# St. John's Day in Harvest.

## FRIDAY, 24th JUNE, 1932.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Williams, W.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Supt.W., as S.W.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Supt.W., P.M., D.C.; *Rev.* A. W. Oxford, *M.A.*, *M.D.*, P.G.Ch., Almoner; and F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., as I.G.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. W. Hare, Wm. T. Dillon, P.A.G.Purs., A. G. Harper, Jas. S. Charters, *Major* Cecil Adams, P.G.D., J. Toon, Ernest E. Sharp, Chas. S. D. Cole, G. L. Brighton, L. G. Wearing, Sam. Leighton, G. W. South, *Lieut.-Col.* G. I. Davys, P.G.D., *Rev.* J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., S. R. Miller, H. F. Mawbey, Percy Ineson, T. L. Gadd, W. W. Woodman, G. C. Williams, *Col.* Cecil Powney, P.G.D., W. J. Palmer, A. Saywell, Henry G. Gold, E. W. Marson, Lambert Peterson, R. Matthews, J. F. H. Gilbard, W. Brinkworth, F. C. Fighiera, P.G.D., H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., *Col.* Fred G. Terry, Wm. Lewis, J. Edward Whitty, W. Parrett, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.Supt.W., Lewis Edwards, Ernest J. Marsh, P.G.D., S. S. Huskisson, and Sydney G. Cole.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. L. A. Monro, Mimmine Lodge No. 4932; F. A. Philbey, Chap. Unity and Prudence Lodge No. 5 (V.C.); J. Howie, Lodge Power Palmer No. 2924; and H. C. Forres, Old Alleynian Lodge No. 4165.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Ivor Grantham; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, J.D.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff, S.D.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; John Stokes, *M.D.*, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.D., Warwicks; and *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Ch.

Twenty-six Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

POCKET-COMPANIONS:—

Lent by Supreme Council, 10, Duke Street.

Gründliche Nachricht. 1738.

Lent by Bro. Lewis Edwards.

Thompson, 1764, with the "Character of a Freemason."
Scott, Third Edition, 1764, with the autograph of Dr. Oliver.

From the Lodge Library.

Smith, London, 1735.
Smith, London, 1736.
Scott, London, 1754, 1759.
Edinburgh, 1752, 1754 and 1763.
Dublin, 1761.
Air, 1792.
Glasgow, 1771.

PHOTOGRAPHS:—

Frontispiece of the Dublin 1735.
Title-page of Book M., 1736.
Frontispiece, Haarlem Zakboekje, 1740.
First Title-page, id.
First Title-page, Dublin, 1751.
Title-page, Glasgow, 1754.

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A cordial vote of thanks was passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition.

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Bro. *Major* CECIL C. ADAMS read the following paper:—

# THE FREEMASONS' POCKET COMPANIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

*BY BRO. CECIL ADAMS,* M.C., *P.G.D.*

## INTRODUCTION.

HE growth and development of Freemasonry in the British Isles in the early part of the eighteenth century might, one would imagine, have been turned to good account by the publishers and printers of the day. Actually, but few books on the subject appeared at this time, and we can guess the reason. In England, Dr. James Anderson had collected all items of interest, or use to the members of the Craft, and these he published in the *Book of Constitutions* of 1723; this was the standard manual, not only in England, but also in Scotland, and in Ireland until the appearance of Pennell's *Constitutions* in Dublin in 1730. Anderson held the copyright of the English *Constitiutions*, and the only likely source of income to the free-lance publisher would be an unofficial copy of the Old Charges, or an 'Exposure.'

For Dr. Anderson's compilation there must have been considerable demand, as it contained not only the Charges and Regulations, but the Songs, which, in those days, occupied no small part of the time devoted to Masonic work. In fact, this book embraced all the Masonic knowledge which might be given, apart from the Ritual itself.

There were two disadvantages from which Anderson's *Constitutions* suffered, their size, and their price. The book was a heavy quarto volume and could not be carried easily in the pocket; it would, therefore, not be convenient for the Mason to take to his Lodge. The price, also, would, I am sure, be sufficient to prevent the book from acquiring general popularity. It is curious that we do not know the cost of the first *Constitutions*, but it is unlikely that they were much cheaper than the edition of 1738, the price of which was 10s. 6d.[1] The size and style of the book do not give the impression that it could be sold for much less, even in those times, and we can be sure that Dr. James Anderson would not willingly have sold it at a loss. At various dates about this time, a *Book of Constitutions* was advertised in Ireland for 2s. 2d. (2s. British),[2] but I cannot believe that this was the official publication; probably, it was a cheap reprint.

There was, then, the need of a cheap, portable edition of the *Book of Constitutions*; something which a Freemason could buy for a few shillings, and carry with him in his pocket to Lodge. No official action, however, was taken, and when, in 1734, Anderson's book was out of print and becoming scarce, the opportunity was seized by William Smith, who issued the first *Pocket Companion* in London. This was soon followed by editions in Dublin and Newcastle, and later in many other parts of the British Isles and abroad.

These early *P.C.'s*[3] which had no official sanction, at any rate in England, generally appeared at a time when the official *Constitutions* were scarce, or out

[1] *Ancient Freemasonry and the Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18*, Arthur Heiron, p. 23.

[2] *A.Q.C.*, xli., 205; Lepper and Crosslé, vol. i., 51, 52; Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, III., 34.

[3] The abbreviation *P.C.* will be used for the words *Pocket Companion.*

of print, as this must have been the best opportunity for a good market. These books might be termed unofficial *Constitutions*, but to my mind, one of the essential features of a *P.C.* is that little of it is original, the contents being mainly copied from other sources.

These little books undoubtedly supplied a genuine demand for many years. Preston's *Illustrations of Freemasonry* which first appeared in 1772 seems to have taken the place of *P.C.'s* to a great extent, for the editions after that date are few and far between. Similar publications under various titles have, however, appeared up to quite recent times. I do not propose, in this paper, to deal with any books published after the end of the eighteenth century, for those which came later were of a different character. In fact, there are a few so-called *P.C.'s* of the eighteenth century, which are no more than Masonic Song Books, and cannot, therefore, properly be included in this survey. These are mentioned in Appendix I., which gives a list of every *P.C.* of the period that I have been able to trace. There is only one book (apart from those published abroad) dealt with here in detail which is not entitled a *Pocket Companion*, namely, the *Book M.*, published at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1736. It would be unsatisfactory to omit this little book, which has all the characteristics of a *P.C.*, and differs from them only in name.

All the early *P.C.'s* are rare, some of them very rare. Probably the best indication of their scarcity will be a reference to the Table which I have given in Appendix I., showing some of the libraries in which copies are to be found.

## THE FIRST *POCKET COMPANION*, LONDON, 1735.

As William Smith's first book served as a model for the later editions, we must examine it in some detail. It contains a frontispiece and 122 pages. The size is small octavo, although it is printed as a quarto book with eight pages to a signature. The Frontispiece is an allegorical design, including classical figures and instruments of architecture. It was evidently drawn especially for this book, and no other design for the frontispiece of any *P.C.* was published until 1754.

The designer of the frontispiece was Thomas Worlidge (1700-1766), a Freemason and a well-known artist.[1] In 1730 he was Junior Warden of Lodge No. 89, and in the same year a member of Lodge No. 99.[2] He married a daughter of Alessandro Maria Grimaldi (1659-1732),[3] whom he succeeded in business, and it is noteworthy that Lodge No. 89 contains in its list of members for 1730 the name of Alexander Grimaldi, who was probably Worlidge's brother-in-law. Worlidge lived at the Piazza, Covent Garden, and afterwards next door to where Freemasons' Tavern, in Great Queen Street, was afterwards built.

From the imprint we see that the engraver of the plate was J. Clark, but this man I have been unable to trace with any certainty. I have found a note by the late Bro. W. Wonnacott that he had met with a reference to a Trade Card of John Clark, an engraver of about 1740, who may have been the same individual. In the Lodge Lists of 1723[4] there is a John Clark, a member of the Lodge at the Blew Boar, Fleet Street. Certainly there were engravers in this Lodge at that date, including Emanuel Bowen, the Master.

This book has two title-pages, one immediately following the frontispiece, with date 1735, and the second preceding the songs, with date 1734. The printer is E. Rider in Blackmore Street near Clare Market, and to him we shall refer again. No price is given on the title-page, but I find that on 1st December, 1735, Dr. Rawlinson expended 2s. for the *Free Mason's Pocket Companion*,[5] and I cannot think that this refers to any other book.

[1] See *D.N.B.*
[2] G.L. Minutes.
[3] See *D.N.B.*
[4] G.L. Minutes.
[5] *A.Q.C.*, xi., 13.

There is a short Dedication signed "W. Smith." This refers to "The great Increase of our Society" which appears to have been one of the reasons which made publication advisable. The Preface mentions the demand for a "small Volume, easily portable," and states that the History of the Craft as given in the *P.C.* is largely extracted from the *Book of Constitutions*.

The History occupies twelve pages, beginning with about half a page, which is not in the *Constitutions* and may have been written by Smith himself. It continues according to Anderson, but is abbreviated, and somewhat paraphrased.

The building of the Third Temple by Herod and its destruction by Titus Vespasian is the only incident of early history which Smith gives, but which is not mentioned by Anderson. The History in the *P.C.* continues from where Anderson left it, with reference to the famous buildings of the day and their architects, the Earl of Burlington, Mr. Kent and Mr. Flitcroft, and, lastly, there are four paragraphs relating to Ireland where "there are several stately Remains of the antient Grandeur . . . In Dublin is a noble Palace, . . .; a stately Tholsel: . . . a fine new Building, call'd Dr. Stevens's Hospital; . . ." Bro. J. Heron Lepper tells me that the Tholsel was a building which served all the purposes of a Guildhall. The word was a survival from the times of the Danish founders of Dublin, but it has long been obsolete.

Smith definitely takes his information from Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 and not Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730. Where there is a difference between the two books, Smith in every case follows Anderson. There seems to be no doubt that Smith had an up-to-date knowledge of modern Irish architecture, either personally or from his friends. This *P.C.* has the Irish details as fully recorded as those for England, and I have come to the conclusion that it was originally written for an English and Irish Masonic public.

The references to Scotland in both Anderson and Smith are meagre, and the latter does not appear to have contemplated publication north of the Tweed.

The History is followed by the Charges, General Regulations and the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge, all taken direct from Anderson, but with the name of 'Crawfurd' as Grand Master, which office he held from 1734 to 1735.

The next item is most interesting, namely, "A Short Charge To be given to new admitted Brethren." This is, as far as I can trace, the earliest version in print of the E.A. Charge. It may have been written by William Smith himself, but in any case it seems that we have to thank that individual for being the first to publish it.

After the second title-page follow nineteen Songs. Four of these are from the 1723 *Constitutions*, and one is taken apparently from Pennell's Irish *Constitutions* of 1730. Five of the songs are from the *New Model for Rebuilding Masonry* by Peter Farmer, London, 1730; one is from Cole's collection of 1731, and one (*Let Masonry be now my Theam* . . .) dates from 1733 and is in Rawlinson MS. No. C. 136 in the Bodleian Library. The remaining seven appear here for the first time. The name of the Grand Master occurs in four of the songs, and 'Crawfurd' has been correctly inserted.

In this *P.C.* the 'ladies' verse' of the E.A. Song is given with the head-note "The following Verse is often sung between the Fifth and Sixth Verses." This verse was written by Springett Penn, the first Deputy Grand Master of Munster[1]; in England, where it was at this time unfamiliar, it was thought advisable, no doubt, to add a note.

The songs are followed by a Prologue and two Epilogues, the former and one of the latter being taken from Cole's collection of 1729, the other, I believe, being published for the first time in this *P.C.*

[1] *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. II.

The last part of the book comprises a List of English Lodges and is both valuable and interesting. At first sight, it would appear that William Smith had used a 1734 Engraved List, but a closer examination shows the impossibility of this. The List of 1734 with which we are familiar was printed apparently after the 5th November of that year, as it contains Lodge No. 128 meeting at the Duke of Marlborough's Head, which Lodge was constituted on that date. This List gives the new meeting places of five Lodges[1] which moved during 1734, and the new dates of meeting of two Lodges[2] which altered their arrangements during that year: none of these changes is recorded in the *P.C.* There are also two Lodges which do not appear at all in Smith's work:—

No. 126. Boston in New England. (Const. 31st August, 1733).
No. 127. Valenciennes in French Flanders. (Const. ———. 1733).

In consequence of these omissions, Smith gives No. 126 to the Lodge at the Duke of Marlborough's Head (Const. 5th November, 1734), instead of its correct No. 128.

There is no doubt, therefore, that Smith did not see the Engraved List of the end of 1734. As, however, he records Lodges which were constituted during that year, and also changes in places of meeting which were made during the year (for example, Lodge No. 26 moved twice during 1734; the first move, but not the second, is recorded by Smith) he apparently used an early List of 1734, or even a List of 1733, and made such corrections as he had discovered were necessary.

It is of especial interest to note that in one case, and one case only, Smith gives later information than is contained in the 1734 Engraved List. This is for the London Lodge No. 76 which had met at the White Bear. A move to the Queen's Head, Old Bailey, is given in the *P.C.*, but it is not recorded in any Engraved List with which we are familiar prior to 1735.

The inclusion of the Lodge at the Duke of Marlborough's Head indicates that the *P.C.* was not issued prior to the 5th November, 1734, and as the next Lodge to be constituted (at Plymouth) is dated the 26th January, 1735, the book probably made its appearance before that date. At the end of the *P.C.* are three pages of advertisements, dated the 12th December, 1734, and I am inclined to think that this date was originally intended for publication, but there was a delay of a few weeks, and when the printer was ready, in January, 1735, he struck the main title-page and issued the book. It has been suggested that this *P.C.* first saw light in 1734, and was re-issued the following year with the frontispiece, a new title-page and the dedication and preface. This is possible, but I think unlikely: the second edition would, in that case, have been issued a very few weeks after the first. This suggestion has been discussed by Bro. Lionel Vibert,[3] but I think that we must, for the present, consider that the book was probably issued in the form in which we know it. This is not one of the rarest of the *P.C.'s*, but no copy has come to light with any variety of title-page.

Before we leave the subject of the Lodge Lists, I must point out that there is no entry against No. 79, which is left blank both in the *Book of Constitutions* of 1723 and Smith's *P.C.* of 1735.

There are a number of misprints in the book, and in many places the spelling varies from that used by Anderson. Practically all misprints are corrected in subsequent editions. One correction was made during the actual printing of the book, namely, the insertion of the word *which*, the first word of page 2, which had been omitted in error from the first copies printed.

William Smith made the fullest use of Anderson's *Constitutions*, and incorporated in his book almost every item to which he considered no exception could be taken. Of necessity, he omitted the Frontispiece, Title-page and

[1] Nos. 16, 26, 55, 84 and 114.
[2] Nos. 98 and 117.
[3] *Miscellanea Latomorum*, XI., 97.

Frontispiece, London Edition, 1735.

Frontispiece, Dublin Edition, 1735.

THE

# Book M:

OR,

## MASONRY TRIUMPHANT.

In Two Parts.

PART I.

CONTAINING.

The HISTORY, CHARGES, and REGULATIONS of FREE MASONS; with an *Account* of ſeveral *Stately Fabricks* erected by that ILLUSTRIOUS *Society*.

PART II.

Containing,

The SONGS uſually ſung in LODGES, PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES ſpoken at the *Theatres* in *LONDON* in Honour of the CRAFT; with an Account of all the Places where REGULAR LODGES are held.

*Be wiſe as Serpents, yet innocent as Doves.*

*Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*,
Printed by LEONARD UMFREVILLE and COMPANY. M.DCC.XXXVI.

Title-page, *Book M.*, 1736.

Frontispiece, *Gründliche Nachricht*, Frankfort, 1738.

Gründliche

# Nachricht

von den

# Frey-Maurern,

nebſt

angehängter hiſtoriſchen

# Schutz-Schrifft.

S

Franckfurt am Mayn,
In der Andreäiſchen Buchhandlung,
MDCCXXXVIII.

Title-page, *Gründliche Nachricht*, Frankfort, 1738.

Frontispiece, Haarlem Edition, 1740.

# 't VRYE METZELAARS ZAKBOEKJE,

OF

*Omſtandig Berigt van de*

VRYE METZELAARS,

*Opgeſteld door*

W. SMITH,

*Een Vrye Metzelaar,*

EN

G.T.DESAGULIERS,

*Gedeputeerde Grootmeeſter van dit Gezelſchap.*

Waar achter by gevoegd is

## NIXONS CHESHIRE PROPHETIEN,

*Beneffens deſſelfs*

LEVENS-BESCHRYVING,

*Na de agtſte Druk uit het Engels vertaald,*

En met Aanmerkingen verzeld.

Te Haerlem, gedrukt by *Izaak* en *Joh. Enſchedé,*
Anno 1740.

Title-page, Haarlem Edition, 1740.

A

# POCKET COMPANION

FOR

# FREE-MASONS.

CONTAINING

I. The HISTORY of MASONRY.
II. The CHARGES of a *Free-Maſon*, &c.
III. *General Regulations* for the Uſe of the *Lodges* in and about the City of *Dublin*.
IV. The Manner of conſtituting a *New Lodge*, according to the antient Uſage of *Maſons*.
V. A *Short Charge* to be given to a new admitted *Brother*.
VI. A Collection of the SONGS of MASONS, both Old and New.
VII. *Prologues* and *Epilogues*, ſpoken at the *Theatres* in *Dublin* and *London* for the Entertainment of *Free-Maſons*.
VIII. A LIST of the warranted *Lodges* in *Ireland*, *Great-Britain*, *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, &c.

*Approv'd of, and Recommended by the* Grand-Lodge.

Deus nobis Sol & Scutum.

*DUBLIN:*
Printed and Sold by EBENEZER RIDER in *George's-Lane* near *Chequer-Lane*.
M DCC LI.

Title-page, Dublin Edition, 1751.

continues through the book, but it seems an unnecessary and difficult piece of workmanship, if that were the only reason. The later Dublin editions did not have any Plate Dedication. I suggest that this Irish *P.C.*, although approved by the Grand Master of Ireland, had not the approval of William Smith, the editor, and the Irish publishers did not, therefore, wish the name of such a well-known artist as Worlidge to appear, as it might be brought to his notice. For the same reason, I suggest that the initials "W.S." are used at the end of the Dedication, instead of "W. Smith" which we find in the London book. The use of this abbreviation has been put forward as a reason to show that the editor was well-known in Dublin, in which city his initials were sufficient to identify him. This is hardly a sound argument. Because an author is well-known, he does not at once proceed to discard his full name in favour of initials.

The Title-page includes a list of contents, which did not appear in the London edition; this list is followed by the words: "Approved of, and Recommended by the Grand-Lodge." The imprint is:—

DUBLIN:

Printed by E. RIDER, and sold at the Printing-Office in George's-Lane; T. JONES in Clarendon-street; and J. PENNEL at the Hercules in St. Patrick-street. M.DCC.XXXV.

E. Rider, the printer, was Ebenezer Rider, who was in business in Dublin from 1735 to 1751. He was almost certainly the same individual as the printer of the London *P.C.*, whose place of business was Blackmore Street near Clare Market. Theophilus Jones was known as a printer in Dublin in 1735 and 1736, and in the former year he was printing the *Dublin Evening Post*, which advertised the publication of this *P.C.* J. Pennel[1] was a bookseller in Dublin between 1730 and 1737. At this date he was Grand Secretary of Ireland, which office he held up to the time of his death in 1739.

The text of this book varies little from the London *P.C.*, and obviously it is not taken from Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730. The type has been entirely reset, and the pages are larger, with the result that there are now only 85 instead of 122 pages. A number of mistakes have been corrected, but substantially the two books are the same, and there would appear to be no easily determined reason for a complete resetting. The simplest solution would seem to be that when the London *P.C.* was issued, no Dublin venture was contemplated. Later, when the publishers in Dublin determined to bring out a *P.C.* in that city, either they were out of touch with the London firm which then held the printed sheets, or they did not wish to approach William Smith, as they were working without his sanction. The necessity for referring in the book to the official approbation by the Grand Master might require some alteration in the text, but resetting for this reason would have been quite unnecessary.

The Dedication is headed by an engraving of the Arms of Viscount Kingsland, the Grand Master. In the History there is a laudatory footnote for the Irish readers. The General Regulations are headed: "General Regulations for the Use of the Lodges, in and about Dublin; and approv'd by the Grand Lodge." Some errors in the wording of Regulations XVIII. and XXV. have now been corrected, showing that the Irish publishers compared their work with Anderson's original. A number of small variations occur, and in Regulation IV., the Irish edition gives the age limit of 21 for Candidates. The London *P.C.* gives 25, which was the limit then observed in this country; Ireland conformed to the English practice in this respect in 1741. At the end of the Regulations the words "to about 150 Brethren, on St. John Baptist's Day, 1721," are omitted, and the final phrase now reads "as it was desired and obtained for these Regulations, when proposed by the Grand Lodge." This gives the impression that these Regulations had the approval of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

[1] Usually spelt *Pennell*.

Dedication, as well as the special Dedication to the Duke of Montagu, the Approbation by the Duke of Wharton and the Approval of Grand Lodge. Probably for reasons of economy, he omitted the music of the Songs, but, apart from the advertisements, all other information was included in the *P.C.* except the Postcript regarding the Opinion on the Act against Masons from Coke's *Institutes* and a paragraph on the Company of Masons.

The *Constitutions* which William Smith had copied were acknowledged by the Craft as Dr. James Anderson's private property, and it was not long before the piracy was brought to the notice of Grand Lodge. In the Grand Lodge Minutes of the 24th February, 1735, we find:—

> Br. Doctor Anderson . . . further represented that one William Smith said to be a Mason, had without his privity or Consent pyrated a considerable part of the Constitutions of Masonry aforesaid to the prejudice of the said Br. Anderson it being his Sole Property.
>
> It was therefore Resolved and Ordered That every Master and Warden present shall do all in their Power to discountenance so unfair a Practice, and prevent the said Smith's Books being bought by any Members of their respective Lodges.

On p. 133 of the 1738 *Book of Constitutions* the piracy is expressed in the following terms:—

> . . . the Book call'd the Free Mason's Vade Mecum was condemn'd by the G. Lodge as a pyratical and silly Thing, done without Leave, and the Brethren were warned not to use it, nor encourage it to be sold.

There can be no doubt that these references are to the London *P.C.* of 1735. The immediate effect of this remark in Grand Lodge seems to have been a decrease in sales, for a large number of remainders were left in the hands of the printer, and appeared at a later date.

## THE FIRST IRISH EDITION, DUBLIN, 1735.

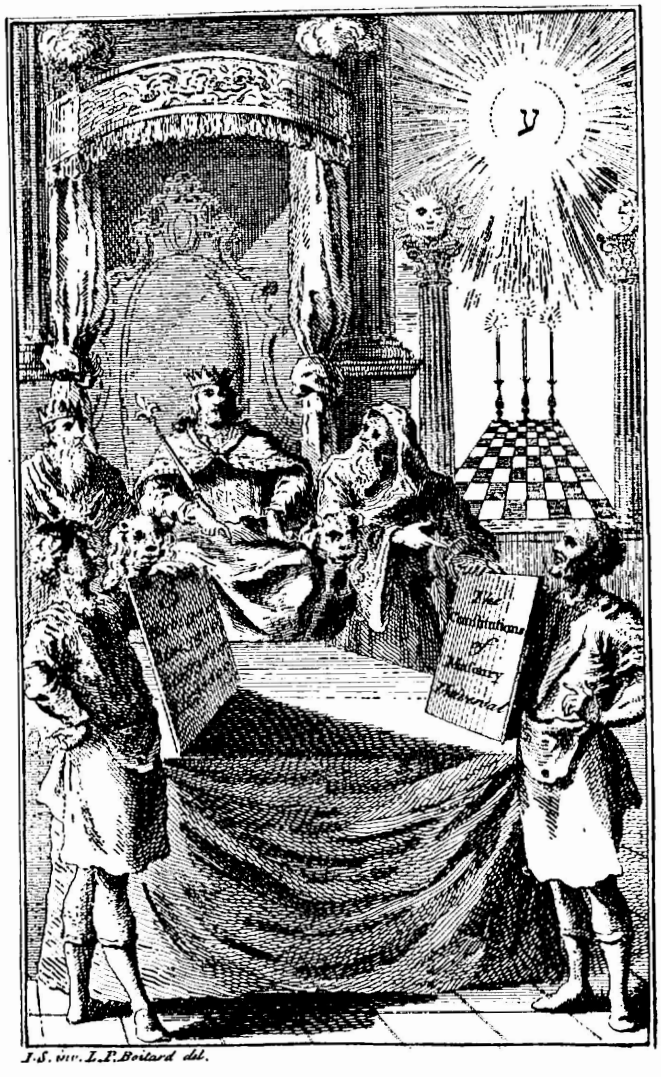
I have already expressed the opinion that William Smith wrote his book for both English and Irish readers, but I am not prepared to say that he wrote for Englishmen in London and Irishmen in Dublin. It seems well worth consideration that primarily the whole of his intended public resided in London. This theory has been advanced by Bro. Lionel Vibert[1] and has much to commend it.

It was not many weeks before the first Dublin edition appeared. In this case there was no question of trouble from Grand Lodge, for the book had the approbation of Viscount Kingsland, the Grand Master. Probably, after the difficulties in England, steps were taken for official approval to be given before the Irish book was issued.

The date of publication is fixed as the 27th May, 1735, by an advertisement on that date in the *Dublin Evening Post*.[2] This gives the price as a British sixpence. The words "(Price Eight-pence)" are printed at the end of the imprint of some of the copies which I have examined, but they do not appear on all.

The Frontispiece of this *P.C.* is taken from the same plate as that used in London, after it had been touched up. The lower edge, with the names of T. Worlidge, the artist, and J. Clark, the engraver, has been carefully cut away, and a new plate joined to the original with the words "This Plate is Humbly Dedicated to the Right Hon$^{ble}$ Henry Barnwal Lord Vis$^{t}$ Kingsland Grand Master of y$^{e}$ Most Ancient & Right Worshipfull Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons." This may be part of the scheme of "official approval" which

[1] *Miscellanea Latomorum*, XI., 97.
[2] *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. II.




Frontispiece, London Edition, 1754.

A

# POCKET COMPANION

FOR

# FREE-MASONS.

CONTAINING

I. The *Hiſtory* of MASONRY.
II. *The Charges* of a *Free-Maſons*, &c.
III. General Regulations for the Uſe of the *Lodges* in and about the City of *Dublin*.
IV. The Manner of conſtituting a *New Lodge*, according to the antient Uſage of MASONS.
V. A *Short Charge* to be given to a new admitted *Brother*.
VI. A Collection of the SONGS of MASONS, both Old and New.
VII. *Prologues* and *Epilogues*, ſpoken at the *Theatres* in *Dublin* and *London* for the Entertainment of FREE-MASONS.
VIII. A LIST of the warranted *Lodges* in *Ireland*; *Great-Britain*, *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, &c.

*Approved of, and Recommended by the* Grand-Lodge.

Deus nobis Sol & Scutum.

*The* FOURTH EDITION.

*GLASGOW:*
Printed by ARCHIBALD M'LEAN, and to be Sold at Mrs M'LEANS ſhop in the *Salt-mercat*
M,DCC,LIV.

Title-page, Glasgow Edition, 1754.

The name of the Earl of Crawfurd has been removed from the heading of the Manner of Constituting a new Lodge. After the Short Charge to be given to new admitted Brethren, we find the Approbation by the Grand Master, which reads:—

APPROBATION.

> We the Grand-Master of the Right Worshipful and Most Antient Fraternity of Free and accepted Masons, the Deputy Grand-Master, and the Grand-Wardens, having perused this POCKET-COMPANION, do give our solemn Approbation for the printing the same; and do recommend it for the Use of the Brethren.
>
> Kingsland, Grand Master.
> James Brenan, M.D. Deputy.
> Wm. Cobbe, } Esqrs., G.W.
> John Baldwin, }

There are nineteen Songs in this *P.C.*, but these are not the same as the nineteen in the London edition. Two from Peter Farmer's *New Model for Rebuilding Masonry* which appeared in the London book have been omitted, and two others are given in their place. The latter seem to have made their first appearance in this Dublin book. The 'ladies' verse' of the E.A. Song was, presumably, well known in Ireland, where it was written, and it appears here in its place without comment. In the Song *On, on, my dear Brethren, . . .* the following new verse appears between the second and third:—

> Of Wren and of Angelo mark the great names.
> Immortal they live as the Tiber and Thames,
> To Heav'n and themselves they such Monuments rais'd,
> Recorded like Saints, and like Saints they are prais'd.

In three of the Songs in which the Grand Master is mentioned, 'Kingsland' takes the place of 'Crawfurd,' while in verse 2 of *On, on, my dear Brethren . . .*, there is an opportunity for a loyal reference to the Crown, and we find 'George.' The three Prologues and Epilogues from the London *P.C.* are reproduced, in addition to a Prologue from Rawlinson MS. C. 136, Bodleian Library (1730), and a Prologue and Epilogue which seem to be original.

The Lodge List is in two parts, Nos. 1-37 being the Irish Lodges, and Nos. 38-163 the Lodges in Great Britain, France, etc. Actually, two Irish Lodges are duplicated, so the true number is 35; they are given roughly according to seniority, except those in Dublin, which are quite haphazard. This is the earliest printed List of Irish Lodges known.[1] The youngest Lodge in the list is No. 37, which is properly No. 36, Limerick City, dating from the 19th November, 1734. These Lodges cannot, however, be used as a guide to check the date of publication, as we do not know the date of Constitution of any Irish Lodge after the 19th November, 1734, until we come to No. 41 of the 1st September, 1735.

The Irish List is followed by the Lodges given in the London *P.C.* without alteration, but the vacant No. 79 (now 116) has been filled by "The Hoop in Water-street in Philadelphia, 1st Monday." The inclusion of this Lodge in the list is not easily explained, as it was never on the books of the English Grand Lodge. The following item in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of the 27th June, 1734, is worth noticing[2]:—

> Monday last a Grand Lodge of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in this Province, was held at the *Tun Tavern* in Water Street, when BENJAMIN FRANKLIN being elected Grand Master for the year ensuing, appointed Mr. John Crap to be

[1] *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. II.
[2] Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, III., 431; also see *Masonic Bibliophile*, Mansfield, Ohio, II., 450.

> his Deputy: and James Hamilton, Esq., and Thomas Hopkinson, Gent., were chosen Wardens. After which a very elegant entertainment was provided, and the Proprietor (Thomas Penn), the Governor, and several other persons of distinction, honored the Society with their presence.

This was reprinted in the *St. James' Evening Post* of the 3rd September and in *Read's Weekly Journal* of the 7th September, 1734, and it would, therefore, be in circulation while the *P.C.* was being prepared for publication. This item in itself may have been sufficient to cause the Dublin editor to take this Lodge in Philadelphia and give it the vacant place on the list, the name of the meeting place being changed from the 'Tun' to the 'Hoop' in the process. Alternatively, as Bro. R. F. Gould has suggested,[1] the new Lodge at Boston had been constituted by this time, and its existence must have been well known. The compilers of the *P.C.* might have heard of a new Lodge in North America and have assumed its identity with the Lodge at Philadelphia.

This *P.C.* concludes with a page of advertisement:—

> In the Press, and speedily will be Publish'd, (Price a British Six-pence) A Defence of the Courage, Honour and Loyalty of the IRISH-NATION, in Answer to the scandalous Reflections of the Free-Briton and others. In a Letter to that Author. By Charles Forman, Esq.; The Fifth Edition with Additions. London, Printed: And Dublin Re-printed by E. Rider, and sold at the Printing-Office in George's-Lane.

I give this advertisement attention, as it tends to verify that E. Rider, the printer of the 1735 *P.C.* in London, was the same individual as E. Rider, the printer of the 1735 *P.C.* in Dublin.

## THE *BOOK M.*, 1736.

I do not propose to deal with the various *P.C.'s* in chronological order, but in the manner that will enable us best to appreciate their relative importance and to survey the whole of these publications to the best advantage.

At once, then, we will depart from strict chronology and consider the *Book M.*, printed in Newcastle in 1736, which may, or may not have been prior to Torbuck's re-issue of the London *P.C.* in that same year.

From the Title-page, which is here reproduced, it will be seen that this book, although not so entitled, has the characteristics of a *P.C.* The printer, Leonard Umfreville, had only a small business, and apparently this is the largest book that he produced. He died on the 9th March, 1737, but the firm carried on for a few more years.[2]

There is no Frontispiece, but a short Dedication "To the Brethren . . . assembling in Lodges in the Northern Counties of England" explains its purpose. This is signed in full "W. Smith," a fact which does not necessarily imply that it had Smith's sanction; in fact, I think that probably it did not. The London *P.C.* of 1735 has been so much altered, a great mass of fresh material has been introduced, much of which is of especial interest to local Brethren, that one is led to feel that changes have been made which the London author would not have sanctioned, and that someone in Newcastle, perhaps Leonard Umfreville, the printer, who was a Gateshead Freemason, with the help of a *P.C.* from London, evolved a new book for local use.

