality of reviewing Lodge histories, and the *Transactions* include more than twenty of such reviews besides about seventy reviews of other Masonic books, etc. Those who knew him personally seem to have been enthralled by his amiability, his capability and his reliability.

At his death a fund was raised to erect a beautiful monument to his memory in the Cemetery at Bromley. This is illustrated in *A.Q.C.*, xvi., 205, and is thus inscribed:—

A Sure Friend.  
A Loving Husband  
A Kind Father  
This monument is erected by  
Affectionate Brethren  
Dwelling in both Hemispheres  
to commemorate  
Their Appreciation of his  
Rare attainments  
and their admiration for  
his unparalleled services  
to the Craft.

This address is not intended to be more than a bare outline or suggestion of the kind of work done by our departed Brethren. The names and works omitted will therefore greatly exceed those which are included. Having summarised all too briefly the work of the Founders, it now remains for me to proceed on an even lesser scale with the labours of some of the joining members.

Bro. William Simpson, F.R.G.S., and Hon. Associate, R.I.B.A., was our first joining member. He was the first War Artist, serving in that capacity in the Crimea, the Abyssinian War of 1868, the Franco-Prussian War and the War in Afghanistan in 1879. A distinguished archæologist, he published numerous papers on the antiquities of Palestine, Persia, India and the Far East. To our own *Transactions* he contributed papers on the *Threefold Division of Temples*, *Sikh Initiation*, *The Worship of Death*, and many other subjects, and an important paper on the *Orientation of Temples* was also published by the Lodge. He joined the Lodge in 1887 and died in 1899.

Bro. John Lane, P.A.G.D.C., joined in 1887 and died in 1899. His monumental work *Masonic Records 1717-1894* is a marvel of well-directed diligence. The second edition comprises over 540 large quarto pages, and was published in 1895 under the authority of the Grand Lodge to which he presented the copyright. Perhaps the best summary of its excellencies is to be found in the closing words of Bro. Hughan's introduction. "I have no hesitation in declaring that the volume is a monument of perseverance, research and fidelity, and well deserves the hearty support and lasting gratitude of the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, for whom Bro. Lane has so assiduously and faithfully laboured."

There are five papers by him in the *Transactions* and a few reviews.

The representative character of the Lodge has been a striking feature, and this was well exemplified by Bro. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, LL.D., D.C.L., Past Grand Treasurer of Ireland, who joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1887, and was most swiftly promoted to the Inner Circle in June, 1887. He died in 1916.

Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, whose book on the Quatuor Coronati Lodge has been a great help to me, and to all who have acquired and used it, says: "He was facile princeps the most brilliant of the Lodge's list of 65 members. Practically the whole of his Masonic writings were contributed to the pages of the *Transactions*, and these in themselves are sufficient to stamp the *Ars* as a publication of the highest literary merit. His fluent writing was inspired by a genius and grace of style which enabled his erudite scholarship to be appreciated by all. Everything that he wrote is readable and worth reading, and his contributions on subjects relating to Ireland have done much to place the history of the Craft in that somewhat distressful country on a sure basis. His three fasciculi of *Caementaria Hibernica* cannot possibly be disregarded by any Masonic student, and at once established our brother's reputation as an author and historian."

Here are the titles of some of his A.Q.C. papers:—*Anderson's non-masonic writings*; *Masonic Blue*; *Masonic MSS. in the Bodleian Library*; *The Old Charges and the Papal Bulls*; *The Chevalier D'Eon*; *Contemporary Comments on 18th Century Freemasonry*; *Miss St. Leger (Hon. Mrs. Aldworth) and the Lodges claiming her as a Member*; *The Wesleys and Irish Freemasonry*; *Legend of the S.S. Quatuor Coronati*; *The Templar Legends in Freemasonry*; *Mock Masonry in the 18th Century*; *The Ordeal of the Poker*.

We are happy in having as one of our most energetic Brethren Bro. Heron Lepper, the present Prestonian Lecturer, whose delightful and instructive contributions to the history of Irish Freemasonry are among the jewels of our collection and who is joint author with Bro. Crosslé of the uncompleted History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

Bro. Edmund Hunt Dring, P.G.D., joined the Lodge in 1906, and died in 1928. He was a Managing Director of the world famous firm of Bernard Quaritch. He became Master of the Lodge in 1912. His two papers on the Naimus Grecus Legend (A.Q.C., xviii. and xix.) are perhaps the most learned contributions enshrined in our *Transactions*. Probably his most interesting papers are those on the Tracing Board (in two parts) (A.Q.C., xxix.). They are of enduring value, and the labour of collecting the materials and the numerous illustrations must have been immense. His *Tentative list of English References to and works on Freemasonry published before 1751* (A.Q.C., xxv., 353) is an example of painstaking genius resulting in a highly useful and most entertaining article. It most aptly was printed as the appendix to his Installation address. In the course of years Bro. Dring and others were able to make additions to the collection, but it remains to-day as the most complete list extant.

Bro. W. B. Hextall joined the Lodge in 1909. He was the author of numerous papers which were read in Lodges at Derby, Leicester and elsewhere. Of his many contributions to our own *Transactions* I would select for special mention *The Old Landmarks of the Craft* (xxv.), *The Special Lodge of Promulgation* (xxiii.) and *Some Old Time Clubs and Societies* (xxvii.). He died in 1923.

Bro. E. W. M. Wonnacott joined the Lodge in 1911. He was our Master in 1915, and died on 8th July, 1926, having for some years been Librarian of Grand Lodge. He was himself a storehouse of Masonic Facts, and his greatest passion may have been his insistence on first hand verification of all allegations of fact. Nothing delighted him more than to help any Masonic Student in the acquisition of knowledge. His contributions include essays on *Martin Clare and the Defence of Freemasonry*; *Dr. Dodd, Grand Chaplain*; *Henry Yvele the King's Mason*; *The Country Stewards Lodge and the Green Apron*; and *The Friendly Society of Free and Accepted Masons*, which is probably the longest article in the *Transactions* (vol. xxix., 107 to 214, excluding the discussion), but his most important contribution was undoubtedly that on *The Lodge of Reconciliation 1813-16* (xxiii., 215). This was a very appropriate and necessary sequel to the paper by Bro. Hextall on *The Special Lodge of Promulgation*, which appears in the same volume (p. 37).

Bro. Wonnacott's death took place soon after he had read his paper on *The Rite of Seven Degrees in England*. This paper greatly delighted the Lodge and was deemed to open out an entirely new field for research. (A.Q.C., xxxix., 63.)

Bro. J. Walter Hobbs joined the Lodge on 8th November, 1926. He died on 25th February, 1929. He was the author of papers on:—*An Irish Minute Book, 1782-1797*; *The Antiquity of Freemasonry*; *Mr. Anthony Sayer, Gentleman*; and *The Travelling Masons and Cathedral Builders*. All these are in our *Transactions*, but he was also the Author of various Masonic handbooks, and his range of knowledge and investigation was very wide.

Our Brother Dr. T. M. Carter joined the Lodge on 7th January, 1927. He died on 21st February, 1930. His contributions to the *Transactions* are not numerous, but they are of great value and importance. His papers on *Provincial Warrants* in vols. xli. and xlii. were only capable of being written as the result of laborious, expensive, and difficult investigations and enquiries; and they preserve for the Craft treasures of information, many of which, but for his energy and industry, would probably have been lost.

I refrain from dealing with the Masonic writings of Bro. Daynes. His first contribution to Masonic knowledge won for him not only the First prize in a competition organised by the *Masonic Record*, but, more than that, the Brethren immediately recognised that a Star of the First Magnitude had appeared in the Firmament of Masonic Research. That early promise was in course of ample fulfilment in his brief but brilliant Masonic career, a short account of which was given to us just one year ago when he was installed in this Chair.

Thus I have in this elegy and eulogy called the attention of the Brethren to the treasures we inherit by virtue of the labours of our departed Brethren. The omissions are not due to forgetfulness, but to the necessary limits of time and space. I have purposely omitted any references to the work of Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, because any incidental allusions must necessarily be inadequate.

The various items mentioned are but samples taken from the bulk, and when we add the work of the Brethren who happily are still with us, we are and shall ever remain under an obligation of gratitude, not only to those Brethren who originally founded the Lodge, but to those members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle who have kept the pure lamps of Masonic knowledge burning brightly through all the years that have elapsed since the Lodge was first consecrated in the name of the Great Architect of the Universe.

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At the subsequent banquet, W.Bro. H. C. DE LAFONTAINE, P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

It is a great pleasure to me to have had the privilege of installing Bro. Williams in the Chair of this famous Lodge, renowned throughout the Masonic world as the premier Lodge of Research. It is an honour for any Brother to rise to occupy such a position, but it is an honour that the newly-installed Master richly deserves. I must now, in accordance with our usual custom, give you a brief account of our Brother's social and Masonic position, and his deeds in connection therewith.