The name of the book has proved an insoluble problem. Perhaps the author thought that *The Book M.* was a suitably mysterious name to attract buyers, but it is also likely that he purposely avoided any obvious connection with the work of William Smith, so that he would keep free from charges of piracy,

[1] Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, III., 441.
[2] *Early Newcastle Typography*, Richard Welford, 1906.

and avoid the risk of incurring the displeasure of Grand Lodge by trespassing, as William Smith had trespassed, on the preserves of Dr. James Anderson. In a poem by Richard Bulkley in this book there is a reference to "The Book *of* M," this inclines me to believe that the meaning is "The Book of Masonry," which is, after all, probably the simplest explanation.

There is a three-page Preface, which again mentions the Brethren in the Northern Counties, recommends the study of Geometry and Architecture, and finishes with the phrase: "I shall now conclude with this good Wish to the whole Brotherhood that Knowledge and Virtue may subsist amongst them 'till Time shall be no more." This is similar to the concluding sentence of the "History" in the London 1735 *P.C.*

There follows something unique in *P.C.'s*, namely, a List of Subscribers. The Lodge at Swallwell [1] (*sic*) took 50 books, 28 Brethren of the Lodge at Hexham [2] took 23 copies, 25 Brethren of the Lodge at Gateshead,[3] including Leonard Umfreville, the printer, took 37 copies, and 63 others took 82 copies, so that altogether 197 copies were disposed of by subscription.

After a quarter of a page of *Errata*, we come to seven Lectures on 44 pages and these constitute the *Pièce de Résistance* of this book. Lecture I. is a History of Freemasonry. After about a dozen lines, which appear to be original, this is taken with some spelling variations from Smith's London *P.C.* of 1735. Lectures II. and III. are on Truth and Brotherly Love respectively. Lecture IV. contains part of the 'History.' It is headed "Read March 8, 1735-6 at the Constitution of a new Lodge at the Fountain in Pipewellgate, Gateshead." Twenty-five members of this Lodge subscribed for the book. It refers to London as the Metropolis of Masonry, but there is no mention of Ireland. It contains the poem *When Sanballat Jerusalem distress'd.* Lecture V. is headed "Read before a great Assembly of Brethren in London." It is on Masonic Symbolism and contains the expression "Let the Names of those be eras'd out of the Book M." The Lecture finishes with the sentence "God is our Sun and Shield. So mote it be." The former words are a translation of the motto "Deus nobis Sol & Scutum," which appears on the title-page of the London 1735 book. Lecture VI. contains a long list of edifices erected in England and Scotland, as in the earlier *P.C.'s*. Lecture VII. is on "Some Memorables relating to our Society" which are collected from various odd corners of the 1723 *Constitutions*. These are:—

1. Hiram Abiff. From the footnote p. 11, *B. of C.*, 1723.
2. The classes of workmen at the building of King Solomon's Temple. From the footnote p. 10, *B. of C.*, 1723.
3. Regarding the maintenance of the civil laws. From the footnote p. 34, *B. of C.*, 1723.
4. The Act against Masons. From pp. 34 and 35, followed by Judge Coke's opinion from p. 57, *B. of C.*, 1723.
5. Regarding Queen Elizabeth's action against Masons. From the footnote p. 38, *B. of C.*, 1723.
6. On the connection between Freemasons and the Company of Masons and other societies. From the footnote p. 82, *B. of C.*, 1723.

There is much new material in *Book M.* which helps to confirm my belief that William Smith had no hand in its production. Nearly every phrase of the latter has been taken from Anderson, and if Smith had in his possession the substance of *Book M.*, he would, no doubt, have made use of it.

The Lectures are followed by three Christian prayers, two verses from the 12th Chapter of Ecclesiastes, and then two blank pages, preceding which is the note: "I leave blank the two following Pages, for the Brethren to transcribe the

[1] Constituted 4th June, 1735. Now No. 48.
[2] An Un-registered Lodge.
[3] Constituted 8th March, 1736. Finally erased, 1768.

'Transactions of the late annual Grand Feast therein.'' The first prayer (*The Might of the blessed Father of Heaven . . .* ) heads most copies of the Old Charges.

Then follow the Charges, Regulations, and as a Postcript, the Manner of Constituting a new Lodge, but without the name of any Grand Master in the heading. This part of the book finishes with the E.A. Charge. All these are the same as the corresponding items in the London 1735 *P.C.*, with spelling variations, and the errors in Regulations XVIII. and XXV. have been corrected. Following the example of that same original, there is here a second Title-page as follows:—

THE
Book M:
Part II.
CONTAINING
The SONGS, POEMS &C. of FREE MASONS; with an Account of the Places where Regular Lodges are held

[Woodcut]

Newcastle upon Tyne
Printed by LEONARD UMFREVILLE
and COMPANY, 1736.

Sixteen of the Songs in the London 1735 *P.C.* have been used, and the '' ladies' verse ' of the E.A. Song appears, as one would expect, with the explanatory note. There are nine other songs, eight of which seem to be original, including two by a member of the local Lodge at Swalwell and one by L. Umfreville, the printer. The remaining song is *Here's a health to our Society* from the *Grand Mystery Discovered* of 1724. In the four songs in which the name of the Grand Master is mentioned, ' Crawfurd ' has been replaced by '' Weymouth ' (G.M. 1735-1736). The Prologue and two Epilogues have been taken from the London *P.C.*, and there is also an Epilogue beginning *Well Ladies! of the Art of Masonry*, which first appeared, I believe, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1732.

The List of Lodges follows the London *P.C.* very closely. Except for spelling variations, there are no changes up to No. 126, No. 79 being blank in both lists. Nos. 127-130 are shown blank in *Book M.*, the new Lodge at Swalwell being No. 131, thus:—

131 Two fencing Master's, Swalwell, in the Bishoprick of Durham, 1st Monday June 24, 1735.

'The still younger Lodge at Gateshead which had been constituted on the 8th March, 1736, is not in the list.

## WILLIAM SMITH.

The identity of William Smith has been a puzzle, which many have tried to solve, I am afraid, unsuccessfully. Without claiming to have succeeded, I can, I think, throw some light on the subject, which is of considerable interest. 'The great difficulty is, of course, not that one cannot find a ' William Smith ' of 1735, but that one finds too many individuals of that name.

About 1730 there was a Mr. William Smith, a bookseller in Dame Street, Dublin.[1] who has given much trouble to the Irish Masonic historians. They have tried to find evidence to identify him with the author of the first *P.C.*, but the result has not been successful. The late Bro. W. J. Chetwode Crawley pointed out that the bookseller was a subscriber to Pennell's *Constitutions* of

[1] *A.Q.C.*, xxxv., 73.

1730,[1] and so would be a Freemason, and suggested that, being well-known in Dublin, his initials 'W.S.' would be sufficient to identify him, whereas it would be necessary for him to print his name in full in London, where he was not known.[2] I understand that Bros. Lepper and Crosslé have discarded this Dublin bookseller, as they have not been able to trace that he ever advertised, or sold, the *P.C.* He lived in Dublin for some forty years after 1735, and was one of the leading booksellers, so there is no doubt that he would have advertised freely a work in which he was interested as compiler, or author.

William Smith, a bookseller, living on the Blind Key, Dublin, is suggested as the author in the *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland*, where it is pointed out that[3] "Three years later, 1738, a German edition of the 'Pocket Companion' was printed at Frankfort, which, taken in conjunction with the fact that William Smith's nephew, John Smith, the Dublin bookseller, about the same time advertised the sale of Continental printed books, lends itself as further inference for the identification of the Compiler of the 'Pocket Companion.'"

The facts as we know them do not, I feel, indicate that 'W.S.' lived in Dublin, and the thread of evidence connecting him with the booksellers seems flimsy.

Dr. Oliver refers to our author as "Dr. Smith" and "W. Smith, D.D."[4] This, I am afraid, does not help us. The only Doctor of Divinity of this period named William Smith whom I have been able to trace, graduated at New College, Oxford, in 1732.[5] He received his Doctor's degree in 1758, and was Dean of Chester. He wrote some poems, but I can find no reason for connecting him with the author of the *P.C.*

Are we in a position from the evidence of the book itself to say anything regarding the author or compiler of the *P.C.'s*? Very little, I am afraid. We can attribute to him the Dedication, and, no doubt, he paraphrased and brought up to date Anderson's History, in so doing exhibiting a knowledge of both English and Irish contemporary architecture. There is no reason to believe that he was an author, or possessed any special powers of composition. As the earliest *P.C.* hails from London, we should expect to find him resident in that city. We shall, then, have to look for an Irishman, or an Englishman with Irish friends, living in London, and, therefore, probably a member of a London Lodge. It will be remembered that, in examining the Lodge List at the end of the London 1735 *P.C.*, we found that for one Lodge only, No. 76, the *P.C.* gives more recent information than the 1734 Engraved List. It is possible, therefore, that this is a Lodge of which the compiler had special knowledge. The first few lines of the 1730 returns in the Grand Lodge Minute Book for Lodge No. 76, meeting at the White Bear in King's Street, Golden Square, read:—

Mr. George Rogers Mar.
Mr. Cha: De La Belie } Wards.
Mr. William Smith }

and seventeen other names follow.

We cannot say definitely that this member of Lodge No. 76 is the author of the *P.C.'s*, but it seems likely that such was the case. In 1735, when the first *P.C.* was published, he was probably a junior Past Master. C. De La Belie, who was returned as the Senior Warden for 1730, was the assistant of Rev. J. T. Desaguliers at the construction of Westminster Bridge. The Lodge also contains a sculptor, two plaisterers and two surgeons. It was represented at Grand Lodge on the 13th December, 1733, when meeting at the White Bear, but the next attendance was not until the 24th February, 1735, when it was at the Queen's Head, Old Bailey.

[1] *Caementaria Hibernica*. Fasc. I.
[2] *Caementaria Hibernica*. Fasc. II.
[3] Lepper and Crosslé, vol. i., p. 151, note.
[4] *Revelations of a Square*, p. 35 and footnote.
[5] Foster's *Alumni*, 1715-1886.

The Grand Lodge Minutes can help us further, for we have the first returns of Lodge No. 89, which was constituted on the 11th April, 1732. These begin:—

Mr. William Smith M^r.
Mr. John Arnold } Ward^s.
Mr. Thos. Worleidge }

The first Master of this new Lodge would already be a Mason, and so would almost certainly be entered as a member of some other Lodge in the 1730 returns. There are Brethren of this name in Lodges Nos. 10, 11 and 16, but there is no reason to give preference to any of them, and the Junior Warden of Lodge No. 76 seems a more likely person to have become the first Master of a new Lodge in 1732. It seems reasonable to surmise, although there can be no certainty, that William Smith of *P.C.* fame was a member of these two Lodges.

Many of the names of the members of Lodge No. 89 are Irish (*e.g.*, Barry, Macnamara, Finingan and Lynch), and this agrees with the theory. The first Junior Warden of this Lodge is Mr. Thomas Worleidge (*sic*), no doubt the artist who engraved the frontispiece of the *P.C.*, and other members include Mr. Alex^r. Grimaldi, probably Worlidge's brother-in-law, and Mr. Presswick Ryder (*sic*), who was possibly a member of the printing firm; the name is uncommon, and I find that a 'Pressick Rider' was in business in Dublin as a printer 1724-1725.[1] The London firm of Rider hailed from Blackmore-Street near Clare Market, and this Lodge met first at the Black Boy and Sugar Loaf, Stanhope Street, Clare Market, moving in 1733 to the Rummer and Horse Shoe, Drury Lane, in the same district. Both Thomas Worlidge and Presswick Rider became founders of Lodge No. 99, constituted on the 18th August, 1732. In the latter Lodge returns, the name of Thomas Harbin appears next to that of Rider, which indicates that they joined about the same time. Thomas Harbin was a stationer who seems to have been in partnership with Pressick Rider in a publishing venture in Dublin.[29] This tends to confirm my opinion that the Rider of William Smith's Lodge was connected with the firm which printed the *P.C.*

Of the subsequent history of William Smith we know nothing; there is, however, a gentleman of that name who appeared some years later, and whom I cannot refrain from mentioning. In 1770, William Smith, M.D., wrote the *Student's Vade Mecum*, a title which at once attracts attention, as the London *P.C.* of 1735 was referred to, on p. 133 of the 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, as the "Freemason's Vade Mecum." The first book by Dr. Smith, which I have traced, was dated 1768. He lived in Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn, and published a number of so-called medical books, but from the phraseology of those books it is most probable that he was an active Freemason. We must remember that Dr. Oliver (who was not always wrong) referred to our author as Dr. Smith, and this information may enable some student to find a point of contact in the histories of the two individuals.

## EBENEZER RIDER.

We can be reasonably certain that E. Rider, the printer of the London 1735 *P.C.*, is the same man as the printer of the Dublin *P.C.* of 1735, and had offices in both cities. This is confirmed by an examination of other books which he printed. In many cases we find for the Irish edition the imprint: "London, Printed: And Dublin Re-printed and Sold by E. Rider in George's Lane, ———." This, of course, does not imply that the London and Dublin editions were contemporaneous. It does, however, indicate that certain printing was done at the London office, although I have been unable to trace any book emanating from there, other than the 1735 London *P.C.*

[1] *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 1668-1725, H. Plomer, 1922.

There is, I think, no doubt that the London *P.C.*, which was published first, was printed in London; the author, the designer and, probably, the engraver of the plate, were all London men. There is no reason to doubt that the Dublin edition was printed in the Irish capital, for the book was entirely reset, and many corrections made, apparently by a local editor. Here, then, are two books, substantially the same, issued by one printer with offices in two places, the whole of the contents being reset in fresh type a few weeks after the first edition came on the market, and at a time when we know that that edition was not exhausted, for 'remainders' were issued from it at a later date.

There is one important link between these two editions, which at first seems to indicate that they were printed in the same office. I refer to the ornamental woodcuts. Twelve designs occur in the London *P.C.*, and five of these are to be found in the Dublin edition. I do not mean that the designs only are the same, but the actual blocks are identical, which becomes evident by a careful examination. These blocks appear later in Dublin in other books printed by Rider.

One possible explanation is that the London *P.C.* was printed in Dublin and sent to the London office for publication, but this is hardly likely. It is true that books for the London public were occasionally printed in Dublin, but this, I fancy, would only be done for a large public edition, and not for a book with a limited circulation, of which it is unlikely that more than a few hundred copies would be printed. The expense of transport for a small edition, apart from troubles of proof reading, will almost certainly rule this solution out of court.

Rider's office in London seems to have disappeared about 1735. His first appearance in Dublin was in that year, and I cannot find that his Dublin office issued anything prior to the Dublin *P.C.*

The following, I am afraid, is pure conjecture, but it seems to me to be an account of the proceedings which fits in with the facts, and I put it forward for what it is worth. William Smith, a young London Past Master, writes a cheap portable booklet for the use of the English and Irish members of his Lodges, and one of these members designs a frontispiece. A member of a firm of printers, also in his Lodge, undertakes the publication, and E. Rider, of London, brings out the book. It contains an advertisement by the printer of J. Templeman's *History of England*. This was to be carried out by subscription, and the printing to be complete in nine months. "Subscriptions are taken in by E. Rider, Printer, in Blackmore-street; where all manner of Printing Work is done at reasonable Rates." This does not look as if Rider contemplated leaving London when the *P.C.* was printed, and one wonders whether the printer took in the subscribers as well as the subscriptions.

Whatever the reason may have been, Rider, who has an office in Dublin, wishes to shut down his London business. There has been a drop in the sales owing to the charge of piracy brought up in Grand Lodge, and rather than take a large number of remainders to Dublin, he disposes of them to a bookseller, Torbuck, of Clare Court, who was a near neighbour, and who, we shall see, reissues them next year. There can be no doubt that Rider left London, or he would have disposed of these remainders himself. He takes with him the plate for the frontispiece and the woodblocks, which would be expensive, probably disposing of his type, which would be heavy and difficult to transport.

On arrival in Dublin, he talks things over with Pennell, the Grand Secretary and a bookseller, who points out the advantages of an Irish edition. Pennell would arrange for the text to be amended to suit the Irish requirements and, to prevent any trouble with Grand Lodge, would obtain formal approval. There is no reason to suppose that William Smith had any knowledge of this edition, and the Irish publishers would, under those circumstances, be inclined to give his initials (as in fact they did) at the end of the Dedication, instead of printing his full name. I might add that at this time there was no copyright agreement in force between England and Ireland.

The advent of *Book M.* at Newcastle in the following year may easily have come about under similar circumstances. A local editor with a copy of the London *P.C.* might see the opportunities in his district. It is true that he altered the book so that it became hardly recognisable, but many of the variations were made to introduce items by local Freemasons, which would have a beneficial effect on the sales.

## LATER LONDON EDITIONS.

The bookseller, John Torbuck, of Clare Court near Drury Lane, was left in possession of the remainders of the London 1735 edition, the sales of which had probably lagged owing to the denunciation in Grand Lodge. He had printed a new title-page giving contents similar to that in the Dublin 1735 *P.C.*; it contains the words "By W. Smith, a Free Mason," and the imprint reads:—

LONDON: Printed for JOHN TORBUCK,
in Clare-Court, near Drury-lane; and Sold by the
Booksellers, and Pamphlet Shops in Town, and
Country, MDCCXXXVI.
(Price stich'd 1s. 6d. Bound 2s.)

We do not know that Torbuck was a Freemason: in fact, it is probable that he was not. His name does not appear in any of the returns in the Grand Lodge Minutes, and as he issued a version of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* in 1737, he would almost certainly be outside the pale.

This re-issue in 1736 contained the frontispiece, which would have been printed before the plate was taken to Dublin, and also the advertisements of 1734. With the exception of the title-page, the two issues are identical. In examining the 1735 London *P.C.*, I pointed out that a certain misprint was corrected during the printing. Some of the 1736 books are found with, and some without this correction, so we can be certain that it really was an issue of remainders and not a reprint.

Torbuck evidently sold out his remainders, for in 1738 he published a new London *P.C.* This, of course, was still at a time when the official *Constitutions* were scarce, for the second edition of Anderson, although dated 1738, was not issued until the following year.[1]

A new plate was engraved for the Frontispiece, and the imprint of this is: "J. Smith Sculpt." John Smith was an engraver in Covent Garden 1652 (?)—1742.[2] As he did not work after 1729, this engraving may have been made by his son. The frontispiece is the reverse of that in the 1735 *P.C.'s* and there are slight variations in the design.

There are two Title-pages in this book as in the London 1735 *P.C.* The main title gives the price as "stitch'd 1s. 6d. Bound 2s.," and contains the list of contents, as follows:—

I. An Ode, by Mr. Bancks, on Masonry.
II. The History of Masons and Masonry.
III. The Charge given to a Free Mason.
IV. General Regulations for the Use of Lodges.
V. The Manner of Constituting a new Lodge.
VI. Charges given to a new Brother.
VII. A Collection of Free Masons Songs, &c.
VIII. Prologues and Epilogues spoken at the Theatres to entertain Free Masons.
XI. [*sic*] An exact List of regular Lodges.
X. A Defence of Masonry, occasion'd by a Pamphlet call'd Masonry Dissected.

This title-page states that it is "The Second Edition, with large Additions." The date on the imprint is 1738. This book is also found with title-pages on which "XI." has been corrected to "IX.," and in heading VI., the word

[1] Lane's *Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges*, p. 35.
[2] See *D.N.B.*

"Charges" has been altered to "Charge." In setting up this corrected page, the compositor made a new mistake, for the price is given as "Pound 2s." Torbuck follows the example of the 1735 *P.C.* in giving the second title-page, which precedes the songs, the date of the previous year.

The Ode with which the book opens after the Dedication and Preface, is taken from the *Miscellaneous Works* of J. Banks, 1738, and it also appears in Bickham's *Musical Entertainer* of the same year. The main contents are taken with certain spelling alterations and corrections from the London 1735 *P.C.* The latter book contained some faults in the wording of Regulations XVIII. and XXV., so that it did not follow Anderson's *Constitutions* strictly, but still made sense. These mistakes were continued in the 1738 *P.C.*, showing that the latter was taken from the London 1735 edition. Crawfurd is still shown as Grand Master in the "Manner of Constituting," although he had been out of office for three years. This suggests again that Torbuck was probably not a Freemason, as he did not know the name of the Grand Master.

Except in the spelling, no changes were made in the Songs, Prologues and Epilogues, which are exactly as in the London 1735 *P.C.* The name of the Earl of Crawfurd still appears in the songs as Grand Master.

The List of Lodges has been brought up to date. Several blanks have been left against the numbers, in cases where the Lodges have ceased to meet, the Lodges at Boston in New England and Valenciennes in French Flanders have been correctly inserted at Nos. 126 and 127 respectively, and the Duke of Marlborough's Head is No. 128. At No. 79, which was blank in the 1735 London *P.C.*, the following name of a Lodge dating from 1735 has been added:—"Two Angels and Crown, Little St. Martin's Lane, 2d and 4th Friday." The numbers continue to 160, where we have "Half Moon and Three Tuns on Snow-Hill, 2d and 4th Thursday, April 20," a Lodge constituted the 20th April, 1737. The list is a copy of the well-known Engraved List for 1737.

This *P.C.* contains the *Defence of Masonry* which was first published in 1731 after the issue of Samuel Prichard's pamphlet *Masonry Dissected.* No doubt the version in the *P.C.* was taken direct from the original, as both contain near the end, a verse of the Aeneid in Latin, followed by Dryden's translation into English. When the *Defence* appeared in Anderson's 1738 *Constitutions*, the Latin was omitted.

This is the last London *P.C.*, which followed closely the lines of William Smith's first book. The advent of Anderson's second *Book of Constitutions* a short time after the 1738 *P.C.*, probably caused a fall in the demand for these books, although the *Constitutions* cost 10s. 6d.[1] The next edition in the British Isles of which we know with certainty, is the Dublin *P.C.* of 1751. I think it is probable, as will appear later, that at least one edition (at present untraced) came out during these thirteen years, but, even so, there is no doubt that the demand was small, so long as plentiful supplies of the official *Book of Constitutions* were available.

## THE GERMAN EDITIONS (*GRÜNDLICHE NACHRICHT*).

In 1738, the well-known printing firm of Andreä at Frankfort brought out a *P.C.* in the German language, based on William Smith's London edition of 1735. The greater part of the book is a close translation of the London edition, but there are no Songs. The last four chapters give an account of Freemasonry in various countries and are the most interesting.

The Frontispiece has been re-engraved, and bears the imprint: "Ost: et Cöntgen Sculp. Mogunt."[2] The Title-page has an engraving of both sides of the Sackville medal,[3] which had been issued at Florence to commemorate the constitution of the first Lodge in Italy in 1733.

[1] *Ancient Freemasonry and the Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18*, A. Heiron, p. 23.
[2] Moguntia=Mainz.
[3] *A.Q.C.*, xii., 204; xiii., 142; Lepper and Crosslé, vol. i., p. 92.

The Introduction is new, and contains no reference to William Smith. It states that Freemasonry began in England and is spreading and attracting attention in adjacent countries. There is much envy and error about, and we need the truth. The editor proceeds to say that we cannot do better than present our readers with what Freemasons themselves have said about it in England, and later chapters deal with the developments and satisfy their curiosity.

Chapter I., "On the Origin and Progress of the Masons," is a close translation of the 'History' from the London 1735 *P.C.* Probably the translator could find no German words for the "stately Tholsel" in Dublin, as he omits the reference to that building. Near the end of this chapter, a sentence is added which may be translated: "From this, we can very well appreciate the statement that has been made that the Fraternity of the Freemasons fulfilled functions of no small utility." The final sentence of Smith's 'History' is omitted, and in its place the last paragraph from p. 47 of Anderson's 1723 *Constitutions* is given, but omitting the name of the Grand Master "the most noble Prince John Duke of Montague."

Chapters II., III., IV. and V., containing the Charges, General Regulations, Manner of Constituting and Short Charge, are taken direct from the English, the age limit for Candidates in Regulation IV. remaining at 25. The wording of Regulations XVIII. and XXV. make it clear that the London 1735 text is being utilised. The name of the Earl of Crawfurd still appears at the head of the Manner of Constituting a Lodge.

Chapter VI. contains the List of Lodges. The blank against No. 79 evidently puzzled the translator, and Lodge No. 80 was accordingly given that number. This altered the numeration of all subsequent Lodges, and we find the Lodge meeting at the Duke of Marlborough's Head as No. 125.

The remainder of the book is taken from sources other than William Smith's *P.C.'s.*, and gives accounts of Masonic activities in various countries. Chapter VII. is "On the achievements of Freemasonry in England." Mention is first made of the three princes who are Freemasons, the Grand Duke of Tuscany (formerly the Duke of Lorraine), the Prince of Orange and the Prince of Wales. There follows what purports to be a translation of a newspaper account of a reception to the Duke of Lorraine by the Earl of Loudoun, Grand Master, on the 26th April, 1736. The Duke is not mentioned in the account proper, which is evidently a description, not of any reception of the Duke of Lorraine, but of the Installation of the Earl of Loudoun as Grand Master. This took place on the 15th April, 1736, which would be the 26th April in the New Style Calendar which had, by that date, been adopted on the Continent. There is no doubt that the translator has made a mistake regarding the event which he is recording. On the 27th April, 1736, the Prince of Wales married Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, and the newspapers are full of accounts of the wedding, but there is no reference to the Duke of Lorraine, who would, no doubt, have been present had he been in England at that time. The account of the Installation of the Earl of Loudoun, which the translator has used, I am unable to trace in contemporary journals. It is a much fuller description than is given in the newspapers of the day, and is not a translation of the record in the *Constitutions* of 1738.

There follows a newspaper account of the election of the Earl of Darnley as Grand Master. The date is given as the 9th May, 1737, which agrees with the O.S. date 28th April, 1737. This is an abbreviated version of the account in *Le Pour et Contre*, Paris, May, 1737, which has been translated in *A.Q.C.*, xviii., 209.

The book continues with a very free translation of part of the celebrated attack on Freemasonry made by Caleb d'Anvers in No. 563 of *The Craftsman*.[1] At the end of the chapter there is a reference to the intention of the Freemasons at the forthcoming election to confer the dignity of Grand Master on the Prince

[1] See *A.Q.C.*, xviii., 203.

of Wales. I have found no reference to this elsewhere. Evidently the German translator knew nothing of the initiation of the Duke of Lorraine in Holland in 1731,[1] as he makes no reference to it either in this chapter or the next.

Chapter VIII. refers to Holland, is interesting, and seems to be original. It states that the date of the arrival of the Craft in that country is uncertain, but that Lodges were mentioned in 1735. The full text of an oath is given in this chapter, and it refers to inscriptions on "paper, copper, brass, wood, or stone." The wording in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, 1730, is similar, but the materials mentioned are "wood and stone" only. The penalty is similar to, but rather more elaborated than that given in Hérault's disclosure.[2]

The chapter concludes with the reasons for the cessation of Lodge meetings which, no doubt, caused the editor to entitle it "On the Fate of Freemasonry in Holland." A Lodge in Amsterdam, chiefly composed of Englishmen, was pillaged by a mob on the 16th October, 1735,[3] and a government enquiry was ordered. The magisterial order promulgated on the 2nd December, 1735, forbidding assemblies of the Craft is given in this chapter. This is followed by the resolution of the States of Holland and West Friesland on the same subject, and finally we have the report of the Government Commission, which was dated the 30th November, 1735.

The next chapter deals with France, and as it leads up to the suppression of the Craft, its title is similar to that of the previous chapter, being "On the Fate of Freemasonry in France." It opens with a statement to the effect that it is remarkable that the Craft is unheard of in France prior to 1736. There follows a newspaper extract dated the 20th March, 1736, which professes to contain the first reference to the Craft in Paris. This item is interesting, and has not, I believe, been reported previously. The following is a verbatim translation:—

> The Society of so-called *Frey-Maurer* which in England is as famous as it is ancient, begins to be fashionable in this city. Whoever wishes to enter it must give 10 Louis d'ors, and make many professions of good will as well. Not so long ago, ten new members were admitted into this Society, and the ceremony concluded with a noble banquet, which was attended by persons of the highest standing, and on this occasion a certain Duke, before ever they had sat down to table, won 700 Louis d'ors from an English lord at Picquet. On the 13th instant, a further six members were admitted into the Society, among whom it is said there was one of the most prominent gentlemen at Court, and accordingly this new Order appears to be gaining more and more strength, through the credit of his name. But it is unfortunate for this Society that our Court has at once, and before it can arrive at a state of perfection, set itself to suppress it. Thus it has been decreed in the King's Council that, as all assemblies of all and sundry, however innocent they may be, in consideration of the consequences that must come, cannot be beneficial to the State, but rather prejudicial, not to mention that all such societies, if they have developed without the permission of the King, stand forbidden as a matter of course, here also good government requires that the Freemasons should once more be suppressed, as has been done in Holland.

There follows a reference to Hérault, the Chief of the Paris police, and then a song which later appeared at p. 140 of Perau's *Secret des Francmaçons* in French, and with the German translation. The story of Madame Carton's report of Chapelot, the inn-keeper, to Hérault in 1737 then follows, with Hérault's police order, and the full text of the Hérault disclosure.[4] This contains a final

[1] See *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 107.
[2] See *post*.
[3] Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, III., 202.
[4] See Mackey's *History of Freemasonry*, 1922 ed., p. 1275, Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, 1737 ed., or *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1738.

sentence, which was not given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: "This is the correct sign by which true brothers know one another." The *Relation Apologique*, which was a reply to Hérault's disclosures, is then given in full, with all the notes. The title, with the author's initials (J.G.D.M.F.M.)[1] and date (1738) are given in a footnote. This is supposed to have been written by the Chevalier Michael Ramsay,[2] and a copy of the original is in the Q.C. Library. A note on the Tower of Babel has now been incorporated in the text, in two places the Latin text is given in footnotes, and the following explanatory note on Gnomes has been added: "According to the Kabalists, these are invisible people who live round the centre of the world."

The last chapter is "On the Fate of Freemasonry in Italy and Germany." The Sackville Medal, a representation of which appears on the title-page of this *P.C.*, is explained, and this suffices for Italy. To deal with Germany, the German translation of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* is quoted. The verse at the end of the book is adapted from the second verse of the "Chanson des Apprentifs" at p. 152 of Perau's *Secret des Francsmaçons*.

In 1740, the second Frankfort *P.C.* was published. Wolfstieg[3] states that the second or enlarged edition appeared in the same year as the first (1738), but this is an error. Kloss gives the date correctly.

The same plate has been used for the frontispiece. The title-page is printed in red and black instead of black only, and reads as follows:—

> Gründliche Nachricht von den Frey-Maurern, nebst beygefügter historischen. Schutz-Schrifft. Zweyte vermehrte Auflage. Franckfurt am Mayn. In der Andreäischen Buchhandlung. MDCCXL.

The book follows the earlier edition until we come to Chapter VII. relating to England. This is brought up to date by the addition of accounts of the installations of the Grand Masters in 1738 and 1739 respectively. The dates are given correctly according to the Gregorian Calendar. In the same chapter is an account of the Philadelphian episode of June, 1737, when certain young men, pretending to be Masons, poured brandy over a comrade, which caught fire and he nearly died.[4] The account concludes by stating that everyone will realise that this is a wicked invention of our enemies. The chapter proceeds with a statement that the Craft continues to gain in importance. Instead of the short note given in the previous edition that the Prince of Wales was to become Grand Master, there is now additional information to the effect that this year the Marquis of Carnarvon introduced Dr. James Anderson to the Prince, and Anderson, on behalf of the Fraternity, presented him with their collected Orders and Charges (*i.e.*, the 1738 *Constitutions*).[5]

At the end of the chapter on French Freemasonry, after the *Relation Apologique*, there is a statement that this pamphlet is very widespread. It adds that in Paris, the Freemasons were prudent and avoided legal proceedings. In Lorraine, the Royal prohibition was not in force, since the public Press of 1738 reported a feast held by the Freemasons at Lunéville on the 12th February. They were forbidden to wear their aprons and did not (as is their usual custom) have their emblems in sugar at the table. They expected King Stanislaus to join them and had a place prepared for him, but he did not appear.

In the last chapter, considerable additional information is given regarding Masonic affairs in Italy. As soon as the last Grand Duke of the Medici died, investigations were started against the Freemasons. All was quiet until 1737, and a letter, which is quoted in the text, states that in Tuscany, Florence and Leghorn, the Freemasons, who had been forbidden to meet by the previous Grand Duke, now began to resume activities. The matter was reported to Rome, and

[1] Wolfstieg 34500 gives the author as J.G.D(octor)M(edicinae)F(ranc)M(açon).
[2] See Kloss 251 and *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1739.
[3] Item 770.
[4] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9th and 16th June, 1737.
[5] See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, II., 355.

on the 25th June, 1737, the Pope held a special consultation with certain Cardinals on the subject. At Florence, it was thought that some secret Molinism was behind the Craft. At Rome, it was believed to have revolutionary aims, or be Epicurean, and that no prohibition could be too drastic for a society which admitted any person to its ranks. They had taken legal action and imprisoned various persons, but the persecution had been discontinued and the Lodges re-opened. The extract from the letter concludes with the statement that a great Prince belongs to the society, the aims of which are virtue and religion. The chapter continues with the statement that the Roman Church has never changed its attitude and Clement XII. has issued a Bull of Excommunication, a part of which is translated in the text. When the authorities at Florence received this document, they thought it advisable to get the instructions of the Grand Duke at Vienna. It is not known what decision was given, but a letter from Florence is then quoted stating that the Freemasons were safer there than at Rome, but there is now great alarm, as the Inquisition in the city is moving against them. On mere suspicion, they imprisoned Dr. Crudeli. The Vicarius came to search his house, but a friend had been there beforehand and removed all incriminating documents. The quotation from the letter concludes by saying that the Grand Duke had been persuaded by Rome to issue a decree permitting the Inquisition to proceed against Freemasons. The text adds that Freemasons are in difficulties and liable to be fined, while those who denounce their brethren are given absolution. There follows a reference to Geneva, where, it is stated, the Freemasons took advantage of the permanent unrest to found Lodges. They had increased so much that, if the magistrates had not forbidden them in time, their mere numbers would have made them a powerful body.