Bro. Williams was born on the 29th of October, in the year 1864, at 31, Glebeland Street, Merthyr Tydfil. He was brought to London by his parents a few months after his birth, and his residence was ultimately fixed at Feather's Court, Drury Lane. Here he remained till he married in his 21st year. Looking back on his early career we find that at the age of six and a-half he was a pupil at St. Martin-in-the-Fields National School, which school he left when only twelve years old, with the distinction of being the head boy, an early indication of his untiring zeal. Add to this the fact that actually whilst attending school he had in the evenings, during more than a year, taken a paid situation, and you begin to have an inkling of what indomitable patience was resident in the frame of this honest toiler. At the age of thirteen he entered a solicitor's office in Salisbury Street, Strand, but after a year and a-half of work there he became private secretary to a coal owner who was a client of the fore-mentioned solicitor. This is surely rather a precocious adventuring for a boy of tender years, and I cannot help fancying that Bro. Williams' motto as a youth must have been "Nothing venture, nothing win." After two years of secretaryship, he returned to what was evidently his natural bent, the Law, and entered a solicitor's office, this time in the City, and has remained devoted to legal work till the present day.

With regard to his legal career it should be noted that he obtained a First Class Honours and the Clifford's Inn Prize in the Law Society's final examination, a fine achievement. He was admitted a solicitor in the year 1909. He had entered into holy matrimony in 1885. His three sons were in the war, and the oldest is now one of his partners. The other two unhappily lost their lives in the World War, and here I can deeply sympathise with our Master, for I myself lost a son just before the attack on the Marne.

And now we turn to what is to us the most essentially practical part of his life's work, the practice and performance of Freemasonry. Our Master was initiated in 1918 in the Arcadian Lodge, of which in due course he became the Ruler. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1919, and was admitted to the Inner Circle in 1927. He was exalted in the Arcadian Chapter in 1921, and

now occupies the J. Chair. He is also a member of our Rosicrucian Society, and belongs to the Correspondence Circle of the Leicester Lodge of Research and the Manchester Research Association.

On the Benevolent side of Masonry he is a Vice-President of each of the three Masonic Institutions, a Vice-Patron of the Royal Masonic Hospital, and a Steward of the Masonic Million Memorial Fund. So far as Masonic literature is concerned, he has been a liberal and generous contributor to our store of Masonic knowledge. To our *Transactions* he has given articles or papers on the following subjects:—*The Centre*; *The Nomenclature of Lodges*; *The Goose and Gridiron*; *Alexander Pope and Freemasonry*; *Masonic Personalia*; *A List of Oxford Wills*; *Abp. Becket and the Masons' Company of London*; *A Masonic Pilgrimage through London*; *The King's Master Masons*; *The Gild of Masons in Lincoln* (jointly with Bro. Vibert); *Henry Redman, Operative Mason, and John Home, Speculative Mason*. To *Miscellanea Latomorum* he has made several important contributions. To the *Transactions* of the Leicester Lodge of Research he has given papers on *The Antediluvian Pillars of the Old Charges, as described by an old French poet*, and *Was Robert Southey a Freemason?*, and to the Manchester Association a paper on *Masonic Tombs and Burial Places*. We also find in past issues of the *Masonic Record* the following papers from our Brother's pen:—*Masonic Symbolism in the Volume of the Sacred Law*; *Freemasonry, its Facts, its Forces, its Future*; and *Freemasonry and Secrecy*. And so concludes this brief record of our Master's doings. And what shall we say as to his personal character and worth? In my estimation, he is a man who deserves the highest respect. You may have noticed from what I have said that he is what the world calls a self-made man, and one cannot conceive a more honourable title for any man. But most self-made men betray unconsciously their lowly beginnings. Bro. Williams, by dint of hard work, constant study and admirable perseverance, has made himself a cultivated Christian gentleman, an ornament to any class of society. What I like about Bro. Williams is his absolute sincerity, his open and frank confession of his unswerving adherence to the things that belong to our higher nature, his pious love for the Word of God, his constant witness to the truths of Christianity. I would say that we are favoured in having so intelligent and consistent a Mason to preside over us in the capacity of Master. Let us in gratitude do all we can to make his year of office a happy one. We may have occasionally long-drawn-out arguments from him, a somewhat dogged stubbornness in preconceived principles, original and startling theories, but, take him all in all, he will always be remembered as a good Mason, an honest friend and a model of integrity.

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## REVIEWS.

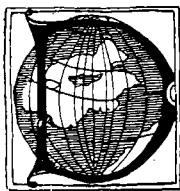
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### THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL 33° OF THE ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED (SCOTTISH) RITE FOR ENGLAND, WALES, THE DOMINIONS AND DEPENDENCIES OF THE BRITISH CROWN.

*By the Rev. Arnold Whitaker Oxford.*

*Oxford University Press. London. Humphrey Milford. 5/-.*

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R. OXFORD is careful, in the title to this work, to define precisely what its scope is. He is not here concerned with the history of the Rite generally; his aim is to give us an account of our own Supreme Council since its formation in 1846. But even so he has not found it possible to avoid a good deal of introductory matter, and the first third of the book is taken up with a rapid survey of that growth of degrees generally which culminated, so far as the A. & A. Rite is concerned, with the formation, at Charleston on May 31st, 1801, of the Supreme Council, 33°, the first body to control the Rite as we know it to-day.

Bro. Oxford wastes no time on what he considers to be legends. The 1754 Chapter of Clermont at Paris is dismissed as a myth in one sentence in a footnote. But is it certain that it should be so summarily disposed of? We owe the story originally to Thory, and his narrative has been effectively demolished by Schiffman (*Die Entstehung der Rittergrade*). But it is the case that de Lernay, a French Prisoner of War in Berlin, set up there in 1760 what he called a Chapter of Knights of Jerusalem working a Rite of seven degrees which he claimed to have brought from France by the authority of the Duke of Clermont. The whole story is too long to tell here, but it does appear that there may have been a body known as the Chapter of Clermont in Paris before 1758. However, it was not working any degree of Rose Croix. Accordingly for that we do not seem to be able to go behind the Council of Emperors of the East and West at Paris in 1758—the date is misprinted 1756 on p. 4—which was working a rite of twenty-five degrees, the 18th being Sovereign Prince Rose Croix. Dr. Oxford mentions various explanations that have been brought forward to account for the multiplicity of degrees that now appeared. Schiffman considers that the original motive behind them was simply that the French aristocracy wanted to have a masonry of their own in which they would not have to associate on the level with petty tradesmen. At the end of the present work the author refers to similar traditions which, he says, may still exist, but which are in fact directly contrary to the teaching of the Order.

He finds no difficulty in Stephen Morin and his Patent of 1761, and he goes on to describe the developments in America, and, once more, one sentence is sufficient to demolish what some still cherish as an imposing fabric. "There is no doubt that the whole story of Frederic the Great and the Constitutions is a pure myth" (p. 11). In his recently published *History of the A. & A. Scottish Rite*, Bro. C. S. Lobingier, of the Supreme Council S. J., has been at great

pains, following Pike, to endeavour to demonstrate the exact contrary. Bro. Oxford himself prints on p. 14 an extract from a letter written by Major Shirreff to the Grand Secretary of the Moderns on 14th November, 1785, which shows that at that date patents were being issued in America which claimed the King of Prussia as the head of the Order. But that by no means involves that he was associated with any formal document of Constitution either in 1762 or in 1786, the year of his death. Neither of these Constitutions had ever been heard of until the Supreme Council at Charleston published in 1802 what it declared was the text of the Constitution of 1786. In this document there is one reference to the existence of the earlier Constitution, but apparently no text of that has ever been produced. Dr. Oxford suggests that the name of Frederick was almost the only one available for the framers of the Constitution at Charleston to select at that date, and it served its purpose. The question of just who was responsible for the mystification, to put it no stronger, is a ticklish one. But our author suggests that it is going too far to denounce it as a wilful fraud. And at this point a quotation from Pike himself comes in appropriately. "There must come a time, in the nature of things, when enquiry into the original title of a Masonic power is barred by lapse of time." To-day the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction "base their ultimate authority and status on their prescriptive title. Such authority and status all the Supreme Councils of the world acknowledge" (p. 12).

The introduction of the Rite into Ireland, Scotland and our own country is then dealt with, and the Charter issued to the Duke of Sussex in 1819 by the Supreme Council of France, a document the very existence of which would seem to have been forgotten in this country, is printed in full. It was never put into effect. In each country there was an infiltration of the Rose Croix degree long before any Supreme Council was formed. Our own Council dates from what Dr. Oxford calls the Second Warrant, which was only obtained after the death of the Duke of Sussex, who for some reason would appear to have been opposed to the working of these degrees.

The subsequent history of the Rite in this country is one of steady development. Bristol alone was able to secure recognition of its "Time immemorial" status, and special privileges. *Antiquity* at Bath was less fortunate or less diplomatic. Dr. Oxford admits, however, that the very serious friction that arose between *Antiquity* and the Supreme Council, that it stigmatised as modern and spurious and a foreign and menacing interference, was largely due to the autocratic attitude of the S.G.C. and G.S. (p. 44). But *Antiquity* eventually gave in its unqualified adhesion to the Supreme Council.

Dr. Oxford criticises the step taken in 1909 of dropping the word *Scottish* from the name of the Rite as a foolish resolution showing a complete ignorance of Masonic history. He makes the interesting suggestion that we owe the present ritual to Dr. Oliver, who was one of the original members of the S.C. It can be dated just before 1853. But he says, "While some of the parts of the revision are excellent some parts are quite the reverse," and he proceeds to give instances of what he describes as glaring faults and meaningless wording. In the conclusion, as he says in the Preface, he has used the privilege of his office to preach a deeper appreciation of real merit, a wider charity and a stronger sense of the spirit underlying the beautiful ceremonial. A chronological list of offices held by members of the Supreme Council and a very full Index complete a work which will be important for all who have at heart the well-being of the Rite and who wish to understand the facts as to its rise and development.