At the end of this last chapter there is some additional information regarding Germany. It is stated that in various Berlin newspapers of the 3rd November, 1739, there was an item (quoted in the text) to the effect that the Freemasons were so numerous that they talked of having a Grand Master, as in England. For the 5th November, further quotations are given, stating that local Freemasonry was now properly organised, and Von Schwerin was to be at its head. The Freemasons met in a specified place each week, with their special clothing, and many persons of distinction belonged to them, including the Russian Ambassador, Baron von Brackel and Councillor Count von Manteufel of the Electorate of Saxony. The chapter and book concludes with the remark that since nothing more has been heard of this matter, it remains to be seen what reliance can be placed on it.

So far as I know, there is no copy of this second Frankfort edition in England or America, and as some students may wish to examine the original German, I have given in Appendix V. the text of those parts which do not appear in the better known first edition.

## THE DUTCH EDITION (*ZAKBOEKJE*).

A *P.C.* in the Dutch language, taken from the 1738 London edition, was issued at Haarlem in 1740, and contains the sayings of Robert Nixon, the Cheshire 'prophet,' which were being freely printed in England at that date.

The Frontispiece has been re-engraved, and the figures are in new positions. The illustration is the reverse of that given in the London 1735 edition, and it is, therefore, facing in the same direction as that in the 1738 *P.C.* from which it has been copied. The engraver has even copied the imprint, for we now have "J. Smith Schulp" [*sic*].

There are two Title-pages together at the beginning of the book, the translation of the first being: "The Freemason's Pocketbook, or Minute Information of Freemasons, arranged by W. Smith, a Freemason, and G. [*sic*] T. Desaguliers, Deputy Grand Master of this Society. To which is joined Nixon's Cheshire prophecies, also his biography. Translated from the 8th English edition and accompanied by notes. Printed at Haarlem by Izaak and Job Enschedé. Anno 1740." The second Title-page indicates the original from which the

translation is made: "A detailed account of the Freemasons and their Society, arranged by W. Smith, a Freemason, and J. T. Desaguliers, Deputy Grand Master of this Society. Translated from the English with other parts belonging to this, and accompanied by some necessary notes. Printed from a copy from London by John Torbuck in Clare Court near Drury Lane. Anno 1738." The name of the translator is unknown, and there is no acknowledgment, or reference to the English author in the text.

I have been puzzled by the statement on the first title-page that this is a translation from the 8th English edition, as it is clearly set out that it comes from the 1738 London or 2nd edition. I have now come to the conclusion that this refers to the edition of Nixon's prophecies, of which there were many. The following London editions of these prophecies are in the Library of the British Museum:—

3rd edition of 1715.
6th edition of 1719.
15th edition of 1745.
21st edition of 1745.

It would, therefore, be quite reasonable for an 8th edition to be utilised for a translation in 1740.

The book begins with a nine-page letter from the Dutch editor to his readers. This is followed by a translation of the English Preface, and we then have the main part of the *P.C.*, but with no Songs, or List of Lodges. The History, Charges, Regulations, Manner of Constituting "as practised by the W.M. Lord Crawfurd," and Short Charge, are translated almost verbatim. Regulation IV. gives no age limit for Candidates, the expression being "van een rype Ouderdom," that is to say, of ripe, mature age. The wording in Regulations XVIII. and XXV. follows, as one would expect, the London 1735 and 1738 editions.

The next chapter is a translation of "the Defence of Masonry against Masonry dissected," and this follows the 1738 London *P.C.*, the poem at the end being given both in Latin and in Dutch. The three Latin poems have all been translated into Dutch by the celebrated poet Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679).

Here the translator leaves the *P.C.* and gives "Observations made by J. T. Desaguliers about the New Constitutions dedicated by J. Anderson to the Earl of Montagu." This is taken from the Briscoe *Constitutions*, in which the English heading is "Observations and Critical Remarks on the new Constitutions of the Free-Masons, Written by James Anderson, A.M. and Dedicated to the D. of Montague, by J. T. Desaguliers, L.L.D. Deputy Grand Master." The Dutch translator evidently took this to mean that Desaguliers was the author of these observations, and so included his name on the title-page of this *P.C.* A chapter follows on "The Secrets of Masonry and the Ceremonies to receive members as they are published anno 1737 at Paris," which is a translation of Hérault's disclosures.

This is the end of the Masonic part of the book, and the translation of Robert Nixon's prophecies, which follows, is paginated separately. These prophecies are similar to those of Mother Shipton. There is no possible Masonic interest in them, and it is difficult to see why they are incorporated. Many of the English editions of Nixon have about the same size page as the London 1738 *P.C.*, and it seems likely that the Dutch translator found the two books bound together.

## THE FIRST EDINBURGH EDITIONS.

The first Scottish *P.C.* was dated 1752, and this heralds a long series which continues until the end of the century and traverses a period when English and Irish issues were few and far between. In fact, after 1764, I know with certainty of no English, or Irish editions in the eighteenth century, whereas five editions appeared north of the Tweed. In Scotland, these books must have been particularly useful, as they had no official *Book of Constitutions* prior to 1836, and the English and Irish *Constitutions* were not always obtainable.

This book has a newly-engraved Frontispiece, facing in the opposite direction to that of the 1735 *P.C.'s* It is, in fact, facing in the same direction as that of the 1738 London *P.C.* from which it has been copied. There is no imprint to the plate, and the engraving is crude.

The Title-page has the usual table of contents, but the name of W. Smith has been omitted; neither does it appear at the end of the Dedication, which is signed "The Editor." The imprint reads: "Edinburgh, Printed by W. Cheyne, and sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country. MDCCLII."

The 1738 *P.C.* is followed closely, including Mr. Bancks' Ode and the wording of the Regulations. At the end of the Charges we have "Amen, swa mot it be." The following footnote is appended to Regulation XXII.:—"The Annual Feast of the Grand-Lodge of Scotland is held always on St. Andrew's Day."

After the Short Charge, there is a second Title-page: "A Collection of the Songs of Masons. To which are added Prologues and Epilogues spoken At the Theatres in London for the Entertainment of Free-Masons. Edinburgh, Printed by W. Cheyne, and sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country. MDCCLII." The pagination continues straight through the book. There are three Songs which did not appear in the 1738 *P.C.* One of these was in the Dublin issue, one comes from an engraving by H. Roberts of 1736, and the third is, I believe, original to this book. Where the name of the Grand Master occurs in the Songs, a dash is inserted. The Prologue and Epilogues remain unchanged from the London 1735 and 1738 editions.

Four pages are occupied by "An Alphabetical List of all the Lodges that are in the Roll of the Grand-Lodge of Scotland," and there are 65 in alphabetical order. The latest of these is No. 65, Campbeltoun-Kilwinning, which was constituted by Grand Lodge on St. Andrew's Day, 30th November, 1752. The last English Lodge is, as in the 1738 *P.C.*, the Half Moon and Three Tons. There are 15 blanks for Lodges which have lapsed.

The book concludes with the *Defence of Masonry* taken direct from the 1738 *P.C.*, with the final verse from the Aeneid in both Latin and English.

Two years later, the remainders of the Edinburgh 1752 *P.C.* were re-issued with a new first title-page, but with no frontispiece. The wording of the title-page of this 1754 edition was unaltered, except the imprint, which reads: "Edinburgh. Printed for James Reid, Bookseller in Leith. MDCCLIV." It is accordingly known as the Leith edition. There are no other alterations either to the text or second title-page. The new title-page embodies a wood-cut which appears in the 1752 *P.C.*, and there is no doubt, therefore, that it was printed by W. Cheyne.

## LATER DUBLIN EDITIONS.

Sixteen years elapsed after the first Dublin *P.C.* was published before another edition appeared from that city. In 1751, Ebenezer Rider, the printer, who was still in business, issued another *P.C.*; probably this is the last book which he printed, for he went out of business about this time, and died shortly afterwards.

The Frontispiece of this second Dublin edition is interesting, for the plate of the 1738 London *P.C.* has been used. Rider could not, of course, conveniently use the old plate with the attached part giving the Dedication to Lord Kingsland, and, besides, this was in a very worn state. He evidently communicated with his old London friend and neighbour Torbuck, with whom he had left the 1735 London remainders, and was supplied with the plate engraved by J. Smith, which had been used for the second London edition. This was still in a good state, and appeared with the 'J. Smith' imprint in the Dublin 1751 book.

The Title-page is similar to that of the earlier edition, and the Dedication, which is still headed with the Coat of Arms of Lord Kingsland, has one small verbal variation, the initials 'W.S.' still being used at the end. The Preface has been omitted, and in the History, instead of 'Capt. Pierce' and 'Bourk,'

the architects, we now have 'Sir Edward Pierce' and 'Burgh.' The words "So mote it be" have been omitted at the end of the Charges, and the General Regulations have been completely altered in accordance with Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1744. These are headed "The Old and New Regulations for the Use of the Lodges, in and about Dublin; and approv'd by the Grand Lodge," and there are a few minor verbal alterations. The age limit for Candidates now follows these Regulations and is given as 25 years.

The Manner of Constituting and Short Charge come from the Dublin 1735 *P.C.*, and there follows "A Prayer to be said at the opening of a Lodge, or the making of a Brother." This is Christian, and comes from Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730. There are slight variations in the text, probably due to indirect copying. This Prayer is not in Spratt's 1744 *Constitutions*, but reappears in the 1751 edition. The text resembles Pennell's version of 1730, rather than that of Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751, and seems to have been taken from the former. This *P.C.* contains no Approbation by the Grand Master.

There follow twenty-two Songs and six Prologues and Epilogues. The name of the Grand Master, 'Kingsb'rough' (G.M., Ireland, 1750-1751), has been correctly inserted in three of the Songs. The 1735 Dublin *P.C.* is followed, for in verse 2 of *On, on, my dear Brethren, pursue the great Lecture*, we still have 'George.' These names are exactly as in Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751. The Songs, Prologues and Epilogues have been taken without alteration from the earlier Dublin *P.C.*, but Mr. Bancks' Ode from the 1738 London edition has been added, and this is now placed at the end of the Songs and without a special heading.

The Lodge List starts with 57 Irish Lodges, two of which are duplicated, so that there are actually 55 Lodges in the list. The duplicated Lodges are not the same as those duplicated in the Dublin 1735 *P.C.* The first Lodge mentioned is "The Sun in St. Nicholas-street, every 2d monday," and the last is the same as that which terminates the 1735 list "At Bacchus on the Kay in Limerick, the 24th of every month."

There are 42 Dublin Lodges in this list, or 40, allowing for the duplications. From various records, it appears that 40 Lodges in Dublin were constituted by 1751, including one in March of that year. Probably, therefore, this is a correct 1751 list. It may have been taken by Rider from some Dublin Lodge Minute Book, for by the "Old Regulations" of Spratt's 1744 *Constitutions* "The Master of each particular Lodge . . . shall keep a book containing . . . a list of all the Lodges in town; with the usual times and places of their forming . . ."

After the Dublin Lodges, Rider gives a list of the Country and Military Lodges, which agrees with that given by James Magee, of Belfast, in *Solomon in all his Glory*, 1772, except that Rider does not give the days of meeting, and he adds a military Lodge "First Battalion of the Royal Scots." This list may be earlier than 1751.

The list of English Lodges is very much out of date, as there are no Lodges mentioned which are not in the London 1735 *P.C.* A number have, however, been removed, most of which had lapsed, although in some cases, Lodges were removed which were still existing. Possibly Rider obtained information regarding these Lodges from Torbuck, the bookseller in London, although he has not utilised the more up-to-date list which Torbuck printed in his 1738 *P.C.* There is no mention of the Lodge at Philadelphia. In a few cases, the order has been altered, as, for example, Forrest's Coffee House, which is No. 98, and the last Lodge in the list follow No. 97, the Swan at Birmingham. These were Nos. 122 and 125 respectively in the London 1735 *P.C.* Nos. 123 (Prince of Orange) and 126 (Duke of Marlborough's Head) were erased in 1745, and No. 124 at Hamburg had lapsed.

There follows a second Title-page for the *Defence of Masonry*, which is separately paginated, and comprises 23 pages. It may have been issued separately, but I can find no evidence regarding this point. The second title-page

reads: "A Defence of Masonry. Rarus Sermo illis, Magna Libido Tacendi. Juv. Sat 2. [Small woodcut.] London, Printed: And Dublin Re-printed and sold by E. Rider in George's-lane." The verse at the end of the 'Defence' is in English only, and the original is, therefore, probably the London 1738 *Constitutions*, rather than the pamphlet of 1731 or the 1738 *P.C.*, which gave the verse in both English and Latin. As Rider has not given the List of Lodges from the 1738 *Constitutions*, I suggest that he did not have that book in his possession, but took the 'Defence' from some copy or extract.

Apparently, no part of this Dublin 1751 *P.C.* was copied from the Dublin *Constitutions* of that same year, and it seems likely, therefore, that the *P.C.* was published first. Probably, it was put on the market at a time when the previous 1744 *Constitutions* were out of print.

When Rider went out of business, he evidently handed over part of his stock to Laurence Flin, the bookseller, who, in 1761, published a new *P.C.*, using the plate for his frontispiece which had already done duty in London in 1738, and in Dublin in 1751. This is the last Dublin *P.C.* of the century. The title-page is set up in a new style:—

THE NEWEST
POCKET COMPANION
AND
HISTORY
OF
FREE-MASONS.
Containing their
Origin, Progress, and present State.
Also, their
Laws, Constitutions, Customs, Charges, Orders, and Regulations;
With a Prayer used in the Christian Lodges.
Published for the Instruction and Conduct of the Brethren.
With a Choice Collection of Masons
Songs, Prologues and Epilogues.
The whole Collected from the best Authors.
For the use, and by the desire of the Brethren
in IRELAND.
DUBLIN,
Printed for and Sold by Laurence Flin, Bookseller,
at the Bible in Castle-Street, adjoining Coles-Alley.
M,DCC,LXI.

This book is similar to its predecessors, but considerable alterations have been made, as Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions* have been used. There are no Lodge Lists in this *P.C.*

The History of Masonry is given, first in the World, then in Britain, Scotland and finally Ireland up to the year 1760. This is taken from Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions*, re-written and somewhat abbreviated. There is some new information regarding the Irish buildings. At the end of this, the editor states that though he has twice served all the offices in a Dublin Lodge, it is not proper for him to give a list of the Grand Masters, Deputy Grand Masters and Grand Wardens, or the transactions of Grand Lodge. He, therefore, directs attention to the *Book of Constitutions* of Edward Spratt, 1751. These are being disposed of for the benefit of his widow at the house of Bro. John Calder in Fisher's Lane, Dublin, who is now Grand Secretary.[1]

The History is followed by the Charges and Manner of Constituting, and then we have the Prayer "to be said at the Opening of a Lodge, or making a Brother." This is slightly varied from the Dublin 1751 *P.C.* The Regulations

[1] John Calder was G. Secretary of Ireland, 1757-1766.

which follow are those of Anderson's 1738 *Constitutions*, having been copied from the Dublin *Constitutions* of 1751. The age limit for Candidates remains at 25 years.

There are only fourteen Songs in this book, seven of which have appeared in previous *P.C.'s*. Four others come from Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions*, and the remaining three from Dermott's *Ahiman Rezon* of 1756. There are seven Prologues and Epilogues, six of which were in the Dublin 1751 *P.C.*, the seventh being *Well Ladies! Of the Art of Masonry*, which was in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1732 and in the *Book M.*, 1736. The Songs giving the name of the Grand Master are not included in this *P.C.* In the second verse of *On, on, my dear Brethren*, the loyal allusion to King George has been copied from the Dublin 1751 edition. In the Fellow-Craft's Song (*Hail Masonry! thou Craft divine!*) the 1723 *Constitutions* and earlier *P.C.'s* have in verse 6 the words "From Jabal down to Burlington" in allusion to the great architects. In Anderson's 1738 *Constitutions*, this was altered to "From Adam to Caernarvon down," and this system was followed in Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751. Accordingly, we find in this *P.C.*, which is largely taken from that book, "From Adam to Drogheda down," as a compliment to Lord Drogheda, who was Grand Master of Ireland, 1759-1760.

## BELFAST AND GLASGOW EDITIONS.

James Magee, a well-known Belfast printer, interested himself in *P.C.'s*, and we find an edition of 1751, which is an extreme rarity. I have been able to trace only one copy of this book, which is in America. The earliest books which we can credit to this printer are dated 1736,[1] so he had been in business for several years before the advent of this *P.C.*

It was advertised at the end of "Travels of True Godliness," by Benjamin Keach, which was printed by Magee in 1752, a copy being in the British Museum. This gives us the price, for the advertisement reads: "A Pocket Companion for Free-Masons. Price, a British 6d." The book is based on the 1735 Dublin edition, which it strongly resembles. There is no frontispiece, the title-page is on the lines of the Dublin *P.C.'s*, but it is remarkable that it is entitled "The THIRD EDITION." The imprint reads: "BELFAST. Printed by and for James Magee at the Bible and Crown in Bridge-Street. M,DCC,LI."

The Dedication is still headed with the Arms of Lord Kingsland, but a new woodblock is used; 'W.S.' still appears at the end. The History, Charges and General Regulations follow the Dublin 1735 *P.C.*, with the same wording and age limit for Candidates. The Manner of Constituting is followed by the Short Charge, and we then have the Approbation by Lord Kingsland exactly as in the 1735 book.

There are twenty-two Songs, and all those in the London and Dublin *P.C.'s* of 1735 are included, as well as the Ode by Mr. Bancks. The six Prologues and Epilogues in the Dublin 1735 edition are also given. (King) George is mentioned in *On, on, my dear Brethren*, and in the songs which give the name of the Grand Master we find 'Allen.' This is remarkable, as Lord Allen was Grand Master of Ireland in 1744, that is to say, seven years before this book was published.

The Irish Lodges come first in the Lists, and there are 34 unnumbered. They are exactly as in the Dublin 1735 *P.C.* (with 35 Lodges), but No. 33 Newcastle, Co. Limerick, has been omitted. Possibly this Lodge was defunct in 1751. The English List contains 112 Lodges, ending with the Swan in Brimingham (*sic*), which is No. 113. No. 84 has been omitted by a misprint, and the Lodge which should have that number has been given No. 85. Consequently, all subsequent Lodges have been incorrectly numbered. The Lodges are in the same order as in the 1735 *P.C.*, but fourteen have been removed and the numbers closed up.

[1] J. Anderson's *Catalogue of Early Belfast Printed Books*, 1694-1830.

This book is distinctly entitled the third edition, and as it appears to have been taken direct from the Dublin *P.C.* of 1735 (which Magee might designate the first edition) and there is no reason to suppose that the publisher knew of any other, we may infer that an earlier (or second) edition was brought out by James Magee, but no copy of this is now known. This surmise is confirmed by the name of 'Allen' in the Songs. Magee as an Irish Freemason, would have known the name of the Grand Master and would hardly have given the name of the occupant of that office seven years previously. It will not suffice to say that he incorporated in his book a song which already had Allen's name included, as we find this name printed in no fewer than three of his songs. It seems probable, then, that James Magee first issued a *P.C.* in 1744 or 1745 when Lord Allen was Grand Master, and later, when a new (or 3rd) edition became necessary in 1751, he did not trouble to alter the copy.

It is, of course, possible, that the 2nd edition from which Magee worked, came from Dublin and not from Belfast, but this is improbable, as we know of the Dublin 1751 and 1761 books, and neither of these bears any edition number.

Magee's third edition was copied by a Glasgow printer, Archibald McLean, who issued a very similar book in 1754, which he called the fourth edition. McLean was also a bookseller, and a Baptist minister (1733-1812).[1] As he evidently had no suitable wood block, Lord Kingsland's Arms at the heading of the Preface are omitted. In the Irish Lodge List, three alterations have been made, all of which are probably misprints:—

> Indian Alley Lodge meets on "Tuesday" instead of "Thursday."
> The Struggler Lodge meets on "Monday" instead of "Tuesday."
> The Hen and Chickens Lodge meets at "Caille Street" instead of "Castle Street."

In the English List, No. 84 is again omitted in error, and the last Lodge is still No. 113 at the Swan in Birmingham. This *P.C.* is textually almost identical with the Belfast edition of 1751.

We know of another edition by Magee dated 1764 and termed the 5th edition. Clearly it is not taken from the Glasgow 1754 *P.C.*, as the alterations made therein regarding the day and place of meeting of three of the Irish Lodges have not been brought into this book. There is, then, probably a 4th edition by Magee, dated about 1757 or 1758, which is not at present known.[2].

The 1764 (5th) edition by James Magee of Belfast is very similar to his earlier book, which we have examined. The texts are almost identical, but the omission of English Lodge No. 84 has been corrected, and in consequence the last Lodge (the Swan at Birmingham) is now numbered 112.

This is the latest *P.C.* of the 'William Smith' group that I have been able to trace, but it is probable that James Magee continued his activities and brought out yet another edition. In a book which he printed about 1780[3] he advertised a *P.C.*, and there may, therefore, come to light in the future a Belfast edition of that date.

[1] See *D.N.B.*

[2] Since this paper was written a verification of this surmise has been obtained from the correspondence of the Rev. J. W. Kals in the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at 15, Tufton St. This gentleman was a minister in New York and his congregation stopped his salary because he preached sermons attacking the Freemasons and the Lutherans. He entered into a violent controversy with his Masonic parishioners, and the whole correspondence is detailed in a letter written by him to the Society from New York in 1761, in which the following passage occurs:—

> . . . that Pocket Companion for a Free Mason which I just now received. The Fourth Edition. *Belfast.* Printed by James Magee in Bridge Street. M.DCC.LVII. Pages 19, 20, 25 and 45 *Short Charge.*

[3] *January and May*, in verse, 16 mo., *circa* 1780. See J. Anderson's *Catalogue of Early Belfast Printed Books*, 1694-1830.

## JONATHAN SCOTT AND HIS *POCKET COMPANIONS.*

In 1754, there was published a *P.C.* which differed in many respects from those which have been discussed, and it will be worth a careful examination, as it served as a model for a number of subsequent editions. No doubt, it was based on one of the 'William Smith' type, probably the London edition of 1738, but the contents were completely re-written, and the introduction of an address, a sermon and other papers on Freemasonry cause it to resemble the *Book M.*, rather than its other predecessors. It was much larger than any of the early *P.C.'s*, having 336 small octavo pages.

The Frontispiece is of new design, depicting Hiram giving the *Constitutions* to King Solomon. The numbers of the workmen at the Temple are tabulated on the plate, as in the 'History' which is given in the book itself:—

| | 3 | |
|---|---|---|
| Haro. | 300 | |
| Men. | 3300 | |
| Ghi. | 83000 | [*recte* 80,000] |
| Ado. | 30000 | |

The imprint of this plate is: "I.S. inv. L. P. Boitard del." I.S. is presumably intended for Jonathan Scott, the publisher, and L. P. Boitard[1] was probably the son of F. Boitard, the engraver, who was mentioned in the advertisement in the London 1735 *P.C.*

The Title-page is somewhat long, but it gives a good idea of the contents, and was copied in later editions. It reads as follows:—

THE
Pocket Companion
AND
HISTORY
OF
FREE-MASONS,
CONTAINING THEIR
Origine, Progress, and present State:
AN
ABSTRACT
OF
Their LAWS, CONSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS,
CHARGES, ORDERS and REGULATIONS,
FOR THE
Instruction and Conduct of the Brethren:
A
CONFUTATION
OF
Dr. Plot's False INSINUATIONS:
AN
APOLOGY,
Occasioned by their PERSECUTION in the Canton
of Berne, and in the POPE'S Dominions:
And a select NUMBER of SONGS and other
PARTICULARS, for the USE of the SOCIETY.

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Per bonam famam et infamiam.

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LONDON:
Printed for J. SCOTT, at the Black-Swan, in Duck Lane, near West-Smithfield; and sold by R. BALDWIN, at the Rose in Pater-Noster-Row. M,DCC,LIV.

[1] See *D.N.B.*

Jonathan Scott was a London bookseller. I have found a note in the Library of Grand Lodge by the late Bro. W. Wonnacott, that he was Master of the Lodge at the Bell, Noble Street, now the Globe Lodge, No. 23. He published the new *Book of Constitutions* in 1756, but these were not his only Masonic ventures, for in 1759, he brought out *The Secrets of the Free-Masons Revealed By a disgusted Brother*. We hear of him again later, for at the Communication of Grand Lodge on the 29th January, 1766, he was reported for making Masons irregularly and for unworthy considerations. This matter was rectified and he was subsequently pardoned.

The Dedication, signed by J. Scott, is to Baron Carysfort (Grand Master, 1752-1754) and is headed by a wood block engraving of his Arms. From the notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxiv., p. 98, it appears that the book was published in February, 1754. The price is given as 3s., and this agrees with an advertisement in the 1756 *Constitutions*.

The Preface states that the 1738 *Book of Constitutions* appeared in a very mangled condition. It contains particulars of the various individuals to whom the author is indebted for help; "animated by the Approbation and Advice of a Noble Personage, heretofore at the Head of the Society, and still their Advocate and a chief Pillar; and also with the Concurrence and kind Assistance of a Grand Officer." Bro. J. T. Thorp has suggested [1] that the persons to whom reference is here made are Lord Ward (Grand Master 1742-1744) and Thomas Manningham, M.D. (Deputy Grand Master 1752-1757). Also, in the Preface it is stated that "Many choice Particulars, not elsewhere to be found, are owing to the valuable Library, and kind Assistance of our worthy Brother, John Warburton, Esq.; Somerset-Herald, and F.R.S." [2] And then "For a curious Collection of Papers, containing the quarterly and annual Communications, and the Committees of Charity, I am indebted to Mr. William Falkner, senior Member of a Lodge in Newgate-Street: And to the Provincial Secretary and other Brethren in Cornwall, for many Particulars relating to the Society in that Province." The only outstanding Cornish item in the book is a Charge given at Helston, Cornwall, in 1752.

The History has been completely re-written. It contains a curious error in referring to the battle of Actium, for it is stated that Augustus defeated Pompey on that occasion. Actually, Antony was the vanquished leader, and at the date of the battle, B.C. 31, Pompey was no longer living. This error also appears in the 1756 and later editions of the *Book of Constitutions*. The History finishes with the Grand Lodge Quarterly Communication of the 14th June, 1753, and is followed by an account of the Fund of Charity.

The History is almost identical with that which appeared a few years later in the 1756 *Book of Constitutions*, which was acknowledged to be the work of Rev. John Entick, A.M.[3] There can, therefore, be little doubt that he wrote part or all of this *P.C.*, although he is not mentioned in the Preface, for at the time of publication he was not a Grand Officer.[4] Jonathan Scott and John Entick seem to have worked together regularly, for in 1755 it was arranged that the latter should write in a salaried capacity for the *Monitor*, which was printed and published by Scott. At the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge held on the 27th June, 1754, Scott presented a memorial pointing out the necessity for new *Constitutions*. This was approved, and a Committee, including Entick, was appointed to carry out the work. Dr. William Begemann states that Entick wrote this *P.C.*, and so was given the task of writing the new *Constitutions*.[5] The 1756 *Constitutions* advertised this *P.C.*, as well as two books by Entick, both published by Scott.

[1] *Trans.*, Lodge of Research, No. 2429, 1917-18, p. 139.
[2] See *D.N.B.*
[3] See *D.N.B.*, and *A.Q.C.*, xxi., 76.
[4] He was G. Steward, 1755, and J.G.W., 1758.
[5] *Freimaurerei in England*, W. Begemann, II., 221-222.

The Charges, Manner of Constituting and General Regulations follow, the latter having been corrected up to date. After them, there is printed a list of the Grand Stewards from 1728 to 1753.

The next item is a reprint of Dr. Plot's account [1] of the Freemasons, and this is followed by "A Detection of Dr. Plot's account," at the end of which is the Leland-Locke manuscript printed in full, as it appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1753, vol. xxiii., p. 417. After this, there is a second Title-page, as follows:—

AN
APOLOGY
FOR THE
Free and Accepted MASONS,
Occasioned by their
PERSECUTION
IN THE
CANTON of BERNE,
WITH THE
Present STATE
OF
MASONRY
IN
GERMANY, ITALY, FRANCE,
FLANDERS and HOLLAND.

Translated from the FRENCH, by a Brother.

Printed at FRANKFORT.

M,DCC,XLVIII.

The Apology begins with a Dedication to Henry, Count de Bruhl. It contains a Decree of the Roman Inquisition dated the 18th February, 1739, ordering the public burning of a book written in French entitled: "The History of, and an Apology for the Society of Free-Masons, by J.G.D.M.F.M., printed at Dublin, for Patrick Odoroko, 1739." [2] This has been reproduced in its entirety in the German *P.C.* published at Frankfort in 1738. The Apology concludes with a prayer.

It seems probable that the last three items, namely, Dr. Plot's account, the Detection of Dr. Plot's account (including the Leland-Locke MS.) and the Apology occasioned by the Persecution in Berne, have all been taken from one book in which they were bound together. The version of the Leland-Locke MS. given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* has a much more complete heading than that in the *P.C.*, and states that it is translated from a Frankfort original of 1748. The version in the *P.C.* gives in full, names of persons which are written in an abbreviated form in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It seems likely, therefore, that the editors of both had access to the foreign original.

The next item is an Address by a Grand Officer on the 11th December, 1735. This is "A Discourse on Good Behaviour," and was given at a Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge by Martin Clare, a London schoolmaster and a Fellow of the Royal Society, who was then Junior Grand Warden and acting Deputy Grand Master. Directions were given at the time for the Address to be printed, but nothing seems to have been done and no printed copies are known prior to this *P.C.* The omission of the name of the author is curious. It has been suggested [3] that contemporary doubt may have been thrown on the authorship, but I am inclined to think that the name was omitted, as there was

[1] In his *Natural History of Staffordshire*, 1686.
[2] This date should be 1738.
[3] *A.Q.C.*, xxviii., 103 *et seq.*, and *Miscellanea Latomorum*, XV., 91.

no authority for publication in the *P.C.* The heading of the address is interesting; it reads: "The Substance of an Address Made to the Body of Free and Accepted Masons, Assembled at a quarterly Communication, held near Temple-Bar, December 11, 1735. By one of the Grand Officers. Translated into French and German, and annexed to the foregoing Apology." This seems to indicate that the author of the *P.C.* found this bound up with the original from which he translated the preceding items.

This Address is followed by a Sermon by Rev. Charles Brockwell given at Boston, New England, on the 27th December, 1749. It was printed in Boston in the following year under the title *Brotherly Love Recommended.* The *P.C.* printed this verbatim, but omitting a final prayer. The next item is a Charge given at Helston in Cornwall by Isaac Head on the 21st April, 1752. Evidently this is the Cornish information for which the editor expresses his thanks in the Preface of the *P.C.* Isaac Head states that he is an Officer of the Lodge, whose members he is addressing; he became Provincial Grand Master for the Scilly Isles in 1755.

Then follow three Prayers, two of which are Christian. One of the latter is "A Prayer to be used of Christian Masons at the empointing of a Brother: Used in the Reign of Edward IV." This prayer is at the head of most copies of the Old Charges, and was printed in the *Book M.* These are followed by the Short Charge as in the *P.C.'s* already examined.

The book finishes with thirteen Songs, ten of which have already appeared in previous *P.C.'s*, and in three of these the name of the Grand Master (Carysfort) is given. The very long 'Master's Song' has been abbreviated to one verse and chorus. The 'ladies' verse' of the E.A. Song is given without comment. The song, *Grant me, Kind Heav'n, what I request*, which is here called the 'Free-Masons Anthem,' is stated to have been sung at laying the Foundation of the New Exchange at Edinburgh. Two new songs appear in this book: *When a Lodge of Free-Masons, are cloath'd in their Aprons* and *Wake the Lute and quiv'ring Strings.* It is curious that there are no Lodge Lists.

This *P.C.* seems to have had some kind of official sanction, for it is openly dedicated to the Grand Master, the author and publisher were entrusted with the publication of the 1756 *Book of Constitutions*, and a large part of the book was actually incorporated in those *Constitutions.* Bro. J. T. Thorp has suggested[1] that at this time Freemasonry was at a low ebb for various reasons, which he gives, and the official publication of this *P.C.* was part of a scheme of resuscitation.

Scott brought out a second edition in 1759. The same Frontispiece is used, but the following words have been engraved at the top: "Frontispiece to Free Masons Pocket Companion" and at the foot: "Printed for R. Baldwin; P. Davey and B. Law and J. Scott." The Title-page states that this is the second edition, and the imprint now reads:—

LONDON:
Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row; P. Davey and B. Law, in Ave-Mary-Lane; and J. Scott, in Pater-Noster-Row
M,DCC,LIX.

The Dedication to Lord Carysfort remains, although he was no longer Grand Master, but the Arms at the head have been omitted, and at the end of the dedication a date has been inserted: "St. John's Day Decem. 27, 1754." This is evidently a mistake, for the Dedication must have been written before the 1754 edition was published in February of that year, and also before Lord Carysfort ceased to be Grand Master in March. Probably, 1753 was intended.

In the Preface, a paragraph on Christopher Wren has been omitted, and in the History,[2] instead of "Sir Christopher Wren totally neglected the Office

[1] *Trans.*, Lodge of Research, No. 2429, 1917-18, p. 134.
[2] p. 92.

of Grand-Master for several Years," we now have[1]: "Sir Christopher Wren, through his great Age, bodily Infirmities, and Retirement from the Stage of Business and Hurry, was no longer able to preside in their Assemblies, by which the Craft suffered some Detriment." The preface is followed by Advertisements by Baldwin, Davey, Law and Scott of Entick's *Constitutions* of 1756 and the 2nd edition of *The Secrets of Free-Masons revealed.*

There are a number of small alterations to the History, and some new footnotes have been added. A page regarding the buildings of the Egyptians has been taken from the 1756 *Constitutions*. There is also a paragraph following the schedule of workmen employed at Solomon's Temple describing the organisation into Lodges. This, too, is from the new *Constitutions*, but the latter have not been closely followed in this case. The heading of the final chapter of the History is still "The State of Masonry from Grand-Master Strathmore to Grand-Master Carysfort," although the record carries us on for four years after he had ceased to hold office. At the end of the account of the Quarterly Communication of the 14th June, 1753, the appointment of Thomas Dobree as Provincial Grand Master for the Channel Islands is recorded, and the history then continues. There is a footnote to the record of the Quarterly Communication of the 27th June, 1754, when Jonathan Scott presented his memorial pointing out the necessity for a new *Book of Constitutions*, advertising the sale of that book by Scott for 10s. The concluding paragraph from the history in the 1754 *P.C.* is used at the end of the history in this book.

The Account of the Fund of Charity and the Manner of Constituting are omitted from this *P.C.*, as the information is, for the most part, given in the new General Regulations, which are taken from the 1756 *Constitutions*. The Charges follow the history, and then we have the General Regulations, which are headed: "The General Regulations of the Free and Accepted Masons, Revised, Approved of, and Ordered to be Published by the Grand Lodge, June 27, 1754. Carnarvan, Grand Master." These are followed by the List of Grand Stewards, which is now continued up to 1758, and the dates of appointment are given.

The Account of Dr. Plot, the Detection, the Leland-Locke manuscript and the Apology follow with but a few alterations. The separate title-page and Dedication to Count de Bruhl are omitted, and explanatory notes, previously given in the text are now in footnotes. Martin Clare's speech is not now connected with the Apology, and the name of the author is given in the heading: "An Address Made to the Body of Free and Accepted Masons, Assembled at a Quarterly Communication, held near Temple-Bar, December 11, 1735. By Martin Clare, M.A. Junior Grand-Warden."

This address is followed by the Sermon and Charge which were given in the earlier edition, but the latter is now followed by *The Light and Truth of Masonry*, Charges by Thomas Dunckerley given at Plymouth on the 28th April, 1757. Dunckerley was Master of a Lodge at Plymouth, and delivered these Charges at the dedication of the new Lodge-room at the Pope's Head Tavern. They were first published separately by Messrs. Davey and Law in a book advertised in a footnote in the *P.C.* I believe that the only copy of the original known is in the Q.C. Library. The publishers of these Charges also published this edition of the *P.C.*, so the 'copy' was probably provided by them. When they were reproduced in the *P.C.*, some local references and various quotations from the Charges of the *Constitutions* were omitted.

Then come the Prayers and Short Charge, exactly as in the 1754 *P.C.* The thirteen Songs of the earlier edition reappear, together with three new ones which, so far as I can trace, had not been published previously; there is also one other Song (*A Mason one Time . . .*) which first appeared in the *Book M.* The Prologue *You've seen me oft in Gold and Ermine drest* is also included. In three Songs, the name of the Grand Master Aberdour (G.M. 1757-1762) is given.

[1] p. 94.

Finally, there is a List of 224 Lodges. This is a very peculiar list, and quite unlike any that we have met previously. There are 91 London Lodges given under days of the week. Then 78 Country Lodges with no numbers. Lastly, 55 Foreign Lodges, with no numbers, but with the dates of Constitution given in a few cases. The highest numbered Lodge is No. 238 of the 20th March, 1758, and the last date is No. 237 of the 2nd January, 1759. Twelve Lodges in the Engraved Lists are not included. Of the 224 Lodges, 218 only are found in the official Lists, the remainder being four in Jamaica, one at Calcutta and one at Lisbon.[1]

It has been stated[2] that this *P.C.* contains a speech made by Martin Folkes at a Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge on the 20th May, 1725, when he was Deputy Grand Master. This is an error, probably due to confusion with the name of Martin Clare.

There was published in 1764, a third edition of Scott's *P.C.* which varies but little from its predecessor. The Frontispiece is unchanged. The Title-page indicates that it is the third edition, and the imprint now reads:—

London,
Printed for R. Baldwin, W. Johnston, B. Law and Co.
and J. Scott. MDCCLXIV.

The Dedication, Preface and Advertisements are omitted, the History following directly after the Title-page. Neither the History, nor the List of Grand Stewards has been brought up to date. A footnote is given to a reference to the Grand Master's Sword of State in the History, which reads as follows:— "A very fine Print of this noble Sword has been lately publish'd by J. Scott, Price 1s. plain, 2s. colour'd."

The book continues without any alteration of importance, and in the Songs, the name of Aberdour still remains as Grand Master, although he had been out of office for two years. The Lodge List seems to have caught the eye of the editor, for it has been brought up to date. It has the same peculiarities as the 1759 List, but now continues to No. 307 of the 28th November, 1763.

## THE LATER EDINBURGH EDITIONS.

Jonathan Scott's *P.C.'s* were the basis for a number of others, the first of which appeared in Edinburgh in 1761. This is taken from the 1759 London edition but varies from it in several respects.

There is no Frontispiece; in fact, none of the publications now to be considered contains any illustration. The imprint of the Title-page reads:—

Edinburgh:
Printed by Ruddiman, Auld, and Company; and
sold by William Auld, at the Printing House,
Morocco's Close, Lawn Market.

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M,DCC,LXI.

William Preston was apprenticed to the Ruddiman firm, but came to London in 1760 and was initiated in 1763. It is possible that he was employed in getting this book ready for publication. Thomas Ruddiman, the founder of the firm, died in 1757, but his brother Walter continued the business.[3] There is a Dedication to Charles, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Grand Master Mason elect, and then comes the following Advertisement:—

> It is earnestly requested that all persons possessed of any ancient records, or other writings relative to the Society of Free Masons in

[1] For further particulars, see Lane's *Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges*, p. 55.
[2] See *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry*, A. G. Mackey: Addresses, Masonic.
[3] See *D.N.B.*

> Scotland, would please to communicate them to William Auld Printer in Edinburgh, who will readily acknowledge the obligation, and give assurance that this request is intended for a public concern, and that no improper use shall be made of them. Whoever is so kind as to communicate any such records or writings, may have a Receipt from the above William Auld Master of the Lodge of Grand Stewards, from the Master of the Ancient Lodge of Mary's Chapel, or from the Master of the Thistle Lodge, and they shall be carefully preserved, and delivered to the owners when called for.

The History has now been divided into two parts, "The History of Masonry" and "The History of Masonry in Britain." The first part has seven Chapters, and terminates with the destruction of the Augustan style in Italy. A paragraph dated A.D. 64 regarding the construction of the outbuildings of Herod's Temple is omitted; also, after the notes on the Act against the Masons, the explanation of Judge Coke's opinion on that Act is not given. The British part of the History has five Chapters numbered I. to V., the first three taking the record as far as the Union of the Crowns. Chapter IV. gives Lists of Grand Masters and Grand Officers since that time down to 1758, as in Scott's *P.C.*, but the other details of events each year have been omitted. The last chapter deals with the Scottish History and includes similar lists for the period 1736-1760. It is quite new, but concludes with the paragraph which, in Scott, came after the English History. The record given in the London 1759 edition has been altered in several of the details. In Chapter II. of the British History, the last paragraph but one has been omitted and reappears at the beginning of the following chapter. The final paragraph of Chapter II. to the effect that Kings were Grand Masters for life, etc., is also transferred to Chapter III. At the end of Chapter II. we now find (slightly altered) the last paragraph of the Detection of Dr. Plot's Account, and this is followed by Locke's letter and the whole of the Leland-Locke MS., including the glossary. In Chapter III., the paragraph regarding Elias Ashmole is given prior to the extracts from Dr. Knipe's letter about him, and at the end of that same chapter it is not surprising to find that the Scottish editor has omitted the words "After the Rebellion was over in 1716." The particulars regarding the formation of the first Grand Lodge have been moved to the following chapter.

There are no Regulations in this book, but the Charges, Short Charge to new-admitted Brethren, Manner of Constituting and Prayers are all taken straight from the 1759 *P.C.* There are now four Prayers, as, in addition to the usual three, the prayer from the end of the 'Apology' has been included.

There follows an Appendix with a separate Title-page dated 1761. This begins with the Act of the Associate Synod of Scotland denouncing the 'Mason-oath' at meetings on the 7th March, 1745, and later. This report comes from the *Scots Magazine* of August, 1757. It is followed by an impartial examination of this Act reprinted from the *Edinburgh Magazine* of October, 1757. This is followed by Martin Clare's Address which is here stated to be by Martin Clarke, and this mistake continues in the later *P.C.'s* of this series. Then comes the Sermon of the Rev. C. Brockwell, Isaac Head's Charge, and Dunckerley's *Light and Truth of Masonry*, but without his name.

This book contains forty-one Songs, forty numbered in sequence, and an 'Anthem.' There were seventeen Songs in Scott's 1759 *P.C.*, all of which appear here except *Wake the Lute and quiv'ring Strings*. Of the remaining twenty-five, ten have previously appeared in a *P.C.*, thirteen have been published earlier in other books, and two seem to be original. In three of the Songs we find the name of the Earl of Leven, who was Grand Master Mason of Scotland from 1759 to 1761. Following the songs are two Prologues and two Epilogues. One of the former makes its first appearance here, and the others come from previous *P.C.'s*.

At the end of the book there are Lists of Scottish and English Lodges. The former has the Lodges up to No. 65 Campbeltoun-Kilwinning, as in the Edinburgh 1752 *P.C.*, and the last Lodge is No. 109 Ratha. This Lodge was certainly No. 109 originally, but the other Lodges do not agree with the official lists. The Lodge at Ratha is now Kirknewton and Ratho and was constituted on the 10th July, 1761, the next Lodge to be constituted after that date coming on the 8th February, 1762. The English List is very much out of date, and has evidently been taken from that in the Edinburgh 1752 book, which in turn came from that of London 1738. It agrees with the Engraved List of 1737 (to the 20th April), and so is more than twenty years wrong. The last Lodge entered in the 1738 *P.C.* was No. 160, Half Moon and Three Tons on Snow-Hill, 2d and 4th Thursday, April 20, but in that book there were fifteen blanks. This list was copied into the Edinburgh 1752 edition, and in the book under consideration the blanks have been omitted and the list closed up, so that it now ends with No. 145, Half Moon and Three Tons on Snow-Hill.

The next *P.C.* printed in Edinburgh is dated 1763, and is almost identical with the last. It is stated on the Title-page to be the Second Edition, and the imprint is as follows:—

Edinburgh:
Printed for Alexander Donaldson,
and sold at his shops in London and Edinburgh.
MDCCLXIII.

The Dedication to the Grand Master and Auld's advertisement asking for Masonic information are omitted, but after the title-page we read: "To all the Lodges in Great Britain, Ireland and America, this new Edition of the Pocket-Companion and History of Free-Masons is humbly dedicated by The Publisher."

In the History, it is interesting to find that the error regarding the presence of Pompey at the battle of Actium has been corrected. In all the earlier *P.C.'s* of the 'Jonathan Scott' type, this mistake is found, but in this book Pompey has been correctly replaced by Antony. The History is not brought up to date in the body of the book, but follows the Edinburgh 1751 *P.C.* There is a note after the Scottish Grand Officers for 1760 stating that the list will be continued at the end of the Appendix, and there the Grand Officers for 1761, 1762 and 1763 are given.

The Appendix in this book has no separate title-page. The Songs are unchanged, the name of Leven being still given as Grand Master. The Lodge Lists show no important variation, but the name of the place of meeting of the last Scottish Lodge has now been corrected to Ratho.

In the next Edinburgh edition, which is dated 1765, we go back to William Auld, who printed the 1761 book. The imprint is:—

Edinburgh:
Printed by Auld, and Smellie, and
sold at their Printing House, Morocco's Close,
Lawn-Market.

M,DCC,LXV.

William Smellie (1740-1795) [1] was a well-known Edinburgh printer, and for a time in partnership with Auld. This appears to have been Auld's second edition, but there is no indication of the fact on the title-page. There is no doubt that Donaldson's 1763 book was utilised in compiling it, for in the History, Antony instead of Pompey, is mentioned in connection with the battle of Actium.

There is a short Dedication to James Stewart, Esq., Lord Provost of Edinburgh and Grand Master Mason of Scotland.[2] There follows a list of the Songs in the book, and then the general contents. The History follows the 1763

[1] See *D.N.B.*
[2] He held office for two years, 1765-67.

edition, but the Scottish part has been brought up to date by an account of the St. Andrew's day meeting on the 30th November, 1764, when the Earl of Kelly, Grand Master, and all the Grand Officers were re-appointed. James Stewart was chosen as the next Grand Master. The final paragraph of the History, which comes from Scott's first *P.C.*, has now been omitted.

The History is followed by the Charges, Short Charge, Manner of Constituting and four Prayers. Then we have a new item, "A Vindication of Masonry and its Excellency demonstrated. In a Discourse at the Consecration of the Lodge of Vernon Kilwinning on May 15. 1741. By Charles Leslie, M.A. Master-Mason and Member of that Lodge." This is followed by Brockwell's Sermon and Dunckerley's Charges, but Martin Clare's address is omitted.

There is a long list of Songs. Nos. 1-40 are as in the previous edition, and there follow fifteen others, five of which are original, one is from Cole's 1731 Collection and nine either from Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751, or *Ahiman Rezon*, 1756. After Song No. 55, there follows the Anthem *Grant us, kind heav'n.* There are three Prologues and two Epilogues. One of the former is original, and the remainder have appeared in previous *P.C.'s.* The name of the Grand Master 'Stewart' occurs in three of the Songs.

In the Scottish Lodge List, No. 109 is now described as Kirknewton and Ratho. The list continues to No. 124 St. James's Lodge, Edinburgh, now No. 97, constituted on the 19th August, 1765. The next Lodge after that date was constituted on the 11th November, 1765. The English list contains 262 Lodges, 127 in London, 92 in the Country and 43 Foreign, the last being No. 262, Boar's-head, Holywell, Flintshire, . . . May 20. 1761. This Lodge was not in the Engraved Lists until 1765, when it appeared as No. 286 St. Davids Lodge at the Kings head and Masons Arms Holywell North Wales, constituted the 13th January, 1761. It had then a different number, place and date from those given in the *P.C.* This list is a very peculiar one. From No. 1 to No. 145, it follows the Edinburgh 1763 *P.C.*; obviously, this part was now much out of date and very inaccurate. The editor appears to have taken No. 146 (Falmouth, of the 20th May, 1751) to No. 261 from an official list of 1761 [1] but as one Lodge was omitted in error, all the numbers after No. 160 are incorrect. The Signs of the various meeting houses are omitted, presumably because the editor could not describe them. It will be noticed that owing to the way in which the list was made, no Lodges constituted between April, 1737, and May, 1751, are included. The peculiar formation of this list causes one Lodge to be recorded twice. The Lodge at Exeter, which is No. 86, was erased on the 29th November, 1754; on the 5th February, 1759, it was reinstated as No. 239.[2] It appears again in this *P.C.* as No. 238.

The last Edinburgh *P.C.* which comes into this survey is that printed by William Auld in 1772, after an interval of seven years. This is called the third edition on the title-page, and although Auld must have known of Donaldson's work of 1763, he did not consider it as an edition in his series.

It follows the Edinburgh 1765 *P.C.*, but there are some noteworthy variations. There is a short Dedication to the Earl of Dumfries, Grand Master Mason of Scotland 1771-1773, and this is followed by a list of Contents, and then the list of Songs. The History has a shortened account of the proceedings on St. Andrew's Day, 1764, the list of Scottish Grand Officers is continued up to 1771, and it is followed by the final paragraph of the Scottish History from the 1765 *P.C.*

[1] See Lane's *Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges*, p. 59.

[2] G.L.Min. of 5th February, 1759: The Lodge at the New Inn at Exeter reinstated to Stand in the List as if now Constituted.

Then, there is a new item[1]: "A Grant by King James the VI. in favour of Patrick Coipland of Udaucht of the office of Wardanrie over the Craft of Masons, within the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine, during his life, conceived in the following words." This is followed by a transcript of the Grant.

Following this are the Scottish Lodges, ending with No. 171 Shettlestoun St. John, which dates from December, 1771. The next Lodge was dated the 1st April, 1772, so the book probably appeared early in the latter year. The Lodge numbers in this list have no meaning and do not in any way agree with the official numbers. Then follow the Charges, Short Charge, Manner of Constituting, Prayers, Leslie's Vindication, Brockwell's Sermon and Dunckerley's Charges exactly as in the last edition.

The Songs are unchanged, and in two of them the name of the Grand Master has been corrected to 'Dumfries.' One Song was overlooked, and in it 'Stewart' still remains. The English Lodges are unaltered from the 1765 book, but Nos. 209-213 are now numbered incorrectly 211, 213, 212, 209 and 210 respectively.

After this, there is an Appendix which begins with the heading: "Since printing of the foregoing work, we have been favoured with a COPY of the CHARTER of INCORPORATION, granted by his present Majesty to the Grand Lodge of England." Then follows the Charter, which, of course, was never granted.[2] The next item is a List of the English Grand Officers from 1759-1771. Lastly, there are two more Songs. The first is *Wake the lute and quiv'ring strings*, which, it will be remembered, was the only song in the 1759 edition omitted from the Edinburgh *P.C.'s* which followed. The second Song is *From henceforth ever sing The Craftsman and the King*, which is the last verse of the old song *When e'er we are alone*. It contains the name 'Dumfries' of the Grand Master.

Three years later, remainders of the Edinburgh 1772 edition appeared in London with a new Title-page. This also bears the words "The Third Edition," and the imprint reads:—

LONDON:
Printed for JOHN DONALDSON, Corner of
Arundel Street, No. 195. Strand.
M,DCC,LXXV.

This publisher is perhaps connected with Alexander Donaldson, who printed the 1763 Edinburgh edition, and who states in that book that he has a shop in London.

## THE LAST ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH EDITIONS OF THE CENTURY.

The remaining *P.C.'s* which appeared during the eighteenth century were compiled from one or other of the Edinburgh editions which have just been reviewed.

The first of these was quite the smallest of the eighteenth century *P.C.'s*, the dimensions of its page being only 4½ ins. by 2¾ ins. It was a London book printed "for Brother Thompson in the Strand," and bore the date 1764, the same as Jonathan Scott's third edition. There was a printer, J. Thompson in the Strand[3] earlier in the century, and it may have been the same man, or a son, who printed this book. It is found with two variations of Title-page; sometimes it is printed in black and red, but there are also copies printed in black only.

The *P.C.* is evidently taken from the Edinburgh 1761 edition, as Pompey (instead of Antony) is mentioned in the History in connection with the battle of Actium, and the last Scottish Lodge is Ratha (instead of Ratho).

[1] See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, I., 384 and 425.
[2] Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, II., 472
[3] *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 1668-1725, H. Plomer, 1922.

There is no Dedication, and the History follows immediately after the title-page. No Scottish Grand Stewards are mentioned. The book continues as in the Edinburgh 1761 *P.C.*, but the portion relating to the Associate Synod is omitted, and the Lodge Lists follow the Prayers. These are unchanged, but a curious error has been made. As in the previous lists, the dates of Constitution of some of the Lodges only are recorded. The last Lodge with such a date is No. 143, Westminster Hall, Dunning's Alley, Bishopsgate-street, and the date should be 30th March, 1737. The printer has given us "March 30, 1757." This may be a genuine misprint, but one suspects that the editor has tried to make his Lodge List of 1737 look as if it were not twenty-seven years out of date.

Most of these *P.C.'s* of Thompson do not have any Songs, but they are found sometimes bound at the end of the book, preceded by Martin 'Clarke's' address, with a separate Title-page and fresh pagination. This Title-page reads:—

A
COLLECTION
OF
Free-Masons Songs.
To which is prefixed,
A General Charge to Masons
LONDON,
Printed for Brother Thompson in the Strand,
MDCCLXIV.

Another *P.C.* taken from the Edinburgh 1761 edition with very little variation was the Glasgow 1765 book, the imprint of which reads:—

Glasgow:
Printed by Joseph Galbraith, and to be sold at his
Printing-house in Paul's closs above the cross.

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M,DCC,LXV.

The History follows immediately after the Title-page, and there is practically no change from the Edinburgh 1761 *P.C.* until we come to the Songs, of which there are fifty, and one Anthem, two Prologues and two Epilogues. The first thirty-nine Songs, the forty-first, the Anthem and the Prologues and Epilogues are from the Edinburgh *P.C.* Song No. 40 was, I believe, first published in this book; it is also found in the Broadley Collection with the same date, and begins:—

Joy to my Brother Masons,
Who are met to remember.

The last verse is interesting:—

May every loving Brother,
Employ his thoughts, and search
How to improve
In peace and love,
The Glasgow Royal Arch.

In the Broadley Collection, this Song is printed separately by a London printer, and has the words "The London Royal Arch." Two other songs are original, six have previously appeared in *P.C.'s*, and one comes from *Ahiman Rezon*, 1756. There are two songs in this *P.C.* which are printed twice. *To all who Masonry Despise* is No. 23 and also No. 48; *A Health to our Sisters let's drink* is No. 26 and also No. 50. In the Songs in this book, the name of the Grand Master is given correctly as 'Kelly.'[1]

[1] The Earl of Kelly, Grand Master Mason of Scotland, 1763-65.

After the Songs follow the Lodge Lists. The Scottish List still ends with No. 109 Ratha, but as the compositor had insufficient space, he has printed two Lodges on the last line, one on each side of the signature "R 2," so that the line reads:—

St. George's R 2 ditto. Ratha.

There should be 145 Lodges in the English List, but the compositor came to the foot of the page with No. 141, so the remaining four were omitted. Probably the Scottish printer did not consider this English List of much importance; incidentally, it was a 1737 list, and so was nearly thirty years out of date.

Following the Lodge lists is a further series of forty-three Songs, which are not Masonic, and as regards most of them, the less said the better. They are headed "A Collection of Scots and English Songs," but the first of them is entitled "An Irish Song."

At the end of the book, the Scottish Grand Officers and Grand Stewards are given for 1761, 1762 and 1763, and the Grand Officers for 1765.

In 1771, another Glasgow *P.C.* was published, based on the 1765 Glasgow edition, which it closely resembles. This book appeared with two alternative Title-pages, the imprints being as follows:—

(1) Glasgow;
Printed by Robert and Thomas Duncan, and sold
at their Shop, Pope's-Head Salt-Market.
M,DCC,LXXI.

(2) Glasgow;
Printed for Peter Tait, James Brown, & John Tait,
Booksellers.
M,DCC,LXXI.

Evidently the Duncans printed the book with this special title-page for Messrs. Tait, Brown and Tait.

The chief variations from the previous edition are in the Songs. Song No. 48, instead of *To all who Masonry despise,* we have *Assembl'd and tyl'd let us social agree,* which had not appeared in print previously, so far as I am aware. Instead of No. 50 *A Health to our Sisters lets drink,* we now have *Proud woman, I scorn you,* which is not Masonic. Both of these alterations were made in order to replace Songs which had been duplicated. The name of the Grand Master, 'Dumfries,'[1] is now given in two of the Songs, but in one 'Kelly' still remains. The Scottish Lodge List still ends with the line:—

St. George's R 2 ditto. Ratha

which is correct, as, owing to the book being copied page by page from the 1765 edition, the signature is unchanged. The English List also still finishes with No. 141.

In 1792, a *P.C.* was published at Air (*sic*) which was derived from, and closely resembled the Glasgow book of 1771. This was "Printed by John & Peter Wilson." After a List of Contents, there are five pages of "Toasts and Sentiments for the Society of Free Masons." Most of these are common Masonic phrases, but who can tell us the meaning of the expression "To the ancient sons of peace"? A number of these Toasts were printed in practically the same order as in this *P.C.* at the ends of the Songs in *Ahiman Rezon.* The book continues as in the Glasgow 1771 *P.C.*, but the Scottish Grand Officers are given down to Senior Grand Warden only; the junior Officers, including the Grand Stewards, are omitted.

The Masonic Songs are incorrectly numbered; xx. is followed by xxx., and then xxxi., xxxi. (repeated), xxxii. The numeration then continues correctly, but these errors mean a loss of eight Songs. There are, in fact, thirty-two up to

[1] The Earl of Dumfries, Grand Master Mason of Scotland, 1771-73.

No. 40, all of which are selected from the Glasgow 1771 *P.C.* They are followed by one song from *Ahiman Rezon* of 1756, two which have previously appeared in the Edinburgh 1765 *P.C.*, and one which seems to be original. No. 44 is followed by "The Anthem" (*Grant us, kind heav'n*) and the "Ode" (*Wake the lute and quiv'ring strings*) which was in the London 1754 *P.C.* There are two Prologues and two Epilogues from the Glasgow 1771 book. The name 'Dumfries' is given in the Songs, but 'Kelly' still remains in one case, as in the Glasgow edition.

The Scottish Lodge List is unaltered, but the last line still reads:—

St. George's R 2 ditto. Ratha.

The compositor evidently took "R 2" to be part of the Masonic information, as this page is actually in "Q" signature. This list is followed by an Anthem sung at the Consecration of St. Andrew's Lodge, Kilmarnock, on the 20th May, 1771. This begins *Blest Masonry! thy arts divine*, and had probably not been published previously. The English Lodge List still ends with:—

141 Horn, Braintree in Essex.

It is followed by a collection of 102 Songs and twenty Catches and Glees. These are not Masonic and many of them do not deserve repetition.

There is no Scottish information after 1760, and the book finishes with the following note:—

> The Publishers are sorry they have not had it in their power to give complete Lists of the Regular Lodges of Scotland, nor of the Office Bearers of the Grand Lodge to this date. Application was made, and they were promised; but having been detained long fruitlessly on them, it was deemed most proper to finish the Book.
>
> November 21, 1792.

## FICTITIOUS EDITIONS.

This will be a suitable opportunity to deal with those books which cause so much trouble to the investigator, that is to say, those which have been reported, but which actually do not exist. References to them occur in print again and again, and they are the cause of much waste of time.

Needless to say, I am not prepared to vouch for the fact that these books do not, or have not existed; I can only state that I have taken a great deal of trouble to try to find them without success, and I believe that I have taken the correct step in labelling them fictitious. Since this line of research was started by me, I have traced editions of *P.C.'s*, which were, I believe, previously unrecorded, and I have no doubt that others will come to light in the future. The list of *P.C.'s* dealt with in this paper is clearly incomplete, and those which are found subsequently may possibly prove to be editions which I now believe to be non-existent.

In volume vii., the *Masonic Magazine*, 1879-80, there is a list of Masonic books in the library of the British Museum. This list contains on p. 363, among others the two following, both of which I believe to be fictitious:—

> Smith, Wm.: The Freemasons' Pocket Companion. 1750.
>
> The Pocket Companion and History of Freemasonry. 12mo, 1762.

The dates in both cases are probably misprints, the former for 1735, and the latter for 1764, the date of the well-known 12mo. edition of John Thompson. I have referred this to the Superintendent of the Reading Room, and he tells me that the entries must be in error, as no *P.C.'s* of those dates are to be found in the Library. These two books have been given by various authors in lists of *P.C.'s*, and I hope that we shall hear no more of them.

Wolfstieg has perpetuated a fictitious Dutch *P.C.* under item No. 771, for at the end of his description of the Haarlem 1740 *P.C.*, he gives: "[Dasselbe] Amsterdam: v. Laak 1773." This indicates that the same book was published by van Laak at Amsterdam in 1773. Wolfstieg did not see the book himself, but refers to items in the *Maçonniek Weekblad*, Series 2, year 5 (1868), Nos. 14, 15, 21 and 22. Reference has been made to these papers, and in them D. Buddingh makes a comparison between the 1740 Haarlem *P.C.* and "De pligten, wetten . . .," which was edited at the Hague by R. van Laak in 1773. There is no mention of a 1773 *P.C.*, and in recording a "Zakboekje" of that year, Wolfstieg has evidently made a mistake.

## CONCLUSION.

And so our survey of these interesting little books is ended. In the period 1735-1800, over thirty editions appeared, and much of the original character of William Smith's first book still remains at the end of the century.

I have not dealt with the numerous books which appeared during this period under various names, which contain songs, addresses and the other ingredients which go to make up the *P.C.*, but which do not bear that title. In many cases, there is little to differentiate between them and the *P.C.'s*, but I have, as I have already stated, kept (with a few exceptions) to the books which bear the name "Pocket Companion," and this enables me to trace a distinct relationship right through the series. This is shown diagramatically in Appendices III. and IV. By adhering to this programme, I have also kept clear of a long series of unofficial editions of the *Constitutions*, both English and foreign.

The *P.C.'s* seem to fall naturally into two groups, the William Smith Series, given in Appendix III., and the Jonathan Scott Series, given in Appendix IV. In England and Ireland, there were official *Books of Constitutions*, and the earlier *P.C.'s.* seem to have made their appearances when the official books were scarce, or out of print. After the middle of the century, there were very few editions in these countries, and the reason for this is not clear. The *Constitutions* of the Moderns were not easily portable, and it is possible that the Modern Mason made use of Kearsly's unofficial *Constitutions* of 1769, or even *Ahiman Rezon*. Perhaps the Freemason of that period did not trouble to have a copy of the *Constitutions*, and contented himself with a book of songs. Scotland was the best selling ground for the *P.C.*, and this one would expect, for the Grand Lodge of Scotland issued no *Book of Constitutions* during the eighteenth century.

I must apologise for the number of theories that I have propounded, but I do not consider that any harm has been done by this, as I have been careful to distinguish between fact and fancy. We must evolve theories in our endeavour to explain facts, and they serve a very useful purpose so long as they are not confused with the facts themselves.

Finally, I have to thank a great number of helpers, without whom this review would have been very incomplete, but it is quite impossible for me to mention them all by name. I cannot, however, refrain from referring to Bros. F. H. Marquis of Mansfield, Ohio, and Major J. H. Tatsch, of New York City, who have helped with information regarding books which are now in the United States, and Bro. A. Hooiberg of the Klossian Library at the Hague. Bro. Gordon Hills, the Librarian of the Grand Lodge of England, has given me every facility to study the books in his keeping, and to Bros. W. J. Songhurst and Lionel Vibert I am indebted for every possible assistance, without which this paper would not have been written.

## *APPENDIX I.*

Libraries to which reference is made:—

1. Grand Lodge of England.
2. ,, ,, Ireland.
3. ,, ,, Scotland.
4. ,, ,, British Columbia.
5. ,, ,, California.
6. ,, ,, Iowa.
7. ,, ,, Kansas.
8. ,, ,, Massachusetts.
9. ,, ,, Pennsylvania.
10. ,, ,, Virginia.
11. Grand Orient of the Netherlands.
12. Quatuor Coronati Lodge.
13. Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons, England, etc.
14. Supreme Council, 33°, England, etc.
15. High Council, S.R.I.A.
16. Hallamshire College, S.R.I.A.
17. Masonic Library, Birmingham.
18. ,, ,, Halifax.
19. ,, ,, Leeds.
20. ,, ,, Manchester.
21. ,, ,, Norwich.
22. ,, ,, Portsmouth.
23. ,, ,, Weymouth.
24. ,, ,, Worcester.
25. ,, ,, York.
26. ,, ,, Lahore, India.
27. ,, ,, of F.H. Marquis, Mansfield, Ohio.
28. British Museum.