February, 1934.

LIONEL VIBERT.

## NOTES.



**THE FORTITUDE MS. D (d). 48.**—This copy of the Old Charges, which first attracted attention in January, 1934, has been for some time in the possession of the Lodge of Fortitude, No. 281, Lancaster. It is the 99th version of the Old Charges to become known, eight of these existing in print, either complete or in the form of extracts or references. The Lodge of Fortitude is one of only eight 'ordinary' English Lodges which possess such treasures, there being also five in Scotland.

The document is on paper, and consists of eight sheets measuring about 12½ in. by 8½ in. stuck together so as to form a roll which is in all about 7ft. 2in. long, though a few inches are missing from the final sheet if it was originally as long as the rest. At both ends the paper is somewhat frayed, as can be seen from the illustrations. At a comparatively recent date the whole roll has been mounted on a paper of poor quality, evidently to save it from cracking at the joints where the sheets were stuck together: but this backing is now itself very rotten.

The text is well and effectively written with a number of words, names, etc., in red. It is also furnished with a double red-line border throughout the roll: while at the head appears a drawing of the Masons' Arms, fairly normal save that a Latin motto has been introduced into the shield itself. Expert opinion at the British Museum has pronounced the handwriting to be of about 1750. The roll has suffered a good deal from damp-stains, but is legible throughout, except for a few of the words in red ink, some of which have completely disappeared.

The text belongs to the Lansdowne Branch of the Grand Lodge Family, and follows the *Antiquity* and *Foxcroft* MSS. very closely. It must, indeed, be a very near relation to the latter, as there is a strong likeness between the coats of arms drawn in these two MSS., while the concluding paragraph is set out in exactly the same way in each. Like the *Foxcroft*, the *Fortitude* MS. originally had something after the concluding 'Amen'—perhaps a name and date—but whatever it was has now disappeared.

The text of the Lansdowne Branch is of a fairly normal type: one of its principal deviations from the standard text of the Grand Lodge Family being the omission from the historical portion of the story of Euclid—the Euclid Charge having been (no doubt inadvertently) given to Nimrod. But the *Fortitude* MS., though it follows the Branch text very faithfully, has three unusually interesting additions to the text:—

(i.) In the account of Solomon, the passage commencing:

“(for his ffather Davids sake . . . .”

and ending:

“. . . of the Daughters of Dan)”

is almost entirely interpolation. This, on the whole, looks extremely like the influence of the *Cole* engraving, or that of some other member of the Spencer Family: though the reference to Dan cannot have come from that source, and might be taken either from the Bible or, more likely, from the *Book of*

*Constitutions.* The reference to "Hiram or Hiram" in the same section of the history also points rather to the latter source.

(ii.) In the second 'general Charge' we find:

"true Liege-man to the Present King of England and Successively"

where the usual reading is simply

"true liege man to the King of England."

It is difficult to see the purpose of the addition in the middle of the eighteenth century, though it might have been quite natural in the last decade of the seventeenth, to which period both the *Antiquity* and *Foxcroft* MSS. belong.

(iii.) In the same charge we find an explanation of a 'Mason allowed':

"yt is to say have entred into the Society by passing a Lodge and being approved by ye Single Charges."

This is without a parallel in any known copy of the Old Charges, and is of great interest. It is not easy to see the exact meaning of the phrase 'being approved by ye Single Charges': but if, as seems likely, these are identical with the 'Charges Single' (usually 'Singular'), or the code which follows the 'Charges Generall,' the whole clause seems to suggest a Mason who has reached the status of 'Master or Fellow' in a regular manner according to ancient custom—i.e., in a Lodge where the reading of the 'Old Charges' is still the prominent feature of the ceremony of admission. The use at such a late date of the term 'Society,' whose vogue was before, rather than after, the days of Grand Lodge, points perhaps in the same direction.

It is, of course, possible that both (ii.) and (iii.) came into the text in (say) 1690-1700, and that the *Fortitude* MS. is merely a copy of some fifty years later. But the interpolation (i.) would seem to belong to a date not much earlier than 1730: and the similarity to the *Foxcroft* MS. in the drawing of the coat of arms suggests that both were direct copies from their common original.

A transcript of the full text, together with four photographs, is given in Q.C. Pamphlet No. 3, which is the Prestonian Lecture for 1933.

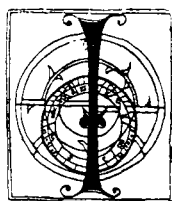
H. POOLE.

**The Mother Lodge of Australia.**—The footnote at p. 73, which describes No. 218 I.C. in the 48th Regt. of Foot as the Mother Lodge of Australia, appears to be at variance with Gould's statement (*History*, iii., 388), where he says: "The Lodge of Social and Military Virtues—No. 227 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Ireland . . . paved the way for the establishment of stationary Lodges, and Irish warrants were issued to Nos. 260, Australian Social, in 1820 . . ." If this is to be taken to mean that No. 227 was the founder of Freemasonry in Sydney, Gould is in error. The 46th Regiment preceded the 48th in garrison there, but the Lodge in the former (No. 227) though it worked during its stay there did not consider itself entitled to initiate any but military men. Lodge 218 in the 48th Regiment was bound by no such scruples. It initiated 28 members prior to 1820, half of whom were civilians and given as of Sydney, N.S.W. More than this, it gave the civilian masons a dispensation to meet as a Lodge and then obtained for them a regularising Irish Warrant, No. 260, dated 6th January, 1820. This Warrant was resigned when the Lodge joined the G.L. of N.S.W. in 1885. The Lodge is still working as Australian Social Mother No. 1 New South Wales. From 1822 till 1843 this Lodge possessed a charter from the G.L. of Ireland enabling it to give dispensations to constitute Lodges in Tasmania and N.S.W. The names in the Warrant, No. 260, were Matthew Bacon, Jas. Stewart and Joseph Allen, all of No. 218.

J. HERON LEPPER.

## OBITUARY.

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It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**Horace Burr-Higgs**, of Durban, Natal, in 1931. Our Brother was a member of Lodge of St. Matthew No. 539 (Walsall, Staffs.), and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1918.

**Jerome Lucius Cheney**, of Syracuse, N.Y., in 1931. Bro. Cheney was a member of Lodge No. 305, and held the office of Grand Scribe. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1918.

**Bertram Lester Clark**, of London, on 28th September, 1931. Our Brother was J.W. of Assurance Lodge No. 5160. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May this year.

**J. Francis E. Hall**, of West Looe, Cornwall, on 21st September, 1931. Bro. Hall was P.M. of Greenwood Lodge No. 1982, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1913.

**Walter Richard Makins**, of London, on 1st November, 1931. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., N. & E. Yorks., and was P.Z. of Zetland Chapter No. 236. Bro. Makins had made a special study of Freemasonry in York, on which he had written several valuable papers. At the time of his death he was Assistant Librarian to the Grand Lodge of England. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Capt. **C. L. V. Marno**, of London, S.W., in 1931. Bro. Marno was P.M. of Doneraile Lodge No. 3558. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1930.

Col. **Charles Warren Napier Clavering**, of Taunton, on 22nd October, 1931. Our Brother held the office of Provincial Grand Master, and Grand Superintendent, Northumberland. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1910.

**Eardley Norton**, of Madras and Calcutta, on 13th July, 1931. Bro. Norton was P.M. of Eastern Star Lodge No. 1189. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in November, 1895.

**Charles Henry Ochse**, of Harrismith, O.F.S., on 16th August, 1931. Our Brother was a member of Rising Star Lodge No. 1022, and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in 1929.

**Cecil John Rawlinson**, of Enfield, Middlesex, on 27th October, 1931. Bro. Rawlinson had attained L.R., and was a P.M. of Beacontree Lodge No. 1228. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since May, 1907.

**Frederick William Reeves**, of St. Vincent, B.W.I., in 1931. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.W. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

**Alfred Leonard Rider**, of Redcar, Yorks., on 9th October, 1931. Bro. Rider held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1915.

Lieut.-Col. **Miles John Stapylton**, O.B.E., of York, on 16th November, 1931. Our Brother held the office of Dep.Pr.G.M. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in 1926.

**John Sullivan**, of London, W.C., on 9th September, 1931. Bro. Sullivan held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.) He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1907.

**Montague Lionel Sytner**, of Bloemfontein, on 1st October, 1931. Our Brother held the rank of Pr.G.Sec. (D.C.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

**Frederick Conkling Van Duzer**, of London, W.C., on 14th November, 1931. Bro. Van Duzer held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1906.

**Frederick Whinfield**, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on 14th November, 1931. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.Dep.G.D.C., and was Z. in John Page Chapter No. 3619. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

**Samuel Blaze Wilkinson**, of Northampton, on 15th August, 1931. Bro. Wilkinson held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in November, 1888. For many years he acted as Local Secretary for Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire.



## ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1930:—

*LODGES, CHARTERS, etc.*:—District Grand Lodge of Egypt and the Sudan. Cairo; St. Peter's Lodge No. 476, Carmarthen; Freetown Lodge No. 1955, Freetown, Sierra Leone; Star of Southern China Lodge No. 2013, Canton; Rockingham Lodge No. 4282, Swinton, Yorks.; Thoresby Lodge No. 4920, Leeds; Liberal Arts Lodge No. 677, Los Angeles, California; North Carolina Lodge of Research No. 666, Monroe, N.C.; St. John's Lodge of Instruction No. 167, London, N.W.; Swansea and District Masonic Study Circle, Swansea; Huddersfield and District Installed Masters' Association, Huddersfield.