## LIST OF 18TH CENTURY *POCKET COMPANIONS*.

| Index Number | Page of Text | Wolfstieg Reference | Place | Printers and Booksellers | Date | Libraries | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 166 | — | London | E. Rider | 1735 | 1. 2. 6. 8. 9. 12. 14. 20. 25. 28. | |
| 2 | 169 | 766 | Dublin | E. Rider, T. Jones, J. Pennel | 1735 | 2. 3. 6. 8. 9. 22. 24. 26. | |
| 3 | 178 | 768 | London | John Torbuck | 1736 | 1. 2. 9. 11. 12. 14. 24. 25. 27. 28. | Reissue of No. 1 |
| 4 | 172 | 5920 | Newcastle | Leonard Umfreville & Co. | 1736 | 18. 19. 25. | The Book M. |
| 5 | 178 | 769 | London | John Torbuck | 1738 | 1. 6. 8. 11. 12. 21. 25. | |
| 6 | 179 | 770 | Frankfort | Andreä | 1738 | 11. 14. 27. | In German |
| 7 | 182 | 770 | Frankfort | Andreä | 1740 | 11. | In German |
| 8 | 183 | 771 | Haarlem | Izaak & Job Enschedé | 1740 | 11. | In Dutch |
| *9* | 189 | — | *Belfast* | *James Magee* | *1744-5* | — | *Undiscovered* |
| *10* | 202 | — | — | — | *1750* | — | *Fictitious* |
| 11 | 185 | — | Dublin | Ebenezer Rider | 1751 | 2. 9. 27. | |
| 12 | 188 | — | Belfast | James Magee | 1751 | 8. | |
| 13 | 185 | 778 | Edinburgh | W. Cheyne | 1752 | 1. 2. 3. 6. 8. 9. 10. 12. 14. 25. 26. 27. | |
| 14 | 185 | — | Edinburgh | James Reid | 1754 | 11. 12. 13. 25. 27. | Reissue of No. 13 |
| 15 | 189 | — | Glasgow | Archibald M'Lean & Mrs. M'Lean | 1754 | 27. | |
| 16 | 190 | 781 | London | J. Scott, R. Baldwin | 1754 | 1. 2. 4. 6. 8. 9. 11. 12. 17. 21. 24. 25. 26. 27. | |
| 17 | 189 | — | Belfast | James Magee | 1757 | — | |
| 18 | 193 | 781 | London | R. Baldwin, P. Davey, B. Law, J. Scott | 1759 | 1. 2. 6. 8. 9. 11. 12. 14. 16. 21. 24. 25. 26. 27. | |
| 19 | 195 | 785 | Edinburgh | Ruddiman, William Auld & Co. | 1761 | 1. 2. 3. 6. 8. 9. 17. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. | |
| 20 | 187 | — | Dublin | Laurence Flin | 1761 | 2. 9. 12. 25. | |
| *21* | 202 | — | — | — | *1762* | — | *Fictitious* |
| 22 | 197 | 785 | London & Edinburgh | Alexander Donaldson | 1763 | 1. 2. 6. 9. 11. 12. 14. 25. 27. 28. | |
| 23 | 195 | 781 | London | R. Baldwin, W. Johnston, B. Law & Co., J. Scott | 1764 | 1. 2. 6. 8. 9. 11. 12. 22. 24. 25. 26. 27. | |
| 24 | 199 | — | London | Thompson | 1764 | 1. 2. 4. 6. 7. 12. 23. 25. 27. 28. | |
| 25 | 189 | 786 | Belfast | James Magee | 1764 | 1. 2. 6. 24. | |
| 26 | 197 | 785 | Edinburgh | Auld & Smellie | 1765 | 1. 2. 5. 8. 9. 10. 13. 17. 26. 27. | |
| 27 | 200 | 787 | Glasgow | Joseph Galbraith | 1765 | 1. 2. 3. 6. 8. 24. 25. 27. | |
| 28 | 201 | 788 | Glasgow | Robert & Thomas Duncan | 1771 | 6. 8. 9. 12. 14. 15. 25. | } Identical but for |
| 29 | 201 | 788 | Glasgow | Peter Tait, James Brown, John Tait | 1771 | 1. 8. 25. 27. 28. | } title-pages |
| 30 | 198 | 3889 | Edinburgh | William Auld | 1772 | 1. 6. 8. 14. 16. 25. 27. 28. | |
| *31* | 203 | *771* | *Amsterdam* | *van Laak* | *1773* | — | *In Dutch. Fictitious* |
| 32 | — | — | London | Longman, Lukey & Co. | *c.* 1774 | 6. | Songs |
| 33 | 199 | — | London | John Donaldson | 1775 | 8. | Reissue of No. 30 |
| 34 | — | 927 | Newcastle | T. Angus, E. Humble | 1777 | 12. 16. 24. 25. 27. | Addresses etc. and Songs |
| 35 | 189 | — | *Belfast* | *James Magee* | *c. 1780* | — | *Undiscovered* |
| 36 | — | — | London | C. & S. Thompson | *c.* 1780 | 6. 27. | Songs |
| 37 | 201 | 801 | Air | John & Peter Wilson | 1792 | 1. 2. 6. 8. 9. 12. 25. 27. | |
| 38 | — | — | New London, Conn. | Samuel Green | 1794 | 9. | Addresses etc. and Songs |
| 39 | — | — | Glasgow | William Bell, Richard Scott | 1798 | 6. 25. 27. | Songs |
| 40 | — | — | Dublin | — | 1799 | 6. | Songs |

## *APPENDIX II.*

Collations of the various editions.

F. Frontispiece.
T. Title-page.

| *Index Number* | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. 3. | 4to. | F.; T., *verso* blank; 4 pp. n.n.; (1)-45; *verso* blank; second T., *verso* blank; 49-116; 3 pp. advertisements n.n., *verso* blank. |
| 2. | 4to. | F.; T., *verso* blank; 4 pp. n.n.; (1)-79; 1 p. advertisement n.n. |
| 4. | 12mo. | T.; *verso* blank; 6 pp. n.n.; 1-76; second T., *verso* blank; 1-60. |
| 5. | 12mo. | F.; T., *verso* blank; 8 pp. n.n.; (1)-44; second T., *verso* blank; 47-119; *verso* blank. |
| 6. | 8vo. | F.; T., *verso* blank; 1-140. |
| 7. | 8vo. | F.; T. (black and red), *verso* blank; 1-143, *verso* blank. |
| 8. | 8vo. | F.; T., *verso* blank; second T., *verso* blank; 12 pp. n.n.; 1-96; 1-31, *verso* blank. |
| 11. | 6to. | F.; T., *verso* blank; 1-46; second T.; 48-92; 1-23; 1 p. advertisement n.n. |
| 12. | 6to. | T.; *verso* blank; (iii)-vi; (7)-96. |
| 13. | 6to. | F.; T., *verso* blank; 8 pp. n.n.; 1-53; *verso* blank; second T., *verso* blank; 57-150. |
| 14. | 6to. | No F.; otherwise as 13. |
| 15. | 4to. | T., *verso* blank; (iii)-vi; 7-89, *verso* blank. |
| 16. | 12mo. | F.; T., *verso* blank; (iii)-viii; (1)-236; second T., *verso* blank; (239)-328. |
| 18. | 12mo. | F.; T., *verso* blank; (iii)-viii; (1)-380. |
| 19. | 4to. | Half Title, *verso* blank; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n.; 2 pp. blank; 1 p. n.n.; (1)-152 [1]; second T., *verso* blank; (3)-120. |
| 20. | 4to. | F.; T., *verso* blank; (5)-84. |
| 22. | 4to. | T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (v)-vi; (1)-274. |
| 23. | 12mo. | F.; T., *verso* blank; (1)-382. |
| 24. | 6to. | T. (black, or black and red), *verso* blank; (1)-214. |
| 25. | 8vo. | T., *verso* blank; (iii)-vi; 7-96. |
| 26. | 4to. | T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (v)-viii; (1)-279, *verso* blank. |
| 27. 28. 29. | 6to. | T., *verso* blank; (3)-240. |
| 30. 33. | 6to. | T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (vii)-xii; (1)-300. 30 has Half Title, *verso* blank. |
| 37. | 6to. | T., *verso* blank; 3-(300). |

[1] Printed "118" in error.

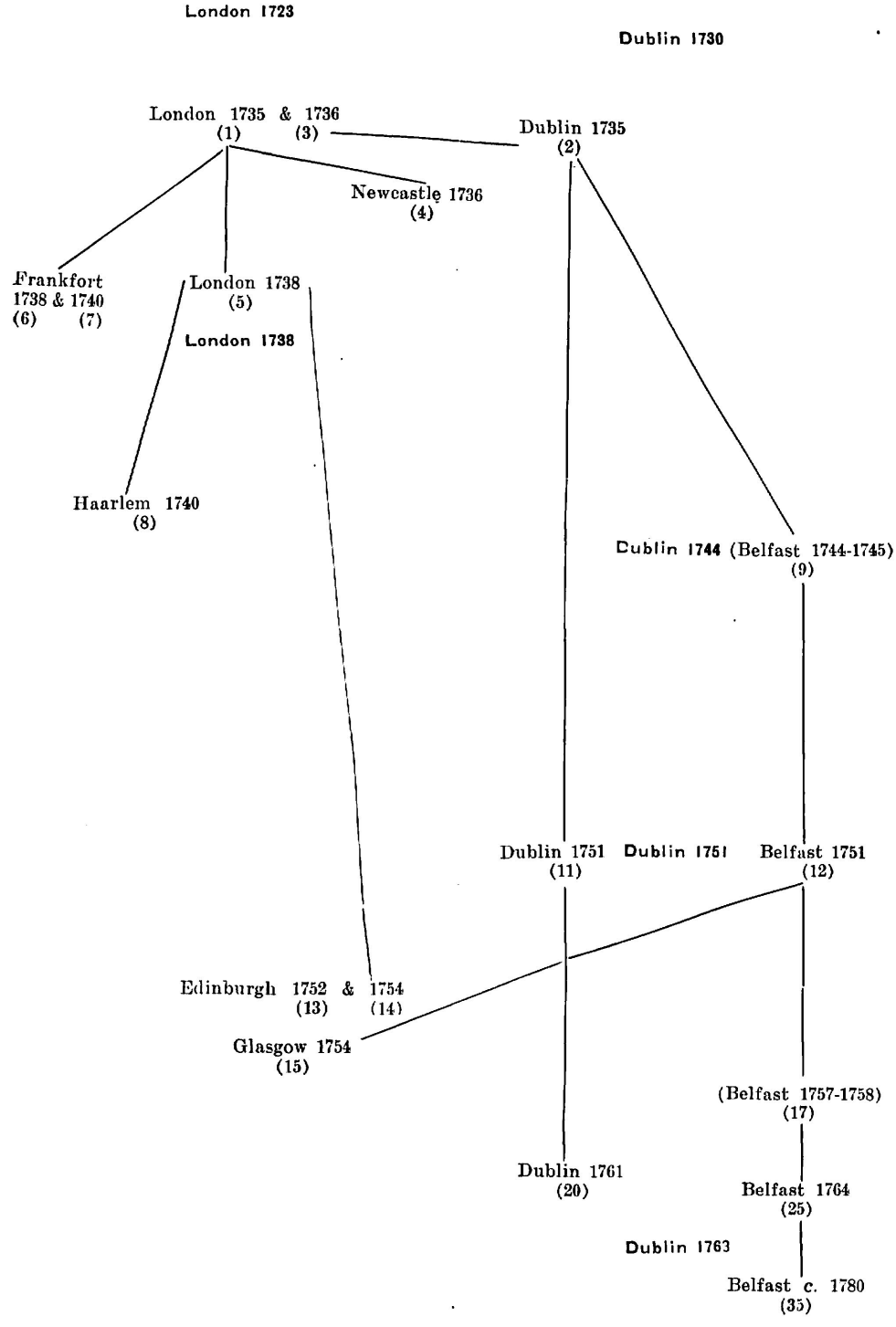
## *APPENDIX III.*

Diagram to show the sequence of the *P.C.'s* of the 'William Smith' Series.

This diagram also shows the advent of *P.C.'s* when *Constitutions* were out of print.

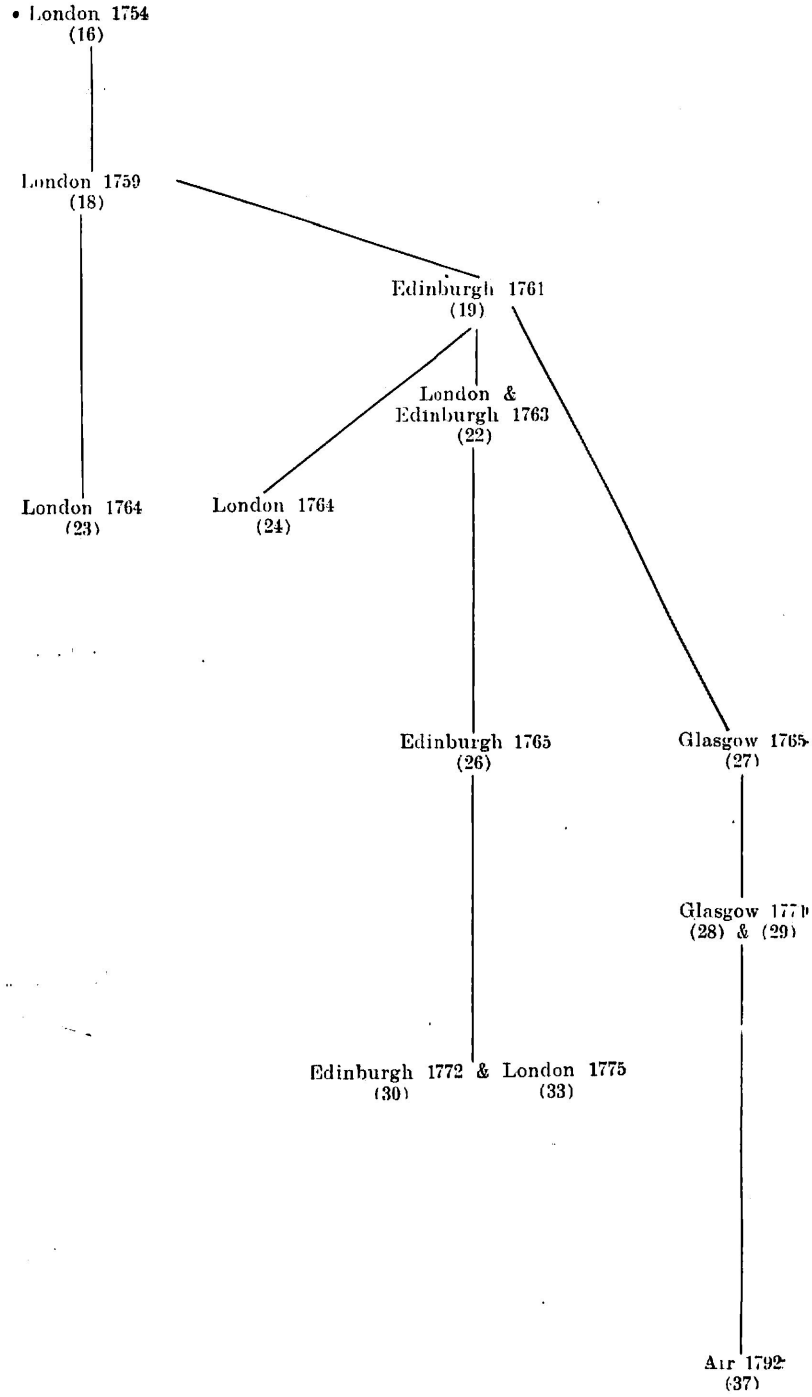
Editions of the *Constitutions* are shewn in heavy type.

The "Index Numbers" from Appendix I. are given in brackets.



## *APPENDIX IV.*

Diagram to show the sequence of the *P.C.'s* of the 'Jonathan Scott' Series. The "Index Numbers" from Appendix I. are given in brackets.



## *APPENDIX V.*

Material in the Frankfort 1740 (2nd) edition, not given in the 1738 (1st) edition. The pages refer to the 1738 (1st) edition.

### CHAPTER VII.

p. 63.

. . . prächtigste bewirthet wurden.

Den 8. May 1738. verfügten sich die sämtlichen Meister, Vorsteher und Mit-Brüder der verschiedenen Logen der Frey-Mäurer-Gesellschaft zu dem Marquis de Carnarvan, als neu erwehlten Grosz-Meister, von da sie der Gewohnheit nach in einem prächtigen Aufzug nach der Halle der Fisch-Händler aufbrachen, und eine sehr kostbare Mahlzeit einnahmen. Eben diese Ceremonie erfolgte den 14. May 1739. indem der alte Grosz-Meister, Marquis de Carnarvan, mit seinem Nachfolger, dem Lord Raymond, unter Begleitung von 95. Carossen nach besagter Fisch-Händler-Halle fuhr, allwo man für die gantze zahlreiche Gesellschaft eine prächtige Gasterey zubereitet hatte.

Wiewohl . . .

p. 65.

. . . ters ihre Groszmuth zu zeigen.

Man hat zwar auch zu London Briefe von Philadelphia unterm 27 Jun. 1737 gezeiget, in welchen berichtet wurde, es hätten einige junge Leute daselbst sich für Frey-Maurer ausgegeben, und einen andern, der in ihre Brüderschafft zu treten verlanget, darein aufnehmen wollen. Sie hätten sich zu solchem Ende in einem Keller versammlet, woselbst sie den neuen Bruder, um ihn einzuweyhen, über den Kopff und Kleider starck mit Brandtewein begossen; Ihre Unbesonnenheit sey hierauf so weit gegangen, dasz sie dessen Kleider angezündet, und ihn dergestalt verbrannt, dasz er bald hernach seinen Geist aufgegeben. Allein jederman erkannte gar bald, dasz dieses eine Fabel sey, welche die Feinde der Frey-Maurer ausgehecket, um denselben einen Schandfleck anzuhängen.

Indessen scheinet das Ansehen dieser ehrwürdigen Zunfft immer höher zu steigen; wie denn im vorigen Jahr nicht allein verlauten wollen, dasz dieselbe den Schlusz gefasset, Sr. Hoheit dem Printzen von Walles dereinst die Würde eines Grosz-Meisters aufzutragen, sondern auch bey dem Anfang selbigen Jahrs von London berichtet worden, es habe der Marquis de Carnarvan, Ober-Meister der Gesellschafft der Frey-Maurer, den Dr. Jacob Anderson bey Hochgedachtem Printzen introduciret, und dieser die Ehre gehabt, Sr. Hoheit im Namen der gantzen Gesellschafft eine Sammlung von ihren Ordnungen, und Gebräuchen zu überreichen.

## CHAPTER IX.

p. 136.

. . . vortrefflich zu statten kommen.

So weit gehet diese Schutz-Schrifft, worin die Ehre der Frey-Maurer-Zunfft so nachdrücklich gerettet worden.

Wiewohl nun die Mit-Glieder dieser Gesellschafft zu Paris die Klugheit gebrauchet, sich nicht blosz zu geben, um nicht weitere Verfolgungen über sich zu ziehen; so scheinet doch das Königl. Verbot sich nicht auf Lothringen erstrecket zu haben, indem folgendes im Jahr 1738. in den öffentlichen Zeitungen gemeldet wurde: "Den 12. Februar. hielten die" Frey-Maurer zu Luneville in Lothringen ein gros-" ses Festin, bey welchem die Mit-Glieder in lauter" weissen Taffet und verkleidet erschienen; die" Schurtzfelle aber zu tragen ist ihnen verboten ge-" wesen, und zugleich auch dieses, dasz sie bey dem" Nachtisch Kellen, Circkel und ihre andere Instru-" menten, von Zucker gemacht, nicht gebrauchen" dürffen. Sie meynten, der König Stanislaus" würde sie mit seiner hohen Gegenwart beehren, und" hatten schon einen Arm-Stuhl herbey geschafft, er" ist aber nicht erschienen."

## CHAPTER X.

p. 138.

. . . mit der Schlange.

Kurtz vor dem Absterben des letzten Grosz-Hertzogs aus dem Mediceischen Hause gieng man würcklich damit um, eine Untersuchung wider die Frey-Maurer anzustellen. Nach der Zeit war es eine Weile davon gantz stille, bis im Jahr 1737. aus Italien folgende Nachricht einlieff: "In dem "Grosz-Hertzogthum Toscana, sowohl in der" Haupt-Stadt Florentz, als auch zu Livorno, fiengen"

die Frey-Maurer von neuem an, sich starck aus-" zubreiten, nachdem sie vorher von dem verstor-" benen Grosz-Hertzog waren verboten worden." Kaum aber hatten sie ihre Logen wieder herge-" stellet, so wurde die Sache nach Rom berichtet." Den 25. Jun. 1737. hielte der Pabst nach dem" Beschlusz der Congregation des Heil. Officii mit" den Cardinälen, Ottoboni, Spinola und Zonde-" dari, eine besondere Unterredung in dieser Sache," und es muste der P. Inquisitor ausdrücklich des-" wegen von Rom dahin abgehen. Zu Florentz" hielte die Inquisition dafür, dasz ein heimlicher" Molinismus oder Quietismus darunter verbor-" gen seyn müsse. Zu Rom aber urtheilte man," dasz, da diese Secte sich von den Begriffen des" gemeinen Pöbels frey zu machen scheinen wolte," selbige nichts anders sey, als eine listig verstellte" Art des Epicureismi, und es sey also kein Gesetz"

zu scharff, das man nicht wider sie gebrauchen " könte. Man legte dieser Societät, ausser dem Ge- " heimnisz, welches sie so genau bewahrete, auch " dieses zur Last, dasz sie allerhand Personen, ohne " Unterscheid der Religionen, ja so gar Mahome- " taner unter sich aufnähme. Unterdessen wurde " der Anfang gemacht, eine gerichtliche Verfol- " gung wider diese Brüder anzustellen, und ver- " schiedene Personen wurden in gefängliche Hafft " gezogen. Doch der Eifer der Verfolgung hörte " bald wieder auf, die Logen wurden von neuem " eröffnet, und man fürchtete sich nicht mehr vor " der Inquisition. Man führte hiervon die Ursa- " che an, dasz ein groszer Printz mit zu dieser Ge- " sellschafft gehöre, welcher allzu viel Weisheit und "

" Tugend besitze, als dasz er bey einer Zunfft, wel- " che die Religion, den Wohlstand und gute Sit- " ten aus den Augen setze, ein Mit-Glied abge- " ben solte.

Nichts desto weniger schien dem Römischen Hof der Fortgang dieser so genannten Secte höchst gefährlich zu seyn, und zwar um so viel mehr, da dieselbe unter der neuen Regierung zu Florentz einen Schutz bekommen hatte. Man befand also zu Rom, nach unterschiedenen reiffen Berathschlagungen, für nöthig, dem einreissenden Ubel auf nachdrücklichste Art zu steuren, und folgende Excommunications-Bulle wider die Frey-Maurer ergehen zu lassen:

CLEMENS XII. &c.

" Mitten unter den Sorgen unsers Apostel- " Amts und unter unserer beständigen Auf- " mercksamkeit, die Ketzerey zu vertilgen, und den " Weinberg des Herrn in seiner völligen Reinig- " keit zu erhalten, haben wir mit Schmertz und " Betrübnisz erfahren, dasz eine gewisse Gesell- " schafft, die sich für eine Brüderschafft der Frey- " Maurer ausgiebt, nachdem sie in verschiedenen " Europäischen Staaten eingerissen, sich auch in " Italien ausgebreitet habe, und so gar ziemlich " angewachsen sey. Da wir nun bemercket, dasz " das unerforschliche Geheimnisz dieser Geheimnisz- " vollen Gesellschaft das wesentliche Stück ihres " Vorhabens und gleichsam die Stütze davon " sey; dasz verschiedene weltliche Machten, denen " sie eben daher billig verdächtig worden, dieselbe " aus ihren Staaten verwiesen, und dasz selbige " noch aus wichtigern Ursachen der geistlichen

" Macht, welcher zukommt, über dasjenige ohne " Unterlasz zu wachen, was der Seelen Selig- " keit angehen kan, verdächtig seyn musz; So " haben wir, um dieser Ursachen willen und durch " unsere Hirten-Sorgfalt aufgemuntert, die Ge- " sellschafften der Frey-Maurer verdammet, und " verdammen sie durch gegenwärtige Bulle, als "

verkehrte, der gemeinen Ordnung zuwider lauf-" fende, und solche Gesellschafften, welche sich des " grossen Bannes schuldig gemachet. Verbieten " demnach allen und jeden, von was für Rang, " Stand oder Amt sie seyn mögen, welche die " Catholische, Apostolische und Römische Religion " bekennen, sich in diese Gesellschafft einschreiben " oder aufnehmen zu lassen, eines ihrer Mit-" Glieder zu besuchen, oder Gemeinschafft mit ih-" nen zu haben, und in ihren Häusern eine Ver-" sammlung der Frey-Maurer zu dulten, bey " Straffe des gedachten Bannes gegen diejenige," so dawider handeln. Wobey wir uns allein," ausgenommen im Fall des Todes, das Recht " vorbehalten, diesen Bann aufzuheben. Rom " den 29. May 1738."

Nachdem die Regierung zu Florentz diese Päbstliche Bulle von Rom erhalten, befand sie aus besondern Ursachen, die vielen nicht unbekannt seyn können, für rathsam, selbige an Se. Hoheit, den jetzt regierenden Grosz-Hertzog von Toscana, nach Wien einzuschicken,. und zu vernehmen: wie man sich hierbey verhalten solte? Was für eine Verordnung hierauf erfolget sey, hat das Publicum nicht erfahren; inzwischen ward bald hernach aus einem Schreiben von Florentz folgendes gemeldet:

" Wiewohl sich die Frey-Maurer, die allhier " in nicht geringer Zahl anzutreffen sind, eine meh-" rere Sicherheit und Freyheit in diesem Staat, " als zu Rom, versprochen, weil sie die Ehre ha-" ben, verschiedene grosse Printzen Mit-Glieder " ihrer Zunfft zu nennen; so sind dennoch dieselben plötzlich in den grösten Allarm gerathen, " weil die Inquisition dieser Stadt ihnen zu Leibe " will. Der D. Crudeli, gegen den man nur " einigen Verdacht hatte, dasz er von dieser uner-" forschlichen und Geheimnisz-reichen Gesellschaft " seyn mögte, ist in abgewichener Woche, vermöge " einer Verordnung dieses fürchterlichen Tribu-" nals, in Hafft gezogen, und nach den Gefäng-" nissen des Heil. Officii gebracht worden. Der " Vicarius dieses Tribunals hat sich kurtz hernach " in dessen Hausz begeben, um in allen Winckeln " nachzusuchen, ob nichts zu finden wäre, was " zur Sache dienen konte. Zu gutem Glück aber " hatte eine Person von Rang, welche Wind " davon gehabt, sich kurtz vorher dahin begeben, " und einige Schrifften in Sicherheit gebracht, " die, wenn sie aufgefangen wären, dem Arrestan-" ten nachtheilig seyn können. Alle Freunde die-" ses Doctors sind in der äussersten Bestürtzung; " ihre Anzahl ist grosz, und sie sehen sich unter " einander selbst als Frey-Maurer an. So viel " wird versichert, dasz der Römische Hof bey dem " Grosz-Hertzog durch den hier residirenden Nun-" cium die Sache so weit zu bringen gewust, dasz " er ein Decret erhalten, nach welchem den In-

"quisitori erlaubet ist, so weit, als seine Juris-
"diction gehet, allen denen, die Frey-Maurer

sind, oder die man nur in Verdacht hält, dasz "
sie es seyn könten, den Process zu machen."

So weit gehet diese Nachricht. Und wenn die Gefahr so grosz ist, als sie hier beschrieben wird, so dürfften die guten Frey-Maurer einen schweren Stand bekommen. Ubrigens hat man am Päbstlichen Hofe seit der Ausfertigung obberührter Bulle allen Fleisz angewandt, die Frey-Maurer durch ein scharffes Patent noch mehr aufzusuchen. Man verspricht darin demjenigen eine Belohnung von 100. Scudi, welcher die zu solcher Gesellschafft gehörige Mit-Glieder, und wo sie sich zu versammlen pflegen, entdecken würde; Auch soll derjenige von den Frey-Maurern selbst, welcher die übrigen angeben könte, Gnade und Absolution zu hoffen haben.

Zu Geneve machten sich die Frey-Maurer die vor etlichen Jahren allda enstandene Unruhen zu Nutze, und legten geschwind einige Logen an, welche solchen Zulauff bekamen, dasz, wenn der Magistrat sie nicht in Zeiten untersaget hätte, selbige an der Zahl der Mit-Glieder gewaltig würden zugenommen haben.

In Deutschland . . .

p. 139.

. . . ten Loge einfinden solten.

Von Berlin ward unterm 3. Novemb. 1739. in verschiedenen Zeitungen folgendes berichtet: "All-
"hier in Berlin befinden sich viele von den so ge-
"nannten Frey-Maurern, deren Anzahl so starck
"wird, dasz man saget, man werde, gleichwie
"in Engelland, ehestens ein Ober-Haupt von die-
"ser Gesellschafft allhier erwehlen."

Und gleich darauf unterm 5. Novembr. hiesz es: "Die hiesige Frey-Maurer-Gesellschafft ist
"würckich in Ordnung gebracht, und dem Kö-
"niglichen geheimen Staats-und Cabinets-Mi-
"nister, Herrn von Schwerin, das Decanat da-
"von aufgetragen worden. Diese Gesellschafft
"hat einen bestimmten Ort, allwo sie alle Mitt-
"wochen zusammen zu kommen pfleget, ein jeder
"in dem Aufzug mit einem Vorfell, Hammer
"und Kelle versehen. Wie man sagt, befinden
"sich verschiedene Stands-Personen unter ihnen,
"und unter denen vornemlich der Rusziche Ge-
"sandte, Baron von Brackel, und der Chur-
"Sächsische Geheime Rath, Graf von Man-
"teufel."

Weil seit der Zeit hiervon nichts weiter gehöret worden, so bleibet dahin gestellet, wie fern obigen Nachrichten zu trauen sey.

Ob die Frey-Maurer . . .

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Adams for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. G. Elkington; Comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. T. W. Hanson, J. Heron Lepper, Lewis Edwards, P. Crosslé, G. Y. Johnson, R. S. Lindsay, and Lionel Vibert.

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Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

There is room in our *Transactions* for all sorts and conditions of Masonic articles. This paper by our Brother Cecil Adams is specially welcome, because it deals with a subject not heretofore brought before the Lodge, and within its own scope deals with it thoroughly and accurately. The present performance, which is the first contribution by Bro. Adams to our *Transactions*, leads us to hope for other gifts from the same source. The essay is a fine specimen of the bibliographical art. It omits, very properly to my mind, the mere dreariness of stating the exact number of pages and signatures and dimensions of each edition; but it brings in many incidental explications of a biographical character, throwing revealing light on topics which have hitherto been left in gloomy obscurity. We can now be tolerably certain as to the identity of the original pirate of whom Bro. James Anderson so justly complained in Grand Lodge, and whose complaint might have been reinforced by the allegation that this piratical person was also a Brother in the Craft. The word "Craft" has more meanings than one. Pirates, Printers, and Publishers are brought before us one after another and traced from England to Ireland and in Scotland, Germany and Holland.

Cheapness, convenience and conciseness are, and probably always will be, sufficient commendations for contraband goods, and after all Dr. Anderson and his colleagues had no rational right to expect the members of the Fraternity to possess themselves at a not inconsiderable expense, of large quarto volumes, which presumably the Brethren were supposed to bring with them to their Lodges, or to Grand Lodge, for the purpose of using them as song books, or for comparing the Regulations with the practice of the brethren.

Our Brother's paper can only have been compiled by the expenditure of much skilfully directed and truly laborious toil. I therefore move from this Chair that the hearty thanks of the Brethren be accorded to Bro. Cecil Adams for his worthy contribution to Masonic literature.

Before the resolution is further discussed there are a few observations I may make.

Perhaps the Brethren will wonder whether, having regard to the acrid comments which have frequently been passed upon the words and works of Dr. Anderson, our essayist was justly entitled to give that writer the very high commendation contained in the opening paragraph, viz., that "Dr. James Anderson had collected all items of interest or use to the members of the Craft, and these he published in the *Book of Constitutions* of 1723." I only wish that such a statement could be verified by the cold facts of proof. It seems more likely that he missed a great opportunity of gathering and recording a vast array of facts, both of interest and use.

Still, the shade of Bro. Jas. Anderson may perchance (though improbably) reckon our Brother's commendation as a set-off against the numerous condemnations which some very worthy Brethren have freely, if not gratuitously, accorded him.

Our Brother is in error when he describes C. De La Belie as the "Assistant" of Desaguliers at the construction of Westminster Bridge. Labelye was the Architect of that Bridge, and it was built under his supervision. The part played by Desaguliers was only of collaboration in certain points.

In confirmation of the conclusion to which our Brother arrives as to the alleged editions of 1750 and 1762, it may be pointed out that the entries in the Masonic Magazine list to which he refers occur in what seems to be a supplement to the main list.

The main list gives the shelf references to its items: but the 1750 and 1762 items are merely listed without any number or reference mark. The same page 363 of the list also includes "Anderson J. Discovery of the Ceremonies of Free and Accepted Masons *1736*" and J. Anderson The Constitutions of Free and Accepted Masons 4to. *1725*.

A competent corrector of the Press is a *rara avis*, but a great desideratum. I will give but one example of this. In the London 1764 edition of Scott, at page 218 there begins what purports to be

A List of Stewards from 1728 to 1763.

This list, however, concludes at page 224 with the Stewards under Aberdour G.M. June 1. 1758.

During recent years bibliophiles have made much of the Associations of Books. Therefore, while commenting on a Bibliographical essay it is permissible to do something in that line.

In the Q.C. copy of the Glasgow edition 1771 the following note appears after "Finis":—

John Stewart His
Masonry Book April 8th
1778

but at page 116 we have this:—

Katherine Fleaming
is The reight owner of
this Book who is received
it in a complement from
her pretended friend
John Stewart.

The lady thus entrusted with a Masonic book left us to draw our own inferences, but probably she had her own views as to the reliability of the statement on page 140 in The Entered 'Prentice's Song:—

VI.

We're true and sincere,
And just to the fair,
Who will trust us on every occasion.

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It must be confessed that our Brethren of the eighteenth century with these *Pocket Companions* in their hands had their attention drawn to certain aspects of Freemasonry which are now to some extent neglected.

Whether the History of Masonry therein contained was at least as full of inaccuracies as most histories are I will not stay to discuss. It certainly alleged numerous particulars as to the rise and development of the art of building in many places and at various times and so provoked the Brethren to consider the origin, progress, and present state of the ancient Fraternity.

In the days which have passed since the Union of the Grand Lodges in 1813 we have had to carry on without any official history of the Craft. The edition of the *Constitutions* dated 1815 and brought out by William Williams

was called Part II. and promised Part I. in the future. But Part I. was never published, and, if we feel any the better for that, we may adapt the old adage:—

"Happy is the Country that has no History."

But while Histories are many, Historians are few.

The various charges and addresses embodied in the *P.C.'s* inculcated a very high ethical standard. But occasionally within the same covers are several bacchanalian songs which were not conspicuously consistent with such high and temperate morality.

But this kind of thing was as a rule excluded and can only be regarded by us as excrescences and excesses to be disclaimed and avoided as we may hope they were by the Brethren who read them in the *Pocket Companions*.

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Bro. T. W. Hanson *writes*:—

The copy of *Book M.* which in Appendix I. is stated to be in the "Masonic Library Halifax" is one of the most precious treasures in the library of the Lodge of Probity, No. 61, Halifax. This particular copy originally belonged to Mr. William Jubb, and he has neatly added his name at the end of the printed list of subscribers. On the inside cover he has also written:—"Will$^{m}$ Jubb His book 1736". A later owner has added:—"Caleb Crabtree His book 1792". The latest inscription is:—"Presented by S. T. Rigge Esqr".

Samuel Taylor Rigge was a well known Halifax antiquary, though not a Freemason, and he presented the volume to the Lodge about 1880.

The chief interest of the Probity copy is that after p. 46, before the two blank pages, five pages of writing paper have been inserted and on these "Wm Jubb Scriptor" wrote a copy of an Ancient Charge that is now known as the Probity MS. This Ancient Charge has been credited to the West Riding in its provenance, though it appears quite as likely to have been written about Newcastle-on-Tyne.

I wonder if any Brother can identify William Jubb of 1726? I have followed endless clues in my researches.

There is an interesting feature about the Subscribers' List. The printer distinguishes between those who can claim the honour of 'Br' and those who have the title of 'Mr'.

There is a Poem on p. 47 by Bro. Richard Bulkley, Coll. Exon, A.B., whose name is among the subscribers, but his Lodge is not specified.

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Bro. R. S. Lindsay *writes*:—

Bro. Major Adams has given me one great help which I have acknowledged in my Lodge History. He points out that Jonathan Scott's *P.C.* of 1754 includes the Anthem "Grant me Kind Heav'n what I request" with a note that it was sung at the laying of the Foundation of the New Exchange (now the City Chambers) at Edinburgh in 1753. My Lodge was present on that occasion, and though the records of the Grand Lodge of Scotland describing the proceedings make constant reference to "the singing of the Anthem" at various stages during the ceremony, no one has been able to help me hitherto by saying what anthem was sung. I am therefore deeply indebted to Bro. Major Adams for his conclusive light. I saw Bro. T. G. Winning, Grand Secy., yesterday, who had also received an advance proof, and I took the opportunity of drawing his attention to the light on the Anthem. My Lodge certainly closed by singing this Anthem in 1762, and in a Bible presented to the Lodge in 1766 and used up to about ten years ago the first verse of this Anthem is tooled round the inside leather edges of the front and back boards.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS *writes*:—

Before adding a few brief notes on Bro. Adams' paper, might one be permitted a word of thanks for a subject *prima facie* not free from confusion and not palpitating with interest having been made so clear and so interesting?

As the author points out, the need for a cheap and handy volume instead of the expensive and cumbersome official editions of the *Constitutions* early made itself felt. It is curious that Grand Lodge offered no substitute for these editions until the octavo volume of 1827 and the more or less duodecimo of 1855. The reference to Bro. Heiron's book with regard to the price of the 1738 'Anderson' being 10s. 6d. is confirmed, bearing in mind the cost of binding, by another Lodge Minute quoted by Bro. Hammond under date 17th August, 1738: "'Twas agreed that this Lodge should take a Book of Constitution of the new edition of Bro. Anderson & pay 13$^{s}$/ for the same. Bound with the 2 black Posts in Maiden Lane on the back." [1]

The large amount of space occupied both in the various issues of the official publication and in the *Pocket Companions*, as well as the many volumes of Masonic Minstrelsy and Chansons Maçonniques, show the prevalence of musical harmony in the eighteenth century Lodges, which the dirty and wine-stained appearance of the lyrical pages rather confirms, although one is left with a doubt whether all of the many dozens of songs were in fact sung "when all grave business is over."

I do not know whether the author of the paper did not think it worth while to point out the fact, or whether it had escaped his notice, but in my copy of the first edition, each page facing those of the list of Lodges, though numbered consecutively with them, is left blank. Can a reason for this be suggested?

My copy of the 1764 "Thompson" has printed as a frontispiece eight lines of rhyming couplets under the heading of "The Character of a Free Mason." I have not seen this frontispiece complete in any of the copies in our Lodge Library or in that of Grand Lodge, except that one has the page in a mutilated condition. The text is as follows:—

The
Character
OF A
FREEMASON.

Of all the social virtues of the mind,
If an extensive love to all mankind,
If hospitable welcome to a guest,
And speedy charity to the distrest;
If due regard to liberty and laws,
Zeal for our king and for our country's cause;
If these are principles deserving fame,
Let masons then enjoy the praise they claim.

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER *writes*:—

I do sincerely wish I could have been present to congratulate Bro. Adams on his supremely good paper, and hasten to add my note of appreciation to the chorus of praise he is certain to receive.

Any remarks I have to offer will be general, for Bro. Adams has gone so fully into particulars of the subject that I doubt if he has missed any notable point.

[1] *A.Q.C.*, xxviii., p. 11.

I think that we should exercise caution about some of the reprints in Ireland of the *P.C.*, that is, so far as they refer in detail to points where the Irish practice differed from the English, *e.g.*, the statutory age for admission. Printers and even editors are liable to make mistakes, and if the age for admission in Ireland was actually raised by 1741 to conform to the English twenty-five years, then it was a law often broken in practice and actually repealed before the end of the century. We should perhaps do well to observe the same caution about the numbering of a particular edition, *e.g.*, Magee's third (Belfast) edition of 1751. This may well have been the first imprint of the book by this printer.

The real identity of "Mr William Smith" is likely to remain matter for debate; but so far as circumstantial evidence is of value, Bro. Adams has made out what is, to my mind, almost an unanswerable case for the authorship of the London W. Smith, who was a member of Worlidge's Lodge. Owing to the inadvertence of his parents and godparents, he is only one of many Richmonds in the field, and it seems doubtful if he will ever be satisfactorily identified.

Bro. Adams touches on another matter that was at one time of great interest to me, the List of Irish Lodges given in the 1735 (Dublin) *P.C.* Many years ago Bro. John Robinson, of Belfast, suggested to me that two of the Dublin Lodges on that list were duplicated, and I believe this view is sound. Some Lodges in it can still be identified, but I question if that is the case with any Dublin Lodge; and at least one country Lodge is omitted which we should expect to find included, if the compiler had been copying from an official list. Probably in 1735 numbers had not yet become attached to Irish Warrants. At what date did that take place? In the Grand Lodge Library in Dublin is a copy of Pennell's *Constitutions* (1730) with the following inscription:—

"The gift of Jno Pennell to the Lodge No. 69, April 25, 1737
Mr John Norcott
John Quin"

This is one of the unidentified Irish Warrants. Lodge 67 was warranted for Cork 1st March 1737; Lodge 70 for Gort, Co. Galway, 8th June 1737 (No. 68 is missing), so the date assumable for No. 69 fits in with this inscription, which, therefore, may give us 1737 as a certain date at which numbers were attached to the Irish Warrants. When so much is uncertain in the early history of the Irish Warrant one is inclined to cling to such a piece of evidence as to a rock. I fancy I must have had this piece of information from Bro. Crosslé.

I have now only to add that in my opinion Bro. Adams has given us the last word on a very important matter, and has done the work so dextrously that I am full of admiration for his industry and for the way in which he puts his case when he begins to develop a theory, making his suggestions perfectly clear, and never over-straining his evidence. *O si sic omnia!* I expected a great deal of this paper, but it has surpassed my expectations.

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Bro. PHILIP CROSSLÉ *writes*:—

I have read with great interest Bro. Adams's very able essay on the *Freemasons' Pocket Companions*—an essay which must have taken hours of hard work to compile. In common with the many Brethren who I feel sure desire to congratulate him upon the result of his labours I would like to add mine, and am making a few comments respecting the Dublin editions of the *Pocket Companions* which I trust may be useful, and which I offer in deep appreciation of his work.

It must have been the original official print of Anderson's *Book of Constitutions*, London, 1723, which was advertised in Carson's *Dublin Weekly Journal* of April, June, and October, 1725 (the only Dublin newspaper to advertise the book), at 2s. 2d. (2s. British). This is one of those instances wherein one confuses conditions of, say, 200 years ago by thinking about them in terms of the present day. I assume that 2s. 2d. was the price charged for an unstitched and unbound copy; that is, the bookseller sold the sheets only, folded into signatures. The purchaser no doubt had to pay extra to stitch and bind the book. Pennell, in February, 1728-29, advertised his *Book of Constitutions*, Dublin (published in 1730): "Price stitcht to Subscribers is a British Shilling." Pennell, who was a man in humble circumstances, in order to obtain a printing fund, had to depend upon subscriptions; hence the comparatively high price of his book. At the back of the London edition, 1735, of the *Pocket Companion* there is an advertisement to the effect that the book "is to be had bound or stitch'd" from David Gardiner, Bookseller, in New Turnstile, High Holborn. The Dublin edition, 1735, of the *Pocket Companion*, as advertised May, 1735, "Price a British Sixpence," may mean that the book was sold in unstitched signatures. The imprint—"(Price Eight-pence)"—on some of the editions which Bro. Adams has examined, possibly means an increase of 2d. on the Dublin price, 6½d. (6d. British)—the London bookseller had to meet the expense of freight on consignments of sheets from Dublin. Smith did not advertise for subscriptions, because, as I shall show, he was in comfortable circumstances and could afford to invest his money; that is, if my identification of "W. Smith" be correct. Dr. d'Assigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry* was advertised September, 1744, at "three British Sixpences" to subscribers—the book to be printed "in Octavo, on a fine Paper and good Letter." Like Pennell, Dr. d'Assigny for a printing fund had to depend upon subscriptions—hence the high price. The *Enquiry* was advertised for delivery in January, 1744-45, and possibly subscribers received their copies in unstitched signatures, which would account for the rarity of this book. Similar to other extant copies of the *Enquiry*, one of the signatures is missing in the copy which we have in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Ireland; indicating that the book not being stitched when sold, a signature was liable to be lost. Taking into consideration that 200 years ago books were sold unstitched, it explains how a Dublin bookseller could sell the original print of Anderson's *Book of Constitutions* at 2s. 2d.

So far as I am aware, except for the *Pocket Companion* of 1735, Ebenezer Rider produced no other book in London. Indeed, it is doubtful if the book was printed in London, for Rider seems to have had a business understanding with Theophilus Jones, printer and publisher of *The Dublin Evening Post*, in Clarendon-street, Dublin, where we know sheets for books were being printed for the London market. Rider's London printing-house, if we may so call it, in Blackmore-street, possibly was looked upon as the London office for the disposal of their wares; Dublin was their headquarters.

As advertised in the London edition (1735) of the *Pocket Companion*, Rider proposed to print a *History of England*, by J. Templeman, so as to have Monsieur P. de Rapin-Thoyras's *History* brought down to date; the subscribers to have "Six Sheets stitch'd up in Blue Paper, delivered every Week, . . . at the Rate of Eight-Pence." Incidentally, this emphasises how booksellers of those days disposed of their wares. Here again, note the price charged: "Eight-Pence," that is 2d. increase on the Dublin standard price of 6½d. (6d. British) in order to meet the expense of freight. Rider's proposal was part only of a scheme to complete a second edition of Rapin's *History*. At the very time, 12th December, 1734, that the proposal was advertised in the *Pocket Companion*, Templeman already having translated Rapin's *History*, vols. i. and ii. of his translations were being printed by T. Jones in Dublin for the London market.

In *The Dublin Evening Post* of 20th August, 1734, Theophilus Jones announced that "having settled a great correspondence on the other Side [London] does propose to publish" the History of England translated by Mr. J. Templeman from the French of M. Rapin-Thoyras, the work to be executed in weekly parts containing five sheets, at 6½d. each. The first part was published in Dublin 22nd August, 1734, and the succeeding parts were advertised regularly for delivery until the two large folio volumes were completed by June, 1735. It was a heavy piece of work for Jones to undertake and it created quite a stir among the Dublin printers, between whom there was keen competition to be the first to get new books on the market, whether in Dublin or in London. George Faulkner, the well-known Dublin printer, piqued at Jones's enterprise, maliciously suggested through the Press that Templeman's was merely an abridgement of Tindal's translation of Rapin's *History*. Jones, in reply, claimed that Templeman's translation was vastly superior to that of Tindal, both in accuracy of style and in the beauty of the work. Notwithstanding Faulkner's repeated aspersions, Jones continued to print off the two volumes. As advertised in the *Pocket Companion*, 4th December, 1734, Ebenezer Rider proposed to bring the *History* to date with a third volume to be written by Templeman. But, as I will show, so far as Templeman was concerned, the proposal did not take effect, for Rider subsequently took up the matter with a better known writer.

Whilst Jones was busy turning out the sheets of Templeman's translation, the following advertisement appeared in his *Dublin Evening Post* under date of 27th-31st May, 1735:—

> "This Day is publish'd, with a curious Frontispiece, A Pocket Companion for Free-Masons. Containing. I. The History of *Masonry*. II. The Charges of a *Free-Mason*, &c. III. General Regulations for the Use of the LODGES in and about the City of *Dublin*. IV. The manner of constituting a *New Lodge*, according to the antient Usage of *Masons*. V. A *Short Charge* to be given to a new admitted *Brother*. VI. A Collection of the Songs of *Masons*, both Old and New. VII. *Prologues* and *Epilogues*, spoken at the *Theatres* in *Dublin* and London for the Entertainment of FREE-MASONS. VIII. A List of the warranted *Lodges* in *Ireland*, *Great-Britain*, *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *East* and *West Indies*, &c. with their Days of meeting. Approved of, and Recommended by the *Grand-Lodge*. Deus nobis Sol & Scutum. Printed for, and sold by T. JONES in *Clarendon-street*, and the Booksellers, and by J. PENNEL at the *Hercules* in *Patrick-street*. Price a British Six Pence."

Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley apparently did not quote this advertisement in full (*Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. II.), and as it omits Rider's name as printer, he could not reconcile it with the title-page of the *Pocket Companion*. Jones continued the advertisement until 30th August, 1735, by which time, although they seem to have remained friends, the business understanding with Rider appears to have been dissolved.

On 8th July, 1735, upon his own initiative, Ebenezer Rider commenced to print and publish a Dublin daily newspaper under the title of *The Country Journal*, price "Three British Sixpences per Quarter." It was the first daily newspaper produced in Dublin, and in it is an advertisement exactly the same as Jones's down to "Deus nobis Sol & Scutum," and then continued:—"Printed and Sold by E. Rider in George's Lane, and by J. Pennel at the Hercules in St. Patrick-street."

Note the difference in the two advertisements. In the first Jones omits the name of "E. Rider." In the second Rider omits the name of "T. Jones." This indicates that the Dublin edition (1735) of the *Pocket Companion* had been printed during a business arrangement between them, and probably some time before May, 1735.

Eventually Rider's newspaper, *The Country Journal*, gave way to *The Dublin Daily Advertiser*, of which the first number appeared 7th October, 1736, and was printed for James Hamilton and Company by Ebenezer Rider, George's Lane, Dublin. An advertisement: "A Pocket-Companion for Free-Masons. Approv'd of and Recommended by the Grand Lodge. Price 6d. Halfpenny." appeared in every daily issue of this newspaper until 29th September, 1739, this being the last copy that I know. Compared with other Dublin newspapers, *The Country Journal*, and its successor, *The Dublin Daily Advertiser*, were well conducted and contained more news about local and country topics than usually were given by other journals of that time.

In the first number, 7th October, 1736, of *The Dublin Daily Advertiser*, and continued for some time is another interesting advertisement:—

> "This Day is Publish'd by the Printer hereof, Proposals for Printing by Subscription, The History of England from the Coronation of King William and Queen Mary to the Death of his late Majesty King George I. Being a Continuation of Rapin's History of England . . . . By Thomas Lediard, Gent. late Secretary to his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary in Lower Germany . . . Subscriptions are taken in by the Undertaker, E. Rider, Printer, in George's-Lane."

Two large folio volumes of Rapin's *History of England* already had been printed by James Mechell, at the King's Arms, next to the Leg Tavern in Fleet-street, London—vol. i. in 1732, and vol. ii. in 1733. The third volume, containing Lediard's continuation of the *History* as printed by James Mechell, did not appear until 1737. In the meantime, however, according to the British Museum catalogue of books (press-mark 9504.i.2), another edition, presumably in three volumes, appeared in 1736. It would be interesting to consult this copy, to ascertain if perchance Rider's advertisement of 7th October, 1736, can be applied to it. Although these remarks may not seem relevant as properly touching a discussion upon the *Pocket Companion*, they may help to reveal the identity of the Compiler of that work, whom I believe to have been William Smith, erewhile of the Blind-Key, Dublin. This William Smith took an interest in literature, was well connected, appears to have travelled much in England and the Continent, residing for a while in Holland. Possibly during his travels he became acquainted with Thomas Lediard, who besides being well-known in high Continental circles, was a professor of modern languages—see *D.N.B.* We might infer, perhaps, it was through Lediard's influence that the *Pocket Companion* was introduced to the German and Dutch Fraternity.

But *The Country Journal* and *The Dublin Daily Advertiser* were not the only venture into journalism by members of the Rider family. Ebenezer's brother, Pressick Rider, in company with Thomas Harbin, from June, 1724, to February, 1725-26, had acquired the official printing rights of the *Dublin Gazette*, printed at their General-Post-Office Printing-House in the Exchange on Cork Hill, Dublin. Furthermore, on 15th May, 1725 (as advertised in Carson's *Dublin Weekly Journal*), Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin embarked on a bi-weekly newspaper, *The Dictator*, printed at the same place. In November of the same year, however, this journal was so severely strictured that they had to relinquish the venture. Besides the newspapers the General-Post-Office Printing-House produced many books, the last bearing date 1726. After this

year the names of Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin disappear in connection with Dublin typography. "Ryder subsequently absconded, having printed a pamphlet against Government, who issued a proclamation offering one thousand pounds for his apprehension. Under the name of Darby he passed many years in England as an itinerant player. His son, Thomas Ryder, subsequently became one of the most celebrated actors of the age, and manager of the Smock-alley Theatre [Dublin]." (Gilbert's *History of the City of Dublin*, 1859, ii., 10).

Thomas Ryder, presumably the same man, appears as a Bookseller at the Three Squirrels, Castle-street, Dublin, from 1761 to 1767. Pressick Rider, and his brother Ebenezer, were nephews of John Rider, of Newry, Co. Down, and they had a sister who was wife to John Carson, also a printer in Dublin. Ebenezer's partner in *The Dublin Daily Advertiser*, James Hamilton, appears to have hailed from Rock Hamilton, near Newry, Co. Down; so that the whole printing connection of the Riders can be associated with Dublin rather than with London.

In view of the fact that except for the *Pocket Companion*, Bro. Adams has not traced any book printed in London by either Pressick or Ebenezer Rider, and, as Mr. E. R. McC. Dix, the well-known Irish bibliographist, informs me, at the period in question it was not an uncommon thing for a Dublin printer to print the sheets for a book, affirmed to be published in London, and then to despatch them for sale as books for the London market; no practical evidence has been produced to upset my conjecture that the London edition (1735) of the *Pocket Companion* probably was printed at Dublin. Would Rider have installed a printing outfit at his London office for the mere purpose of producing one book? That in the London and Dublin editions the fount and the setting of it differ, does not affect the problem; this might have been done for trade purposes, to cover the identity of the printing press. At that time Irish produce and manufactures were subject to heavy English tariffs. The standard of living in Dublin was lower than it was in London; hence the Dublin printers could turn out cheaper work than in London, but they had to be wary and not draw attention to what they were doing when placing their wares on the London market. In a manner the Anglo-Irish merchants, like the natives of the island, had been forced to become adepts in the art of smuggling.

With respect to the advertisement in the Dublin edition (1735) of the *Pocket Companion*, of Rider's proposal to re-print Forman's *Defence . . . of the Irish Nation* (which, by the way, is an interesting book), and Bro. Adams's inference that because the *Defence* was "London Printed: And Dublin Re-printed," this tends to identify E. Rider, of London, with E. Rider of Dublin, I am afraid that such evidence will not appeal to the bibliographist. At that period it was an almost daily occurrence for Dublin people to purchase books: London printed, and Dublin re-printed. Just as to-day Paris leads the fashion, so at that time it was fashionable to advertise goods as London wares, to beguile the people into believing they were purchasing London goods.

Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley surmised (*Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. 1.) that the Compiler of the *Pocket Companion* might be identified with William Smith, of the Hercules, Dame-street, Dublin, bookseller from 1726 to 1766, at least. Although William Smith, of the Hercules, during his long business career, advertised and sold a great variety of books, yet, despite a very careful and prolonged search, I have not found his name associated with the *Pocket Companion*, or with the sale of any Masonic work. There are a great many records about him—singularly noticeable for their dullness—nothing personal; he was just a bookseller.

There was, however, for a brief period in 1725, another William Smith, whose personality is much more interesting; a bookseller in partnership with John Smith, on the Blind-Key, Dublin. They were agents for James Carson, printer and publisher of *The Dublin Weekly Journal*—the self-same journal which advertised Anderson's *Book of Constitutions* at 2s. 2d. William Smith appears to have left Dublin by the end of the year 1725, when John Smith took as partner his cousin William Bruce, a member of an Ulster family noted for their literary attainments; see *D.N.B.* William and John Smith belonged to a Belfast family of merchants in comfortable circumstances, several branches of which spread to other towns in Ireland and became successful and highly respected members of the community. William Smith, erewhile of the Blind-Key, had no fixed place of abode; for a time he lived in Holland from whence he appears to have despatched parcels of Continental books often advertised for sale in the Dublin newspapers by John Smith and William Bruce.

As Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley informed us (*Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. II.), we may, perhaps, infer from the *Book M.* that William Smith, the Compiler of the *Pocket Companion*, whilst in England became a member of an English Lodge. In view of this inference, the evidence is very interesting which Bro. Adams brings forward showing that one William Smith was Master of No. 89, London, in 1732, and that, in the same year, Mr. Pressick Rider was a member of the same Lodge. Also, it is most interesting to read that Pressick Rider became a founder, in 1732, of No. 99, London, of which Lodge Thomas Harbin also was a member. It would seem, therefore, when their names disappeared in 1726 from Dublin printing circles, that Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin went to London. William Smith, of the Blind-Key, Dublin, a few months previously had dissolved partnership with John Smith. Presumably, he also went to London, resided there for a while, thence to Holland, and probably other places, occasionally returning to Dublin. Although I have not definitely identified this William Smith as the Compiler of the *Pocket Companion*, yet the evidence, such as it is, associates him with that book much more so than any other of the William Smiths whose names have been resurrected. It is difficult to identify a person bearing such a name, particularly when the evidence given is "W. Smith," or "W.S." only. I have voluminous genealogical notes about various Smith families in Ireland, and, if given time, I shall be pleased to go through them in order to ascertain if I can find anything further about William Smith, erewhile of the Blind-Key. I have not looked at these notes for many years, during the interim having relied upon memory for various remarks, and one's memory cannot always be relied upon.

The London edition (1735) of the *Pocket Companion* follows Anderson's (1723) text of the General Regulations even to the obsolete passage in Regulation XIII.: "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Craft only here, unless by a Dispensation." It is remarkable that this is the only complete passage omitted from the Dublin edition (1735) of the *Pocket Companion*, which otherwise, except for the alteration of the age of Candidates and a few other corrections, blindly follows the text of the London edition. Whatever that passage implied in 1723, it certainly does not appear to have been applicable to Irish Masonry. At the end of the Regulations, the allusion to "St. John Baptist's Day, 1721," palpably was omitted from the Dublin edition because it referred to a resolution passed by the Grand Lodge of England—a resolution evidently not considered by the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley was too severe (*Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. II.) when he asserted that Smith's 1735 list of Irish Lodges "was a sort of haphazard arrangement." If the Doctor had seriously investigated the list I am sure he would have been the first to admit that we can rely upon the

veracity of Smith's statement that the list truly represented the Irish Lodges "as they are Register'd in the Grand Lodge Book"—in other words, the list was copied from a contemporary and reliable official source. There is no reason to question the correctness of the list; its authenticity is supported by other evidence. No Irish Lodge is duplicated in it; on the contrary, owing to the juxtaposition on "the Grand Lodge Book" of the entries respecting two Cork Warrants, the one coming immediately after the other, Smith overlooked transcribing the entry relating to one of them; a clerical error liable to happen to any transcriber. So that Smith's list ought to have named 38 registered Irish Lodges, and except for the last eight entries, Smith inserted correct numbers for the Lodges.

Smith's list of 1735 is a valuable record, because we have no contemporary printed lists of Dublin Lodges of that period, such as the engraved lists of the London Lodges. The only other contemporary evidence that has survived is supplied by a few actual Warrants. Our oldest extant Grand Lodge Register was not written up until about 1760.

Thomas Griffith, a well-known Dublin Comedian, was Secretary to the Grand Lodge of Ireland from June, 1725, to June, 1732, but in carrying out the duties of that office, except for the counter-signing and issuing of Warrants, he does not seem to have kept any record in writing relating to the transactions of Grand Lodge. John Pennell was elected Secretary to the Grand Lodge on 1st February, 1731-32, but apparently not invested in office until 24th June following, as during the interval Griffith as Secretary counter-signed and issued Warrants, a procedure which apparently he did not place on record. Pennell upon taking over the duties of Secretary appears to have instituted "the Grand Lodge Book" mentioned by Smith—which book unfortunately has not survived. Apparently the only source whence Pennell could obtain the dates of Warrants which had been issued before he came into office was from the actual documents, and the only Warrants which he could have access to were those which had been issued to the Dublin Lodges. He appears to have consulted these actual documents, collected the dates, and then entered them in chronological order in "the Grand Lodge Book." He was cautious, however, as he did not allocate any numbers to the Warrants. First place was given to a Dublin Lodge, subsequently known as No. 1, because according to Spratt's list of 1744: "No. 1 [Dublin]. Is at this time vacant." Second place was given to the Lodge which we know as "Lodge Two," Dublin, and which undoubtedly had received an actual Warrant dated 22nd May, 1727, for it must have been from the document itself that Pennell recorded that date. Third, fourth, and fifth places were given to Dublin Lodges, extant in 1744, extinct by 1760 so far as Dublin is concerned, but concerning which no contemporary records have survived. Sixth place was given to the Lodge which we know as "Temple Lodge, No. VI." Dublin. This Lodge, according to an entry on the Grand Lodge Register dated 24th June, 1817, corroborated by an endorsement on the present Warrant, originally received an actual Warrant dated 19th September, 1730. Seventh place was given to a Dublin Lodge which had received a Warrant dated 24th June, 1731. When Pennell commenced "The Grand Lodge Book" the extant Warrant which had been issued to a Dublin Lodge and which bears date 1st February, 1731-32, must have belonged to one of those Lodges to which he gave eighth, ninth, and tenth places. The extant Warrant of February, 1731-32, bears the "No. 7," which number was inscribed on it at a subsequent date, at which subsequent date some manipulation must have taken place with respect to what particular Lodge it belonged, because the Grand Lodge seal affixed to it is not the original Grand Lodge seal of February, 1731-32.

The foregoing dates, obviously taken from actual Warrants extant at the time, apparently were the only information Pennell could obtain with which to commence "the Grand Lodge Book." Concerning Warrants issued to Country Lodges, it would seem that Thomas Griffith could not, or would not, go to the trouble to give definite information; at any rate, he was more concerned with the convivial and social rather than with the historical side of Masonry. Even if he had obtained cursory information about Warrants which had been issued to Country Lodges, Pennell had to consider whether or not it was worth while to incur the personal expense of communicating with them by letter. Postage at that time was very high; Pennell was a poor man, and his personal remuneration for services rendered to Grand Lodge must have been small. Be this as it may, Pennell does not appear to have obtained information respecting the actual Warrants which had been issued 22nd May, 1727, to Newport, Co. Mayo; 1st February, 1731-32, to Mitchellstown, Co. Cork; or 17th March, 1731-32, to Tralee, Co. Kerry. The Newport Warrant of 1727, subsequently was replaced, 13th November, 1733, by another Warrant (known as No. 21), but Grand Lodge did not inscribe any number on the latter document. The Mitchellstown Warrant, of February, 1731-32, cannot have received a number until the meeting of "the Grand Committee," held at Cork, 6th June, 1761, at which time the figure "(1)" probably was inscribed on the document. The Tralee Warrant, of March, 1731-32, bore no number until 24th June, 1766, when it was replaced by an up-to-date Warrant bearing the number "71."

The early Warrants of the Grand Lodge of Ireland were issued, originally, without any numbers inscribed on them. We can infer from an entry in the Minute Book of Lodge 19, Youghal, under date of June, 1744, that they received instructions to change their number from 21 to 19. The Warrant of this Lodge, dated 10th October, 1733, bears the number 19, which number is *not* written over an erasure. Therefore, some time before June, 1744, two Lodges must have lapsed; which Lodges according to the enumeration given in Smith's list of 1735, must have been Nos. 11, Bray, and 15, Dublin. It was after these two Lodges had lapsed that Grand Lodge definitely decided to give official numbers to the surviving Warrants, but at what exact date this occurred it is impossible to state—probably a year or two before June, 1744.

According to the extant Grand Lodge Register, and to several original Warrants, Smith's No. 12 First Battalion Royal, 14 Limerick, 16 Galway, 19 Enniskillen, 21 Youghal, 23 Newport, 27 Youghal, 28 Lestrand, and 29 Cork, subsequently received the official numbers 11, 13, 14, 17, 19, 21, 25, 26, and 27 respectively. Four of the above original Warrants are extant, all bearing the official numbers as inscribed on the documents by the Lodges themselves, and *not one* of these numbers is written over an erasure. A fifth original Warrant does not bear any number.

Following No. 29, Cork (subsequently known as No. 27), Smith overlooked transcribing from "the Grand Lodge Book" the entry relating to the second Cork Lodge, to which, in 1735, he ought to have given the number 30, and which subsequently became No. 28 (issued 27th January, 1733-34), confirmed by the Grand Lodge Register, and by the original Warrant on which is inscribed "No. 28" *not* written over an erasure.

That Smith, when transcribing the list from "the Grand Lodge Book," overlooked the second Cork Lodge is clearly demonstrated by the fact that his No. 30 Tuam (issued 5th February, 1733-34), 32 Tallow, 34 North British Fusiliers, and 37 Limerick (issued 19th November, 1734), subsequently received the official numbers 29, 31, 33, and 36 respectively.

Smith's 1735 Dublin Lodges, Nos. 1 to 8, inclusive, and No. 10, agree with Spratt's 1744 list. Smith's 1735 Dublin Lodges, Nos. 20, 22, 26, and 31, which subsequently must have borne the official numbers 18, 20, 24, and 30, had lapsed before Spratt published his 1744 list of Dublin Lodges.

I apologise for giving these details, but it is incumbent upon me to vindicate the veracity of Smith's 1735 list of Irish Lodges; that list is very valuable, it is not haphazard, nor are any of the Lodges duplicated.

In the "List of the warranted Lodges in Ireland" as given in the *Pocket Companion*, Dublin, 1751, the Lodges are not numbered. First come 42 Lodges all in Dublin, followed by 18 Lodges situate elsewhere. With the exception of the Lodge in General Irwin's Foot, the 18 entries palpably are copied from Smith's 1735 list—even to No. 11, Bray, Co. Dublin, which must have lapsed a year or two before June, 1744. For some reason the Compiler of this 1751 list omitted Smith's Nos. 25, 33, 34, and 35. If only the Compiler of the 1751 list had taken the trouble to verify his information regarding the 18 Lodges his list would have been valuable; as it is it is most unreliable.

I expect the reason why the 42 Dublin Lodges are given first place in the 1751 list was because the details concerning them were taken from what we know as the yearly Dublin sheet; that is a printed list of Dublin Lodges giving the names of the Masters. As they were members of the Board of Charity and Inspection, it was necessary to circulate their names. The earliest extant printed list of Dublin Lodges that I know of is for the year 1778. Bro. William Jenkinson, of Armagh, has studied the local enumeration and other details of the Dublin Lodges, and concerning them I am sure he would be pleased to give fuller information.

The fact that two Lodges met at the same tavern on the same evening does not constitute a duplication. According to the early nineteenth century Dublin sheets there were several taverns at which two Dublin Lodges met on the same evening. It was a common occurrence. Even at the present day, here in the Freemasons' Hall, Dublin, two Lodges frequently meet on the same evening, the one after the other, in the same Lodge-room. Indeed, I have often seen a second Lodge waiting for the first to vacate the Lodge-room.