*BRETHREN*:—Sydney Arthur Adams, of Epsom, Surrey. 2422; George Alderson, of Skipton, Yorks. P.Dis.G.D. Nigeria; Leonard George Annetts, of London, W. P.M. 3268, J. 3601; Cyril Stanley Norman Appleyard, of Leeds. 380, 380; William Henry Appleyard, of Leeds. 380, 380; George Herbert Bacon, B.A., of Farnham, Surrey. 1046, 1046; Alfred Henry Bagnall, of Baildon, Yorks. P.M. 387, P.Z. 387; Tom Watson Bailey, of Berkhamsted, Herts. P.M. 504, P.Z. 504; Frank Ernest Baird, of Great Yarmouth. P.M. 3905, 100; William Baker, of Stockton-on-Tees. P.M. 2104; Wilfred Rendell-Baker, of Stratford-on-Avon. S.D. 4243, 348; Thomas Baldwin, of Bognor Regis. 1726, 38; Archibald Anderson Ballard, of Kelowna, B.C., Canada. P.M. 41, Sc.E. 17; Harry Bannister, of Easingwold, Yorks. S.D. 1416, 837; Arthur Cyril Barker, of Heckmondwike, Yorks. 603, 603; Fred. H. Barrows, of Providence, R.I., U.S.A. Dis.Dep.G.M., P.H.P. 1; Walter Charles Batchelor, of Mitcham, Surrey. 5055; Eric Mackay Baxter, of Whitehaven, Cumberland. 2320, 298; Hon. Abraham M. Beitler, of Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A. P.G.M.; Harry Thomas Benzies, of Glasgow. 1241, 189; Charles M. Berkeimer, of Los Angeles, California. 577, 33; Charles Henry Boryer, of Cheam, Surrey. J.D. 4892, 1392; *Lieut.-Col.* William Bowring, of Barbados. B.W.I., Dis.G.M.; Joseph William Bramham, of Normanton, Yorks. P.M. 1019, P.Z. 1019; W. P. Breach, of Chichester, Sussex. P.Pr.G.D., P.Pr.G.Treas. (R.A.); Percival Faulconer Bridgman, of Lewes, Sussex. 311; Ernest Lionel Bristoll, of London, W. 3901, 1839; Niels Johannes Ludvig Buch, of Copenhagen, Denmark. Dep.M. 7; Dr. Frank D. Burns, of Denver, Colorado. P.M. 46, P.G.H.P. (R.A.). Hugh B. Carpenter, of Providence, R.I., U.S.A. G.Chap.; Dr. Kenneth Burritt Casselman, of Vancouver, Canada. 12; *Capt.* Reginald Alfred Edgar Castle, of Bournemouth West. P.M. 2559, Pr.G.D.C. (R.A.); Leonard Jay Chater, of Cambridge. P.M. 88, H. 88; Frederick Henry William Church, of London, N.W. W.M. 2241, Sc.N. 1260; Bertram Lester Clark, of London, W.C. J.W. 5160; Arthur Edwin Clarke, of London, N.W. P.M. 2665, P.Z. 3221; Carl H. Claudy, of Washington, D.C. S.W. 17, 3; David Cohn, of La Ceiba, Spanish Honduras. P.M. 1266 (S.C.), 2 (La.C.); Ernest James Coker, of Newhaven. P.M. 3277; Arthur Harold Cole, of Nassau, Bahamas. P.M. 3434, P.Z. 3434; Sydney George Cole, of London, W. 2265; Charles Herbert Cornelius, of Thorpe Bay. W.M. 3610, 3610; Walter Joseph Craven.