I do not wish to weary readers with statistics, but between 1735 (Smith's list) and 1760, many Irish Warrants had been issued, of the location of which we are completely ignorant, so that the list of 1751 might include several Lodges which had lapsed before 1760. It might also include a Regimental Lodge or two, as their Masters, when quartered in Dublin, were regarded as Members of the Board of Charity and Inspection; but the lack of numbers for the Lodges greatly lessens the value of the 1751 list.

The same remarks apply to the lists of Irish Lodges which appeared in the various editions of *Solomon in all his Glory*. I have before me the Dublin edition, 1777, of this work. No numbers are given to the Lodges, and the list still includes the Lodge at "Bray, County of Dublin," which Lodge certainly was not in existence in 1777.

With respect to the meaning of the phrase "BOOK M." it will be remembered that in the *Fama Fraternitatis* from 1614 onwards it is said that C.R. learned the Arabic tongue, and translated the BOOK M. into good Latin. The writer of a pamphlet published in 1618 states in a marginal note that this means *Liber Mundi*. I do not suggest that this explains the title of the Newcastle book, but the point is interesting.

In the interesting translation by Bro. Adams from the Frankfort edition (1738) of the *Pocket Companion*, the passage respecting the increase of Freemasonry in Paris should bear date March, 1736-37; and whilst upon this

subject I venture to give the following notes extracted from old Dublin Newspapers:—

"London, Sept. 5. We hear from Paris, that a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was lately held there at her Grace the Dutchess of Portsmouth's House, where his Grace the Duke of Richmond, assisted by the Earl Waldegrave, President Montesqueir, Brigadier Churchill, Edward Young, Esq; Register of the most Hon. Order of the Bath, and Walter Strickland, Esq; admitted several Persons of Distinction into that most Ancient and Honourable Society, among whom were the Marquess Brancas, General Skelton, and the President's son." (*Dublin Evening Post*, Tues., 17th Sept., 1734.)

"Extract of a Letter from Paris, Sept. 24. They write from Paris, that his Grace the Duke of Richmond, and the Rev. Dr. Desaguliers formerly Grand Masters of the Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, and now authoris'd by the present Grand Master under his Hand and Seal, and the Seal of the Order, having call'd a Lodge at the Hotel Bussy in the Rue Buay, his Excellency the Earl of Waldegrave, his Majesty's Embassador to the French King; the Right Hon. the President Montesquion; the Marquess de Lomaria; Dursley, Son to the Earl of Berkeley; the Hon. Mr. Fitz-Williams; Mess. Knight, Father and Son; Dr. Hickman, and several other Persons, both French and English were present, and the following Noblemen and Gentlemen were admitted into the Order, viz. his Grace the Duke of Kingston; the Right Hon. the Count de St. Florentin, Secretary of State to his Most Christian Majesty; the Right Hon. the Lord Cheriton, Son to the Earl of Waldegrave; Mr. Pelham; Mr. Herbert; Mr. Armiger; Mr. Cotton; and Mr. Clement: After which the new Brethren gave a handsome Entertainment to all the Company." (*Ibid*, Tuesday, 30th Sept., 1735.)

"London, Decem. 2. They write from the Hague, that the Lodge of Free-Masons lately established here, being assembled a few Nights ago, the Mob rose, and resolved to make them discover what they were about; but after some Attempts, not being able to gain any Light into the Mysteries of the Society, nor to discover any good Reasons the Brethren had for keeping themselves private, the Vice that raged in Holland about two Years ago came so strongly into the People's Heads, that they would certainly have made Work for the Masonry, and pulled the House over their Ears, had not the Peace-Officers in good Time prevented the Effect of their Fury." (*Ibid*, Tues., 9th Dec., 1735.)

"London. May 29. Private Letters from Paris mention, that Madem. Salle, the famous Dancer, so well known for the Coolness of her Passions, and who values herself at a very high Rate for her Vestal Pretences, has instituted an Order at Paris, by the Name of the *Indifferents*, into which both Men and Women are indiscriminately admitted. Madmoiselle Salle is the President of the Order, and upon the Introduction of every Member, makes a nice Scrutiny into their Qualifications. There are likewise certain Rites performed, which after the Manner of the Free-Masons, no one must ever disclose. The Badge of the Order is a Ribbon, strip'd black, white and yellow, and the Device affixed to it, *Something resembling an Isicle*. They take an Oath to fight against Love, whose Power they renounce, and defy

his whole Quiver of Darts: They allow all Freedom amongst themselves where everything is to be in common: but the Hour the Parties grow Particular, he or she is to be excluded with Infamy." (*Ibid*, Sat., 5th June, 1736.)

"London, March 15. Extract of a private Letter from Paris, dated the 20th Instant, N.S. The Orders of the Free-Masons increases so fast that it now takes up nine Lodges, amongst the new Members are the Prince of Conti, all our young Dukes, and even the Count Maurepas Secretary of State. The Ladies we hear design to set up a new Order in imitation of it, but as none of those who cannot keep a Secret are to be admitted, 'tis thought their Society will be very thin." (*Reilly's Dublin News Letter*, 22nd March, 1736-37.)

"London, March 17. By a private Letter from Paris we learn that the Order of Free Masons was suppress'd in that City as it was coming to the highest Vogue." (*Ibid*, 26th March, 1737.)

"London. Extract of a private Letter from Paris. The Court has taken such Offence at the vast and sudden Increase of the Society of Free Masons that the King has forbid their Meeting at any of their Lodges, and looks but with an indifferent Eye on those who have been forward in entering into a Society, that even the States of Holland would not suffer amongst them." (*Ibid*, 29th March, 1737.)

"London, April 9. From Paris, that a Society of young Ladies is forming in that City, in order to vindicate their Sex from the Aspersion generally thrown on them, of not being able to keep a Secret; A Secret is to be the Band of this Society, in Imitation of that of the Free Masons." (*Ibid*, 16th April, 1737.)

"Paris, Jany. 17. Since the publishing of the Free-Masons Ceremonies several inquisitive Persons have exercised their Talents on that Piece, and given an Explanation of the two mysterious Columns mention'd in it, and likewise of the I and the B placed by them. It is pretended that those two Columns allude to the brazen Pillars which Solomon placed on each Side of the Porch of the Temple, one of which was called Jackin and the other Boaz, according to the first Book of Kings, chap. vii. ver 21." (*Ibid*, Sat., 28th January, 1737-8.)

"London. Letters of the 5th from Bareith say, that the Margrave having established a Lodge of Free-Masons there, the Brotherhood had a general Meeting at the Castle, where he honoured them with his Company, and finding that Lodge to increase he ordered a new one, which was consecrated on the Spot with great Solemnity. for which purpose he walked in Quality of Grand Master, with all the Brethren, to the Golden Eagle in the Market Place, preceded by two Wardens of the Lodge with their Swords drawn, two Marshalls with their Orders and white Wands in their Hands, the Sword-bearer of the first Lodge, and by the Secretary of the same bearing the Book of the Ceremonies on a Cushion of blue Velvet with Lace and Fringes of Gold: Two Overseers of the first Lodge walked by him, and he was followed by the Master of the Second between two Overseers in like Manner as the former, and by all the Brothers to the Number of 50, two and two." (*Ibid*, Tuesday, 12th January, 1741-42.)

Bro. Adams has investigated his subject most thoroughly; he has devoted many hours of labour to assemble in one place a great deal of information that is inaccessible to many Masonic students, and he has executed the work exceedingly well. He deserves our very sincere thanks; he certainly has placed us under a debt of gratitude for turning out an excellent piece of work. I have thoroughly enjoyed reading it.

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Bro. CECIL ADAMS *writes*, in reply:—

The generous reception given to the first paper which I have read to the Lodge has been most gratifying. The comments have been useful, not only in correcting and amplifying my text, but also in bringing fresh light to bear on our Craft during a very obscure period early in the eighteenth century.

I am glad that Bro. W. J. Williams has pointed out my error in describing De La Belie as the assistant of Desaguliers. He takes me to task for giving James Anderson some approval, but I am afraid I cannot fully agree with his criticism of the Doctor. We can say, quite truly, a lot of bad things about Anderson, who, no doubt, missed many opportunities, but we make a mistake if we do not try to regard him with the eye of an eighteenth century Freemason. Anderson was dealing with what was practically a social club, with members drawn from all ranks of society. It was for them that he wrote his *Constitutions*, and not for the Masonic bibliographer of to-day.

The only point calling for a reply in the comments of Bro. Lewis Edwards seems to be the reason for the provision of blank pages in the Lodge list of the first edition. This did not escape my notice, but Bro. Edwards, who has now some experience in writing bibliographical papers, will realise that the limitations of time and space preclude reference to many points which some may find of interest. The apparent explanation of these blank pages is that they were provided for manuscript corrections and additions.

Bro. T. W. Hanson has given us some very interesting notes about the *Book M.* in Halifax. I regret that I can tell him nothing about Mr. William Jubb, its original owner. There is, I am sure, a good deal of research still to be done on that book, of which I have only touched the fringe. It might be as well to point out that there are some remarks about the meaning of the title in *A.Q.C.*, xi., 131.

I am glad to find that my researches have helped Bro. R. S. Lindsay; one of the most pleasing results of work of this sort is to learn that one has helped some other weary plodder to take a step nearer to his goal. Bros. S. J. Fenton and G. Y. Johnson have both given me useful notes, which have enabled corrections to be made to the Appendices of the paper, and for these I am truly grateful. Bro. W. Jenkinson, in a letter to me, has pointed out that there was a Craft Lodge in Glasgow, constituted in 1755, entitled the Royal Arch Lodge, No. 77, and this may account for my quotation from the song in the 1765 Glasgow edition. He has also suggested that the undiscovered Belfast edition of about 1780 may be the *Ahiman Rezon* published in that city in 1782. This seems a likely solution to the problem.

It has been very pleasing to find that my efforts have been so much appreciated by Bro. J. Heron Lepper. I must confess that I expected considerable criticism from our Irish friends, for naturally, my knowledge of Masonic history in Ireland is meagre. Bro. Philip Crosslé has given us some very useful information, but it seems as though we shall never agree on all points. He still maintains that the "London" edition was printed in Dublin, but his reasons for this belief are not convincing. The fact that no other book was

known to have been printed by Rider in London is surely not of much importance. There must have been dozens of books printed in London two hundred years ago, of which no copy is now known. I cannot believe that what was almost the same book could have been printed twice in the same office, with, for little apparent reason, different dimensions, different type, and an altered plate. This plate was designed in London, and the alteration to it must have been made for some good purpose. To give a dedication to Lord Kingsland is not, I suggest, sufficient reason. If, however, it were a question of privacy, and the Irish editor wished to conceal the imprint of a well-known London artist, he had good reasons for making an alteration to a plate which had already done legitimate duty in England. With regard to Bro. Crosslé's remarks about Rapin's *History of England*, I have examined the edition dated 1736 in the British Museum, and find that it also is printed by Mechell and seems to be an advance copy of part of his 1737 book, with altered title-page and pagination. Rider's advertisement does not, therefore, apply to it.

The following entry which I have found in the Bishop of London's Marriage License Records may be useful in helping to trace the members of this firm of printers:—

> On the 12th November, 1728, Pressick Ryder, a bachelor, aged 25, of S$^{t}$. Lawrence Jury, London, to marry Elizabeth Borlase, a spinster, aged 21, of S$^{t}$. Mary, Aldermanbury, at S$^{t}$. Austin.

Bro. Crosslé may be right about the Dublin edition of Anderson's *Constitutions*, but I do not think we have sufficient information to form a proper opinion. If it were the London editions, unstitched and unbound, surely the advertisement would have so described it. It seems to me more probable that this was not Anderson's edition, but a cheap, unauthorised reprint.

I cannot yet see any reason to change my opinion regarding William Smith. I am tolerably certain that he belonged to a London Lodge, and while a member, wrote the first *Pocket Companion*. Where he lived before he came to London, I am not prepared to suggest, neither can I furnish any ideas regarding his domicile later. I can, however, see no reason for connecting him with any Irish bookseller of the same name.

We are grateful to Bro. Crosslé for his information about the Irish Lodge Lists. He has much of importance to say regarding these, and it is very useful to have his notes recorded. His extracts from the Dublin newspapers regarding affairs in Paris are most interesting. A similar item recently came to my notice in the *London Evening Post* of the 12th March, 1737, and is, I think, worth reproducing:—

> By a private Letter from Paris we are advis'd,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> That the Order of Free Masons, establish'd long since in England, has become much in Vogue at Paris, there being great striving to be admitted, even at the Expence of ten Louis d'Ors: 18 or 20 Persons of great Distinction have been lately created Masons, amongst whom was the Marshal d'Estree; and five Lodges are already establish'd which makes so great a Noise, and gives so much Offence to People ignorant of their Mysteries, that 'tis expected they will speedily be suppress'd as they have been in Holland.

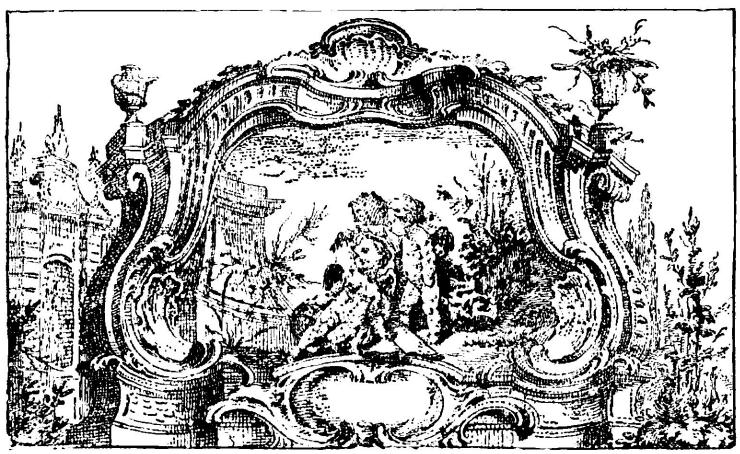
Our Secretary has found for me another newspaper reference advertising Scott's first *P.C.*, and the date of this agrees with those in the other advertise-

ments of that edition. It is from the *Public Advertiser* of Saturday, the 2nd February, 1754:—

> *On Tuesday next will be published*, Price 3s.
>
> The Pocket-Companion and History of FREEMASONS, containing their Origin, Progress and present State: An Abstract of their Laws, Constitutions, Customs, Charges, Orders and Regulations, for the Instruction and Conduct of the Brethren: A Confutation of Doctor Plot's false Insinuations: An Apology, occasioned by their Persecution in the Canton of Berne and in the Pope's Dominions: And a Select number of Songs and other Particulars, for the Use of the Society.
>
> *Per bonam famam & infamiam.*
>
> Printed for J. Scott at the Black Swan in Duck-Lane, near West Smithfield; sold by R. Baldwin, at the Rose in Paternoster-Row; and Mr Allison at Falmouth.

No Brother has yet come forward with any information about the "Sons of Peace," who appear in the Scottish 1792 book. There seems to be no doubt that this is properly an Irish Masonic expression for Freemasons, for I have met with it repeatedly in the Irish editions of *Ahiman Rezon*. Lawrence Dermott used the phrase in his song *With harmony and flowing wine*, in which his last verse is:—

> Let Envy hide her shameful Face,
> Before us ancient Sons of Peace;
> Whose golden Precepts still remain,
> Free from Envy, Pride or Stain.



## SUMMER OUTING, 1932.

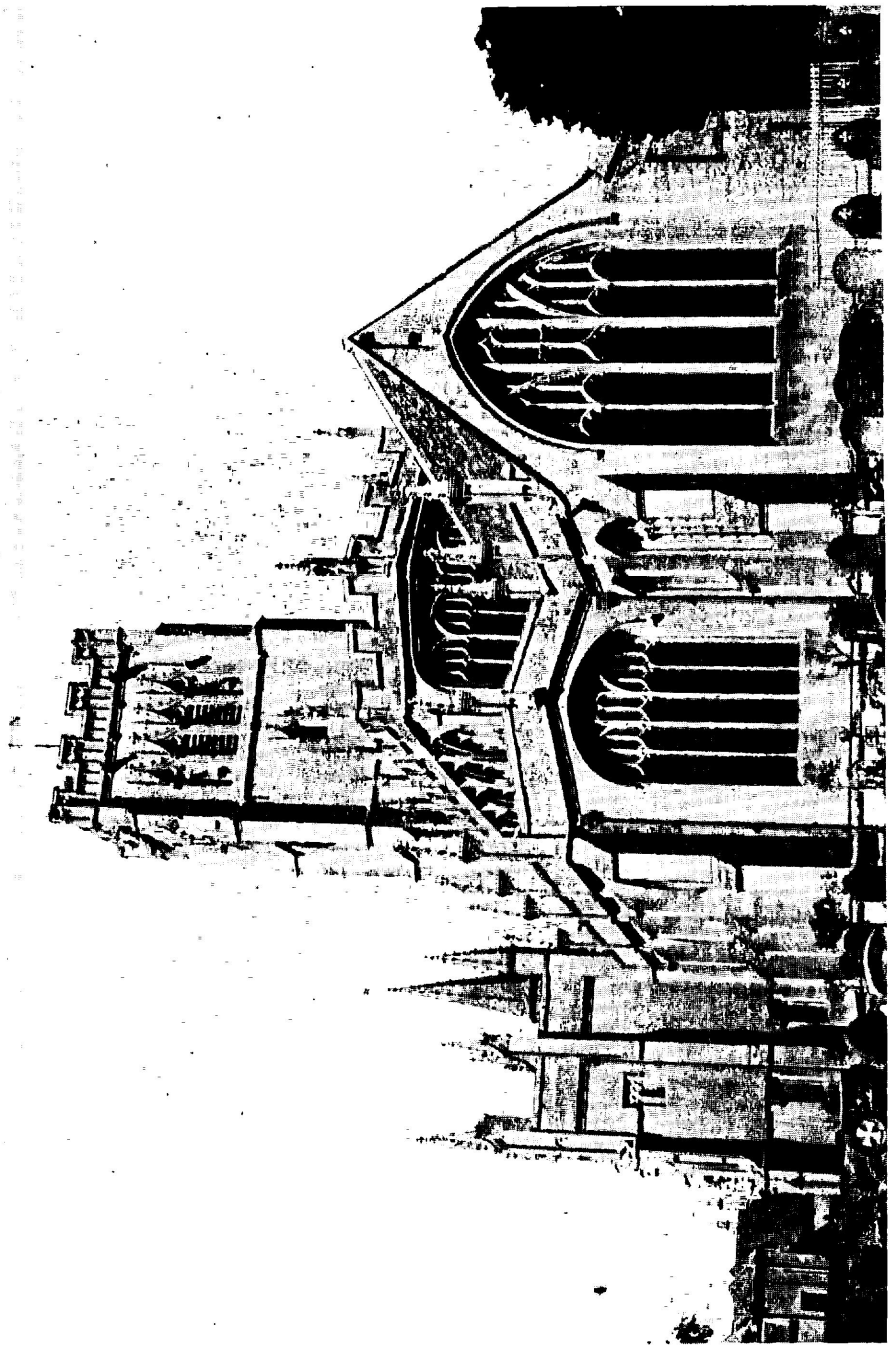
## GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

YEAR by year it becomes increasingly difficult to find a suitable centre for our Summer Outing, mainly because we are restricted to towns which can give us the required hotel accommodation. It was in 1900 that we first visited Gloucester, a party of 45, and even that number was more than the Bell could comfortably accommodate. On the present occasion we were given a very cordial invitation to the Province by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Bro. Capt. W. K. Foster, and his Officers. We made Cheltenham our headquarters, while the programme included visits to Deerhurst and Tewkesbury and some of the Cotswold churches. In these days of motor transport it is possible to plan out a much more comprehensive Itinerary than was possible thirty years ago. In 1900 all that could be managed was Gloucester, Cheltenham and Cirencester, our journeys being made by train.

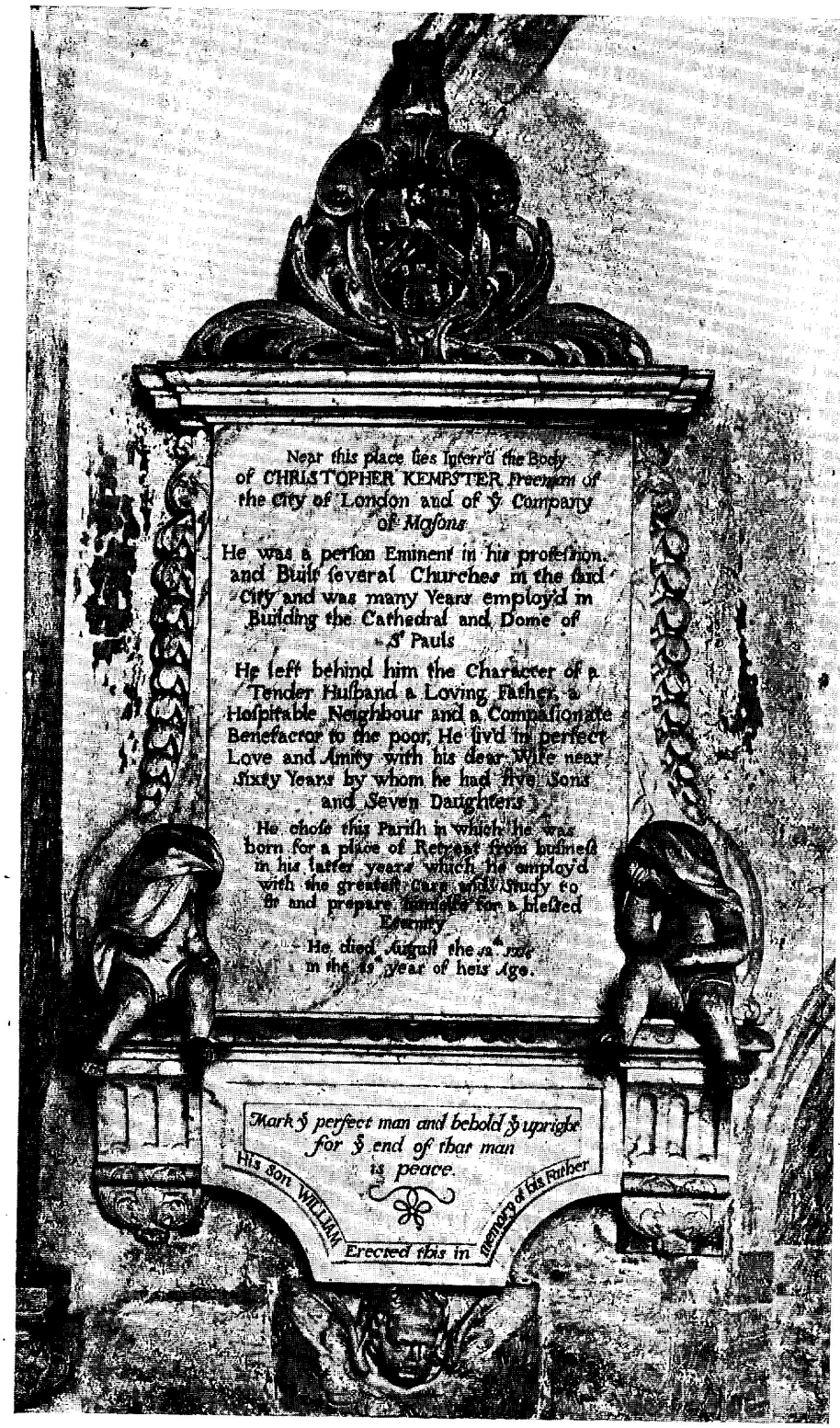
The party consisted of:—

Eros. *Dr.* E. Allan, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.M., 1021; W. N. Bacon, of London, P.G.Stew.; R. H. Baxter, of Rochdale, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076; H. Bladon, of London, P.G.St.B.; A. Blackhurst, of Grange over-Sands, P.M., 4765; F. J. M. Boniface, of London, P.M., 2694; G. S. Collins, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; J. H. Cookson, of Kendal, P.Pr.G.R.; T. M. Copland, of Falkirk, G.Bard; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, of Wisbech, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., 2076; *Dr.* A. J. Cross, of Dalton-in-Furness, P.G.D.; F. W. Davy, of London, P.A.G.R.; H. T. C. de Lafontaine, of London, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; H. K. Duckworth, of Grange-over-Sands, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; S. Duckworth, of Grange-over-Sands, P.M., 1715; Erskine Edmonds, of Lydbury North, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; Wm. S. Ellis, of Newark, P.Pr.G.D.C.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, of Hampton Court, P.G.Ch., J.W., 2076; David Flather, of Sheffield, P.A.G.D.C., S.W., 2076; J. F. H. Gilbard, of London, 56; W. Barry Gregar, of Westcliff-on-Sea, P.Pr.G.D.; F. W. Golby, of London, P.A.G.D.C., 2076; *Dr.* R. T. Halliday, of Glasgow, G.B.B.; A. J. Harland, of Brenchley, P.M., 4291; Thos. Hart, of Glasgow, G.I.G., Pr.G.M., Renfrewshire East; W. E. Heaton, of London, P.G.St.B.; *Lieut.-Col.* C. D. Hindley, of London, P.M., 4565; John Holt, of Yarm, P.A.G.St.B.; J. P. Hunter, of Sheffield, P.Pr.G.S.W.; G. Y. Johnson, of York, P.Pr.G.W.; H. C. Knowles, of London, P.A.G.R.; *Dr.* F. Lace, of Bath, P.A.G.D.C.; W. Laidlaw, of Glasgow, Substitute Pr.G.M.; R. Matthews, of Kuala Lumpur, 2337; H. E. Miller, of Stockton on-Tees, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; W. F. Morrison, of Stenhousemuir, G.Stew.; Geo. Ness, of Glasgow, P.M., 712; C. A. Newman, of Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; *Dr.* C. E. Newman, of London, 4453; J. H. Parker, of Lowestoft, P.Pr.G.W.; H. D. Parsons, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.G.W.; *Dr.* S. H. Perry, of Spalding, P.M., 469; T. Pickles, of Kendal, P.Pr.G.S.W.; Cecil Powell, of Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; B. N. Pullen, of London, 5267; J. H. Pullen, of London, P.Pr.G.D., Surrey; W. Readman, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.O.; T. E. Rees, of Pretoria, 654 (S.C.); R. J. Sadleir, of E. Croydon, P.A.G.St.B.; A. P. Salter, of London, L.R., P.M., 2932; W. Scott, of Satlburn-by-the-Sea, Pr.G.D.; Thos. Selby, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.G.W.; W. J. Songhurst, of London, P.G.D., Treas., 2076; *Dr.* J. Stewart, of Glasgow, P.M., 772; *Dr.* John Stokes, of Sheffield, P.G.D., Dep.Pr.G.M., P.M., 2076; J. W. Stevens, of London,

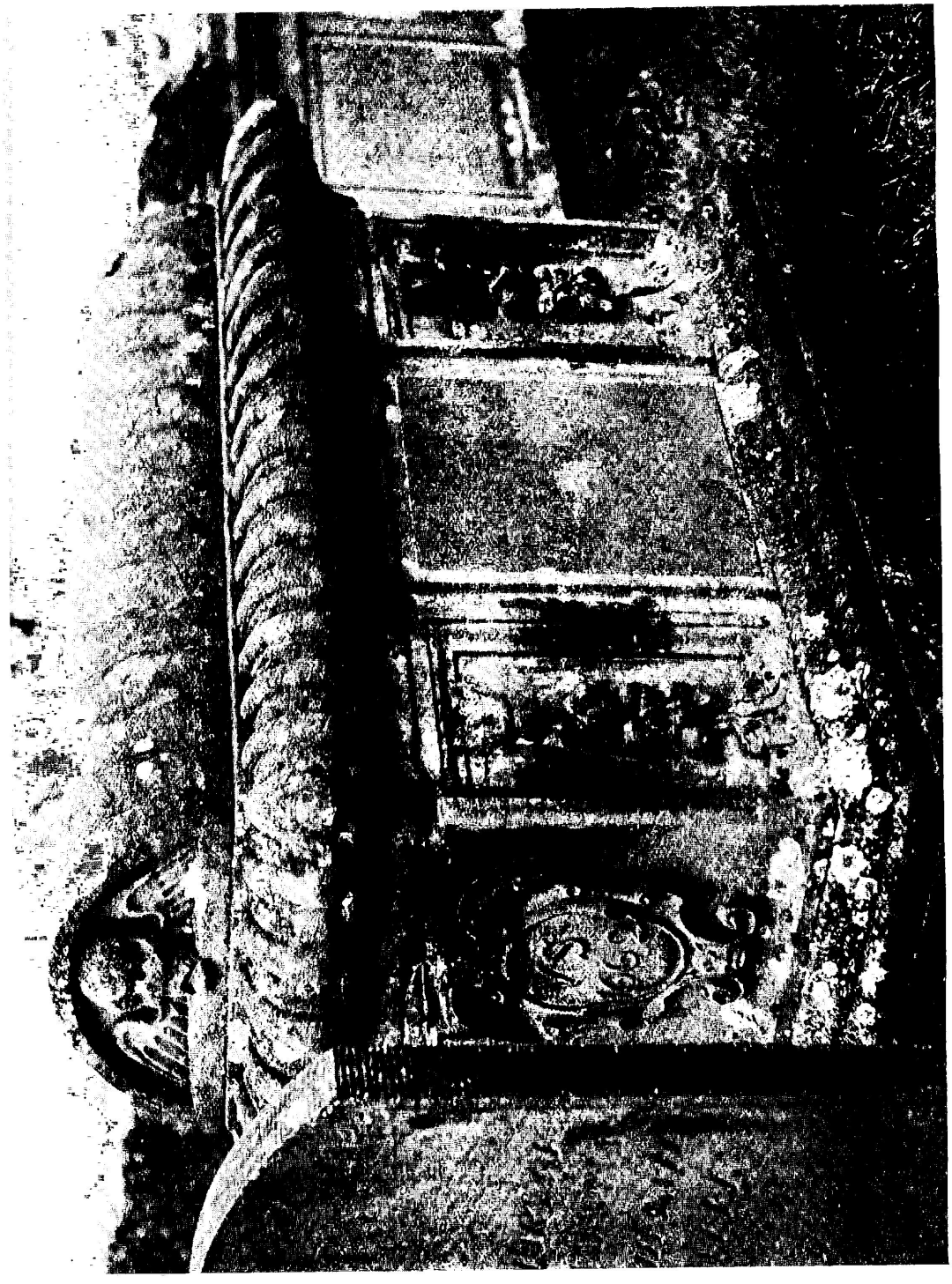
At Northleach.



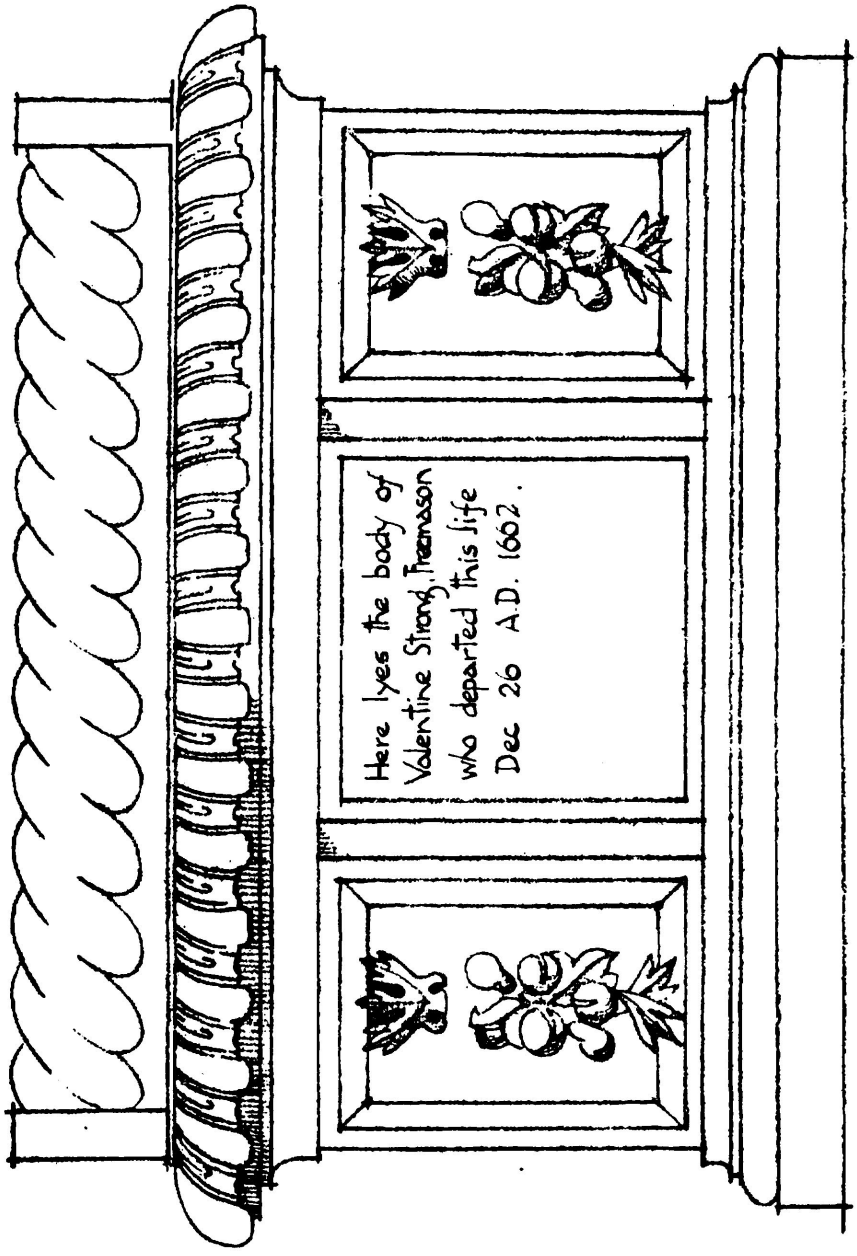
Northleach Church.