of Evesham. W.M. 3308, 3308; Ernest Edward Cromack, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 3; George Arthur Crome, of London, S.E. P.M. 1269; Ralph Fennell Daffern, of Canton, China. 2013, 2013; Lewis Daugherty, of Cape Girardeau, Mo. P.M. 93, 75; Richard Newnham De Niord, M.D., F.A.C.P., of Buffalo, N.Y. P.M. 240, 163; Henry James Deane, B.E., of London, S.W. P.M. 4759, A.So. 3244; David Dickinson, of Leeds. J.W. 380, 380; George Victor Dodderidge, of Worcester. 3378, Sc.E. 3378; Joseph Roderick Dore, of Cardiff. P.Pr.G.D., 4026; William Henry Edwards, of Epsom, Surrey. P.Pr.G.D., 4845; William James Elliott, of Maidenhead. P.A.G.D.C., P.G.St.B. (R.A.); H. H. Faulkner, of Tientsin, N. China. W.M. 3001, J. 3001; Ernest Fawcett, of Leeds. 380, 380; Andrew Whelpdale Fayle, of Lewes, Sussex. 1303, 311; Frank Leslie Fitness, of Welwyn Garden City, Herts. P.M. 3244; Richard Hubert Ford, of Jersey, C.I. I.G. 4449, 244; Harold Henry Styles Francis, of Portsmouth. W.M. 1428, Pr.So. 1428; Samuel M. Goodyear, of Carlisle, Pa., U.S.A. P.G.M.; John Harvey Havers Griffin, of East Grinstead. P.M. 1619; Frederick Cecil Gullen, of Toronto. P.M. 384; William M. Hamilton, of Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A. P.G.M.; Tan Han-ti, of Rangoon. 4270, 832; Colin Harman Harris, of Purley, Surrey. W.M. 4273, Sc.N. 2147; Laurence Healey, of Vancouver, B.C. J.W. 44; Rev. Alexander St. John Heard, of Caterham. P.M. 3355, 2095; Hon. Otto Robert Heiligman, of Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A. S.G.W.; Robert Bower Heller, of Akron, Ohio; P.M. 83, 25; Percy B. Henshaw, of Sheffield. P.M. 139, P.Z. 139; William Hole, of Bristol. 1833; William Edward Hollick, of Portsmouth. 3473, 3473; Albert Clifford Holliday, A.R.I.B.A., of Jerusalem. 4611; Arthur Robert Hughes, of Colombo, Ceylon. 228 (N.Z.C.); Johannes Hvid-Moller, of Copenhagen, Nordstjernen; Rev. Percy Ineson, of London, E. 4268, 4268; Walter Willson Jervis, of Bristol. W.M. 1404, 187; Arnulf Laurence Johannson, of Trail, B.C., Canada. P.M. 100; Axel Richard Johnson, of St. Paul, Minn. 258, 1; Thomas Ernest Johnston, M.A., LL.D., of London, S.W. 332 (I.C.), 332 (I.C.); John Charles Jones, A.M.I.E.E., of Twickenham, Middsx. S.W. 3301, 3301; Stephen Mather Jones, of Derby. P.M. 4424, P.Z. 1674; William Isaac Jones, of Omaha, Neb. 6 (Kan.C.), 4 (Kan.C.); Barnett Claude Joseph, of Stratford-on-Avon. 2133, 2133; Francis Thomas Kenyon, of Penrith. P.M. 339; Joseph King, of Birmingham. 2654, 2654; Sigurd Koch, of Bodo, Norway. Midnight Sun; Robert Theodore Oswald Lammert, of Canton. 2013; William Lawrence Langley-Taylor, of London, S.W. P.M. 2158, P.So. 2158; Eugen Lennhoff, of Vienna, Austria. P.G.D.C.; Dr. Ernest Levine, LL.D., of Glasgow. W.M. 753, 50; Dr. Samuel Leviten, of London, S.W. 205, 205; Samuel Lillicrap, of Canton. S.W. 2013, Sc.E. 2013; James Maitland McHutchon, of Victoria, B.C., Canada. P.G.D., Dep.Dis.G.M., S. China. P.A.G.So.; Percy McIntyre, of Kingston-on-Thames. P.M. 2444, J. 2444; Robert MacIntyre, of London, E.C. P.M. 1928, H. 1928; David Macnair, of Plymouth. P.M. 4235; Walter Bertie Cecil Mair, of Woodford Wells. 1507, 1507; Fred. Matthewman, of Sheffield. P.M. 2268, J. 296; Ralph Arthur Millington, of Shipley, Yorks. P.Pr.G.D., Pr.G.Treas (R.A.); William Henry Halpin Moffat, of Westbank, B.C. P.M. 83, 22; Jos. F. Molloy, of Toronto. P.M. 547, P.G.Pt. (R.A.); Charles Frederick Morris, of Birmingham. P.M. 2654, J. 2654; H. W. Moulton, of Holt, Norfolk. S.W. 2602, P.So. 2602; Samuel Nevill Neild, of London, W.C. 2893, 1293; Albert Nordeen, of Port Orchard, Wash., U.S.A. W.M. 98; Frank Herbert Nuell, of Bristol. 4503, 103; William Francis O'Farrell, of Canton. 2013, 218 (S.C.); Sir Norman Archibald Orr-Ewing, Baronet, of Stirling. Dep.Pr.G.M.; Benjamin Page, of Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A. Dep.G.M.; William James Palmer, of Thornton Heath, Surrey. L.R., P.M. 3237, L.C.R., P.Z. 3237; Albert Lionel Parsons, of Cambridge. 2068; Floyd Patterson, of Olympia, Wash., U.S.A. 18; John Edward Pearce, of Bristol. P.M. 970; Matthew Pearson, of Holt, Norfolk. P.M. 2602; John William Pickin, of



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*Note.*—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.

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# Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



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