Mural Tablet to CHRISTOPHER KEMPSTER in Burford Church.

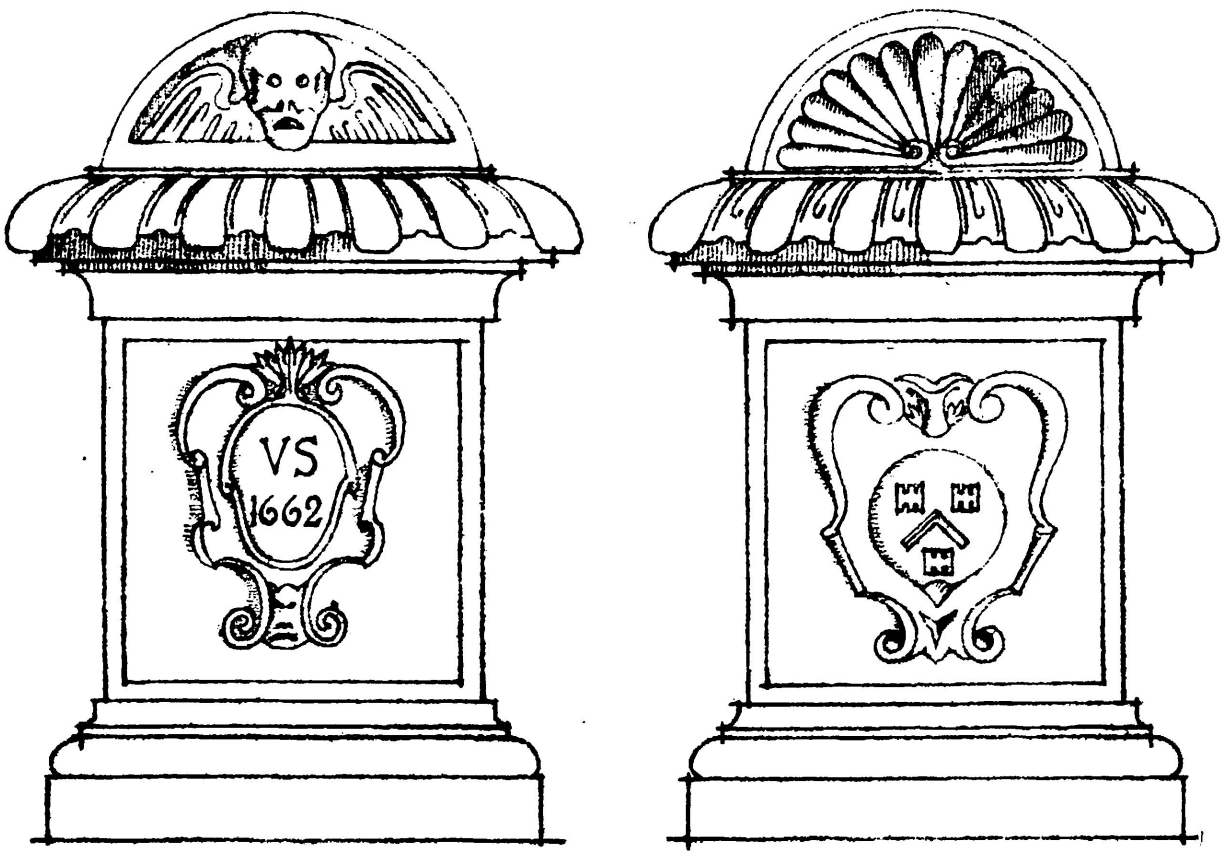


Tomb of Valentine Strong in Fairford Churchyard.




Tomb of VALENTINE STRONG in Fairford Churchyard.

North Elevation.




Tomb of Valentine Strong in Fairford Churchyard.

East Elevation.

West Elevation.

P.A.G.Sup.W.; R. W. Strickland, of Ightham, Kent, Pr.G.R.; Ed. Tappenden, of Hitchin, P.A.G.St.B.; R. H. Teasdel, of Great Yarmouth, P.A.G.D.C.; F. J. Underwood, of Worcester, P.M., 280; Lionel Vibert, of London, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. and Sec., 2076; S. Warhurst, of Ulverston, Lancs., P.Pr.G.D.; Ernest J. White, of Bath, W.M., 53; W. J. Williams, of London, W.M., 2076; Horatio R. Wood, of St. Anne's on-the-Sea, P.G.St.B.; A. W. Youngman, of Lowestoft, P.A.G.D.C.

The solitary representative of the original visit was Bro. W. J. Songhurst, and of our hosts only Bro. Major J. N. Blood remained of the Gloucester Brethren of 1900.

The London Brethren, leaving Paddington at 10.45 on Thursday, June 30th, arrived at Cheltenham at 2.22 p.m. and were conveyed to the Queen's Hotel, where those from other parts of the country had already arrived. As soon as possible we got under way for Cheltenham College, where Provincial Grand Lodge was holding its Annual Meeting in "Big Classical." In the regretted absence of the Provincial Grand Master, the Deputy Prov.G.M. presided, and the Master of the Q.C. Lodge and Brethren of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle were accorded a special and very hearty welcome. The ordinary business of the meeting was carried out, and the London Brethren were particularly interested in some of the details, such as the calling on the representative of each Lodge to give a report of the work done by it during the year. But it was agreed that while this was a very interesting procedure in a Province numbering twenty-two Lodges, it would hardly be feasible in Kent or East Lancs.!

The R.W. Provincial Grand Master of Herefordshire, the Dean of Hereford, a former Principal of the College, was present at the meeting, and at its close we all went in procession to the College Chapel, where a special service was held at which he gave a most interesting address on the Chapel itself. Besides the individual memorials to past scholars, it contains a very elaborate reredos, put up in memory of those from the School who lost their lives in the Boer War. It is a history in stone of Christianity in Britain, and was the work of Henry Prothero, himself a former pupil. A cloister, subsequently added, commemorates those who fell in the Great War, whose names are also inscribed on the walls of the Chapel itself. It was Prothero's original intention that such names should be so inscribed, but he little thought that to carry out his intention six hundred and seventy-five names would have to be recorded within a few years, and the Chapel walls covered almost from end to end.

The Cheltenham Lodges had very kindly provided tea for us all, after which we made our way back to the hotel, but unfortunately, just at that time it came on to pour with rain, and the circumstance filled some of us with forebodings, as our programme for the next two days involved our being out of doors practically all the time. But fortunately this was the only rain we had during the whole of our visit.

After dinner the Cheltenham and Gloucester Lodges held a reception for us at the Pittville Pump Room. The Reception Committee consisted of:—Wor.Bros. W. K. Foster, P.G.D., Dy.Prov.G.M.; J. Bubb, P.D., Prov.G.Treas.; R. J. Winterbotham, Prov.G.Sec.; G. F. Ticehurst, Prov.G.D.C.; W. M. Alford, P.Prov.G.D.; L. W. Barnard; J. F. Tarrant, Prov.G.S.W.; F. T. Palmer, P.Prov.G.W.; W. S. F. Harris; B. A. Tomes, Prov.G.J.W.; G. R. Barlow, P.Prov.G.W.; W. H. Hayward, P.Prov.G.W.; H. A. Dancey, P.Prov.G.W.; J. F. Mallandaine; H. G. Poulton, P.Prov.G.A.D.C.; T. Overbury, and C. Thornton, P.Prov.G.R., as Secretary; together with the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges themselves. This Committee had already proved its worth by the immense trouble it had taken to arrange our programme for us; indeed, Bro. T. Overbury had compiled a specially printed pamphlet, giving brief notes of all the buildings we were to see.

At the Pittville Pump Room he added to his kindness by giving us an address in which he dealt with Deerhurst and the other important churches, exhibiting ground plans and drawings and explaining everything in a most fascinating manner. A delightful musical programme further enlivened the evening, and we realised how warm and hospitable a welcome we were receiving from the Brethren of the Province. The full text of Bro. Overbury's pamphlet is appended to this narrative, and it will be seen that it gives details on Cheltenham Parish Church, Deerhurst, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Northleach, Burford, Inglesham and Cirencester.

On the Friday morning we first visited Deerhurst, where Bro. W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., P.M. No. 685, P.P.G.W. Northumberland, kindly acted as our guide and showed us in detail the excavations he had himself recently carried out. The Vicar, the Rev. A. C. Stephens, also very kindly took charge of some of the party, and helped to point out the many features of interest. We also visited the Chapel in the Abbot's Court, now a farmhouse.

We then went on to Tewkesbury, which we had last visited from Worcester in 1904 (*A.Q.C.*, xvii.). Here Bro. Knowles once more gave us the benefit of his special knowledge, and the Brethren of St. George's Lodge also very kindly helped to show us the town which contains many old houses of great interest. After lunch at the Bell, of John Halifax fame, we went on to Gloucester, where the Cathedral Architect, W.Bro. Col. N. H. Waller, took us all over the building and explained its many splendours.

The Gloucester Brethren had made the most elaborate arrangements for our entertainment, and after giving us tea at the Bell Hotel, they divided our party into four sections, of each of which two local Brethren took charge. One group visited the Guildhall and inspected the charters and regalia, under the guidance of Bros. A. B. Clutterbuck, City Treasurer, and McIntyre, Town Clerk. A second, piloted by Bro. Major J. N. Blood, visited St. Mary's Square and Church, St. Oswald's Priory and the Hcoper Memorial and Lodgment. They also saw St. Nicholas Church and the historic building where the first Sunday School in England was held. Bro. H. A. Dancey, Secretary of the Joint Committee of the Gloucester Lodges, took a third party through the City, with special reference to the vestiges of its mediæval features, the old gates and market places, the "NEW INN," the date of which is in fact 1450, and so on. The President of the Gloucester Masonic Society, Bro. J. H. Collett, and the Secretary, Bro. Bertram A. Tomes were in charge of the fourth party, which devoted more particular attention to what could still be traced of Roman Glevum. The Roman roads approached the city gates from the outside on a left-hand turn, so as to make an advancing enemy expose his flank. It was interesting to find that this detail of their construction could still be traced.

On the way back to Cheltenham we stopped at the Lazar Church of St. Mary Magdalene on Wotton Hill, which we inspected under the guidance of Bro. Bertram A. Tomes, to whom I am indebted for the following Note:—

### THE LAZAR CHURCH OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE.

The Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene was probably erected about the middle of the twelfth century and belonged to the Priory of Llanthony. The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, known as "The Upper House of Dudestone," to which this Church was attached stood near by, but all trace has disappeared in the construction of a main road across its site.

Of the Chapel, only the Chancel remains, with the Norman Door, which formerly stood in the South wall of the Nave, re-erected against the inner side of the South wall of the Chancel. This was done in 1861, when the rest of the ruins of the Church were removed. Stones, originally on the North side of the

Nave, bearing interesting incised marks, have also been preserved by being built into the left side of the present doorway. Among the marks are the emblems of All Saints' Day, the Feast of the Holy Cross, the Star of Epiphany, the interlacing knot of the Feast of St. Valentine and the Fleur-de-Lis of the Virgin Mary; they were probably mementoes of pilgrims who received succour at the Hospital and left behind them these records of their visits, the signs of the Festivals which they attended.

The Norman arch is composed of two tiers of chevron or zigzag ornament, surrounded by a plain label or hood moulding.

The Capitals and Shafts on either side are of exquisite design and workmanship.

On the splay of the Window on the North Wall is a fresco drawn in red hues upon a yellowish ground representing the Christ with the hand raised in the act of blessing.

Saturday was spent on the Cotswolds and we were fortunate in escaping the threatened rain, and enjoying magnificent views, on the way out over the valley between Swindon and Chippenham with Salisbury Plain in the distance, and on the way back, over the Severn Valley and Gloucester with the Herefordshire Hills and the Malverns as a background.

Our first halt was at Northleach, where the Vicar, the Rev. H. V. Hodson, received us, and he and Bro. Overbury showed us the "Cathedral of the Cotswolds." A local hostelry, picturesquely covered with virginia creeper, also provided an admirable background for a group photograph. Our next halt was at Burford, where the Rev. Canon W. C. Emeris, M.A., met us and gave us a most interesting account of his beautiful Church, and he and the Master of the Burford Lodge, Wychwood No. 2412, joined us at lunch. Burford was particularly interesting to us owing to its connection with the Kempster family; a note by Bro. David Flather is printed at the end of this account which details the Masonic associations of the Kempsters with Burford and the Strongs with Fairford.

We then went off the beaten track to visit the little Church at Inglesham, a gem of early architecture which has escaped the hand of the restorer. The venerable Vicar, the Rev. F. J. W. Girling, gave us a most interesting address on his Church, and he inspired us with something of his own enthusiasm for it. Bro. Overbury also pointed out many of the special features of it. Leaving Inglesham, we passed by Fairford, but time did not permit of a halt to view the celebrated glass or the tomb of Valentine Strong. But Bro. Overbury has been kind enough to put his drawings of the latter at our disposal for reproduction in the *Transactions*.

We also passed close to Hatherop, which has an interesting Church with Norman tympana in both the North and the South doors, but a visit to it could not be included in the programme. It also has Masonic connections, for the information as to which I have to thank Bro. Dr. Firminger. James, Lord Derwentwater, the third Earl, whose name is familiar to us in association with the first years of French Freemasonry, married Anna Maria Webb, the daughter of Sir John Webb, Bart., of Hatherop, and resided for some time at his father-in-law's house. Another member of the Webb family married the Viscount Montague, the Grand Master of 1721, and yet another James Earl of Waldegrave, who was initiated in Paris by the Duke of Richmond. The Grand Master of 1772-1776, Lord Petrie, was a grandson of the Lord Derwentwater who was executed in 1716.

After a halt at picturesque Bibury we proceeded to Cirencester Agricultural College, where the College authorities very kindly gave us tea, and we were

able to see something of the College itself, its library and museum. We then went to Cirencester Church, with its noble South Porch; unfortunately, the Vicar, the Rev. Canon Lewis Westmacott, was unable to be with us, but, under the guidance of the local Brethren, we went over the building, and were treated to a short recital on the fine organ. We returned to Cheltenham by way of Birdlip Hill, famous for its wonderful views.

In the evening we were "At Home" to the local Brethren, and did our best to show them how much we had appreciated their generous hospitality and the immense pains they had been at to render our visit a success in every way. The old Foundation Lodge at Cheltenham has its own connection with Great Queen Street and the Hall that was built there in 1775, and this circumstance suggested the subject of the paper which Bro. Vibert read during the evening; it was illustrated by plans showing the development of Great Queen Street through three centuries. The text of it is as follows:—

## Great Queen Street and Freemasons Hall, and the Foundation Lodge.

Holborn was a thoroughfare in the days of King Henry VIII., a road leading from the City through Newgate, to St. Giles. After crossing the Fleet River, at what is now Holborn Viaduct, it crossed a lesser stream just beyond the present Holborn Restaurant. South of Holborn and west of Lincoln's Inn Fields were two fields known as Purse Field and Rose Field. The western boundary of Rose Field was Drury Lane, leading up from the Strand past Drury House to St. Giles. On the other side of Drury Lane was a field known as the Long Acre, so called from its shape, lying north of the Gardens attached to the Convent of Westminster. Rose Field was Crown property, and to the south of it lay a field known as Aldwych Close. Great Queen Street was originally a private way for the King and Council across Aldwych Close, which, continuing on into what is now Theobald's Road, was used by King James I. to go to his favourite country seat of Theobalds in Hertfordshire. It was first built on in about 1600 or soon after. By 1612 there were a number of houses on the north side. Building on the south side appears to have commenced in about 1636. A gate separated the path from Drury Lane, and in 1612 or thereabouts the residents petitioned the King's Consort, Anne of Denmark, to give a name unto that place, which is presumably how it came by its designation. Originally Queen Street, by 1670 it was known as Great Queen Street, Little Queen Street being a street now demolished, running northwards into Holborn from its eastern end.

One authority tells us that the houses on the south side, which were built in 1636, and stretched from the corner of Wild Street to somewhere about where the Kingsway Hall now stands, were from the design of Lord Arundel. Occasionally one finds it stated that the architect was Inigo Jones or one of his pupils, but the matter is one of much uncertainty. Hollar's plate of 1658 shows the whole street, and Parker Street running parallel to it on the north, built on from end to end on both sides; the houses on the south side have large gardens behind them.

The first residents included many persons of high social standing. We have first of all the Earl of Clanricarde, whose house was built as early as 1604, and stood on the north side. Then we get the Earl of St. Albans, the Duke of Norfolk, the Spanish Ambassador, Lord Herbert and Bishop Burnet. In the following century we have Sir Godfrey Kneller, Opie the artist, Sheridan and Boswell, besides many others of less note.

Originally the small stream already referred to, or sewer as it was called, ran from N. to S. across the street, about where the Kingsway Theatre now stands. It is still there, but covered in, and it gave the engineers considerable trouble when they were building the Tube railway. There is still discernible the dip in the road that shows its position. The gate to Drury Lane was probably removed fairly early in the history of the street. But the actual opening at that end, which was extremedy narrow, was known in the eighteenth century as Hell Gate, or the Devil's Gap. It was widened in 1765.

There was a tavern in the street as early as 1669, the White Swan, but the site of it does not seem to have been identified. In 1723 we have the Queen's Head Tavern which was on the south side, close to the stream and opposite Little Queen Street. In that year there was a Lodge meeting there which remained there till it migrated to Wandsworth in 1753. Grand Lodge itself met there on 26th November, 1728. But except for this the street had no Masonic associations until 1774, although numerous taverns in the neighbourhood, in Parker Street, Drury Lane and Covent Garden, were regular meeting places for Lodges. One of the Four Old Lodges met in 1716 at the Crown Ale House in Parker's Lane (which is now Parker's Street), and another in Charles Street, Covent Garden.

The oldest houses in the street to-day are Nos. 27, 28, 29, and 33, 34, 35, all that is left of a terrace, as we should call it to-day, that originally extended much further eastward. The first buildings on this site of which there is record were apparently built in 1636. The present houses, however, cannot be earlier than Queen Anne. The London Survey states that Nos. 27 and 28 were pulled down and rebuilt after 1723. But as they stand to-day they show that they were originally identical with 29, and 33 to 35. Of these, No. 27 alone preserves the original front. All the rest now have modern shop fronts on the ground floor. The original door-case to Nos. 27 and 28 is still there.

No. 27 still preserves the original window sashes in which much of the original glass still remains. Nos. 28 and 29 also have the old sashes on their upper floors. In the basement of No. 27 is a leaden cistern with the date 1733, and there used to be one at No. 26 with the date 1725. A pump at No. 27 still reminds us of the well which was the original water-supply.

On the south side at this time there stood, beginning from the west, that is to say from Wild Street, a series of houses similar to those on the north side already described, and probably of the same date, ending at No. 54. Many of these were standing until recent years. Then came the original residence of the Duke of St. Alban's, which had by this time come to be known as Bristol House. Later on it was Nos. 55 to 58. Next to this came Rivers House, which was where the Spanish Ambassador had lived in 1637. Then came a house with a niche which had originally held a statue of Queen Henrietta Maria. Beyond this came Conway House; and beyond that three more houses of lesser importance. These were all dignified houses with frontages very much alike externally, built in a classical style. Part of Bristol House was standing as late as 1912; Nos. 55 and 56. Sheridan lived at Nos. 57-58 from 1777-1782, and Boswell lived at No. 56 in 1786-88. The pavement still shows the curved stones which mark the entrance of the carriage-way to the garden of the original mansion.[1]

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[1] Within a year of this statement being made, it had ceased to be accurate. This last relic on the south side of the Great Queen Street of two centuries ago was removed in June, 1933. The last portion of Bristol House itself had been pulled down in about 1912. The actual pavement was all taken up and relaid as part of the construction of the Memorial Hall. The Great Queen Street entrance comes very nearly at this point. Of the original curves, that on the east came a little east of a point below the ornamental lamp on the left of the new entrance, and the other one just by the left side of the entrance itself.

As late as 1774 Grand Lodge was still without a home of its own. It met in taverns for the Quarterly Communications, holding the Festival in the Hall of one or other of the City Companies. From November, 1729, it met at the Devil, Temple Bar, with only four exceptions, till 1760. It then began to use the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, and after alternating between the two houses for a couple of years, made this tavern its regular meeting place for the next ten years, except for occasional special meetings. But the inconvenience of having no permanent abode was one that was yearly becoming more acutely felt, and in 1768 the Deputy Grand Master, the Hon. Charles Dillon, brought forward a plan for building a Hall, and a Hall Fund was inaugurated. Grand Officers were to contribute annually, the amount varying with their rank. The rest of the Fund was to be furnished by payments by the Lodges on Constitution, by Brethren on admission, who paid 2/6, and by Lodges who were to pay 2/6 for every candidate, as well as fees for dispensations. There was also to be in every Lodge a book for voluntary contributions. In 1773 the half-crown was increased to five shillings.

By 1774 the fund amounted to just over £2,000, of which £655 represented voluntary subscriptions.

The original proposal was to purchase a site in Fleet Street. But in this year two dwelling houses and a garden on the south side of Great Queen Street came into the market. These were what had originally been the central house of the terrace, to use the modern term, the house with the niche. A survey of them was made by two Brethren, Dight, a carpenter, and McKowl, a bricklayer, and on their report the purchase was completed. The new Hall was at once put in hand, being built on the garden behind, and there was also a smaller building which Noorthouck speaks of as the committee room attached to it. The front house had been occupied by Worlidge the artist. He died in 1766, and his widow married a wine and spirit merchant named Ashley. In 1775 we have the first mention of the Freemasons' Tavern, and it was clearly this house with the frontage to Great Queen Street. A print of 1784 shows it, with the words "Freemasons' Tavern" over the door. (But the licensee is now Reiley.) There are MS. notes of alterations to the premises made in 1779, including a doorway and passage to give access to the Freemasons' Hall in the garden behind. This print is Plate 22 in vol. V. of the Survey of London. *St. Giles in the Fields, II.*

The site was purchased for £3,150, the transaction being completed in November, 1774. But this was partly raised by a mortgage, and they had to borrow £2,000 to pay that off. At a later date they raised the sum necessary to pay for the building and furniture by a tontine, and subsequently by calling for voluntary subscriptions, in respect of which a special medal was issued. Between 1781 and 1786 these medals were issued to 26 Lodges, the forerunners of our Hall Stone Lodges to-day, and the Master wore the medal attached to his collar of office. Sixteen of these Lodges are working to-day, but I believe that actually only four of the original medals have been preserved; one is with Royal Cumberland, No. 41, at Bath. Noorthouck gives a list of 75 private subscribers up to 1784; nevertheless the medal to-day is one of the great rarities of Masonic numismatics.

The foundation stone of the new Hall was laid on May 1st, 1775, with great ceremony. The architect was Thomas Sandby. But as soon as the whole site had been purchased they took to speaking of the premises generally, including the front house with the Tavern, as the Hall, and this has led to a certain amount of confusion. The Tavern was at once used for Masonic purposes, and Grand Lodge met there in February, 1775. But the actual Minutes describe the meeting as taking place at Freemasons' Hall, although these same Minutes speak of the Hall as "to be built." On this occasion Noorthouck is more precise, and says they met at the Tavern. So also in the following April

Noorthouck gives the Tavern as the meeting place, while the official Minutes speak of the Hall. When Grand Lodge wished to refer to the Tavern in particular, they spoke of it as the Coffee House, as we see from the Minutes of this meeting, and Noorthouck also seems to observe this distinction, but we also have Tavern And Coffee House. At this meeting of April, 1775, the Grand Stewards Lodge applied for permission to meet at the Coffee House, which was granted.

But the meetings of November, 1775, February, 1776, and April, 1776, are both spoken of by Noorthhouck and the Minutes as being held at the Hall, although, in fact, it was not dedicated till May 23rd, 1776. Probably the first meeting to be actually held in it was the Festival of 3rd June, 1776. From this date onwards the actual Hall was the regular meeting place of Grand Lodge for all occasions.

But it may be mentioned that the peaceful course of its history was interrupted during the Gordon Riots in 1780, when the premises were taken as a temporary barracks for the troops called in to quell the disturbances in the neighbourhood.

In 1789 the Tavern, being found inadequate, was pulled down and rebuilt. In 1815 the western half of Conway House, where Judge Jefferies once lived for a couple of years, was acquired and converted to the use of Grand Lodge. Sir John Soane, in 1828, without interfering with the frontage, built a large hall behind it, which stood where the grand staircase of the Connaught Rooms is to-day.

In 1863 Rivers House was demolished, together with the original Tavern of 1786, and Soane's Hall and the houses in front of it. The Lodge Rooms and staircase that most of us remember were erected, and the eastern side was now occupied by a reconstructed Tavern that still, however, kept the old name. A fragment of the frontage of 1863 is still standing.

In 1899 the eastern half of Bristol House was absorbed, and provided a site for the Library and Museum and the Grand Secretary's Office. In 1910 the Tavern was reconstructed and became the Connaught Rooms. Then, on the west, the rest of Bristol House came down to make way for the King Edward VII. Memorial. Finally, the whole street from the centre of the frontage of 1863 to the corner of Wild Street, including the King Edward VII. Memorial, was destroyed, and on its site the Million Memorial is now in process of erection. But Sandby's glorious Hall of 1775 remained untouched through all these vicissitudes, save only that in 1883 it was damaged by fire and had to be re-conditioned. At the time of writing it is still standing, and Lodges are still meeting in it, although its days are numbered.

Conway House had been divided into four in 1696. The two western houses were acquired in 1815 by Grand Lodge, as just stated; the two eastern ones became Bacon's Hotel, and this was acquired in 1889 by Grand Lodge and leased to Grand Mark Lodge. It still preserves two rooms that date from 1743 and that are decorated with remarkable painted ceilings of the period.

As already stated, as soon as the house in which Worlidge had lived became the property of Grand Lodge it was used for Masonic purposes. But the indications are that it had not been a Tavern or Coffee House prior to its purchase. The actual number of Lodges that moved into it in the first few years was not large. We get, first of all, Foundation Lodge in 1775. Then Tuscan, No. 14 in '76, The Grand Stewards and Old King's Arms in '77, No. 4 in '78, Pilgrim in '80, and Antiquity in '82. Of these Lodges, all historic and important, the one of immediate interest to us to-night is Foundation, constituted originally in 1753. In 1774 it was meeting at the Crown and Horseshoe in Holborn, which was much further down towards the City.

The Master bricklayer, McKowl, of whom mention has already been made, joined it on 12th July, 1775. Apparently he was at once instrumental in transferring it to the Tavern, and it now took the name Foundation Stone, no doubt in allusion to the ceremony that had taken place on May 1st. McKowl was intimately associated with that occasion, for he was given the contract for building the new Hall, and, as a Grand Steward of the year, took part in the actual laying of the stone. Bro. Sadler, who has a note on him in his history of the Globe Lodge, is eloquent as to the excellence of his work. He was also a liberal contributor to the Completion Fund, and the medal he was given is to-day in the British Museum. He lived in Great Wild Street, and the Lodge was soon joined by the officials and tradesmen connected with Grand Lodge. But in 1776 the word *Stone* was dropped from the title; the G.L. Registers record the alteration without comment. The Cheltenham Lodge possesses a Bible inscribed *Foundation Lodge. B. Buck Master* 1792. But I cannot find this Brother in the records. The nearest I can get to him is Jarvis Buck who was initiated on July 8th, 1789. Another member who might have a local interest was Walter Hillson Jessop of Fairford, initiated on 14th August, 1793, but I can find no further trace of him.

In 1800 the Lodge left the Tavern, and in 1806 it was erased. But the warrant was at once assigned to a Lodge at Abingdon, which kept the name. However, the members here are a completely new set; there is no trace of any continuity between the two Lodges. This Lodge at Abingdon in its turn ceased to exist in 1816, when it was removed by permission to Sheldon's Hotel, Cheltenham, where it first met on 7th August, 1817. At p. 93 of his *Provincial Grand Lodge of Gloucestershire* Bro. Norman describes this first meeting, and another that was held on the following day. They were concerned with the formalities incidental to the transfer. Bro. Lindsey, of Abingdon, presided. But he at once handed over charge to Bro. H. W. Harris, who continued to be in charge of the new Lodge until he was regularly elected and installed Master in the following December. The Lodge conferred honorary membership on Bro. Lindsey. Lane treats the Cheltenham Lodge as a continuation of the Abingdon Lodge, but, once more, there is no continuity in fact; the members at Cheltenham are a completely new set, all local, and mostly members of Vitruvian at Ross or Royal Gloucester, a Dunckerley Lodge now extinct. But we find a sprinkling of members from foreign parts. Thus there was a founder who came from Neptune Lodge, Penang, and later on we get Brethren from Madras, Bengal, Messina and several French Lodges. But what is of real interest is that within a year of its inauguration at Cheltenham, Foundation Lodge set to work to build a Masonic Hall, and it eventually erected the actual Hall in which the masons of Cheltenham meet to-day. In imitation of the Grand Lodge it commemorated the event by having a special seal made, which is now unfortunately missing. In building its own Masonic Hall, Cheltenham was no doubt following the example of Bath. But the good Brethren of Bath were less sound on finance; they were very soon in difficulties and eventually sold their Hall and lost most of their money. The masons of Cheltenham have pursued a more prudent course, and Foundation Lodge to-day can still point with pride to the Hall that it commenced to build in 1818, which, with the other Cheltenham Masonic bodies, it occupies to-day.

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Something should here be said of the Masonic Hall, referred to in the paper, of which Bro. L. W. Barnard of Foundation Lodge had written a history, the date of publication of which was June 30th, 1932, the very day on which we were being entertained at the Pittville Pump Rooms. We were glad to have

fashionable abode of the town. In 1808, the first Montpellier Pump Room was built and this resulted in the creation of the district now known as Montpellier. Until 1818 the present beautiful Promenade was a brick field, with a plank bridge across the Chelt near where the fountain now stands. The Lansdown district, commenced in 1825, with its dignified Crescent and cleverly conceived Terrace, includes outstanding examples of the "speculatively built" house of the period, comparable with the work of John Wood at Bath a century earlier.

So far the new town had developed southwards of the High Street, but in 1824 Pittville was commenced by Joseph Pitt. This magnificent scheme, conceived by a great visionary, was intended to create a second portion of the town on the north of High Street rivalling that on the southern side, and forms an early example of town planning. The Pittville Spa used to be considered the most extensive and beautiful in Europe, and its several miles of drives, with the construction of the Pump Room, are said to have cost half a million sterling. Placed upon an eminence, formerly approached by a broad gravel central walk—now unfortunately turfed—this stately colonnaded and domed building is the culminating feature of a splendid vista to which the lake and flanking stone bridges add not a little. The architect of this great scheme was John Forbes, of Cheltenham, who also designed St. Paul's Church and the Masonic Hall, both buildings of considerable merit.

The greatest development of the town occurred between 1821 and 1831, houses being completed at the rate of one per day, and as may be expected, such a building boom attracted the attention of architects from various parts of the country. The eminent London architect, John B. Papworth, designed the Montpellier Rotunda, as an addition to the existing building, and this fine work, with the Montpellier Walk in which Caryatides are used, will always add to his fame.

The Sherborne Spa (1818) stood on the site of the Queen's Hotel. As a Spa it never met with success, being closed in 1837. It was subsequently taken down and some idea of its Grecian beauty may be gleaned from the mutilated remains which, re-erected and renamed the Imperial Rooms, exist behind the Promenade fountain.

The stately Queen's Hotel (1838) is one of the latest buildings of note to be erected before the drab efforts of the Victorians. It is the work of Messrs. R. W. & C. Jearrad, who probably more than any other architect, helped to give dignity and character to the architecture of Cheltenham.

Cheltenham has many churches, but only one, the parish church of St. Mary, dates back to mediæval times. Of the remainder, Holy Trinity (1822) was the first to be built, and is interesting as an early attempt in the revived Gothic. The pedimented front of St. Paul's (1831) is admirable, as might be expected from the architect of Pittville Spa, while St. Peter's (1849) is quite a pleasing example of modern Norman architecture. Christ Church (1840) has an apse richly painted under the late Sir William Richmond, R.A. All Saints', in French Gothic, contains many rich fittings, and the other churches are examples of the Gothic revival above the average for that period.

As may be gathered from the nomenclature of many of its streets and buildings, Cheltenham has attracted numerous distinguished visitors, among whom, in addition to members of the Royal Family, may be mentioned Dr. Johnson, Handel, Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, the Duke of Wellington, and Mrs. Siddons. Dr. Jenner (born at Berkeley) for some time only physician of note here, practised free vaccination much to the disgust of the inhabitants, who named his surgery the "Pest House."

copies of it as a memento of our visit, and some of the Brethren found time to visit the Hall itself during the Outing. For many years the exclusive property of Foundation Lodge, which had built it, it now houses all the Masonic bodies in Cheltenham. As Bro. Barnard says, it is one of the very few Temples in the country which has continuously been used for Lodge purposes for over a hundred years. The plans were sent to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex for approval, a somewhat unusual proceeding. But they produced a letter from the Grand Chaplain expressing H.R.H.'s warm approval. The building was ready for use in 1823, and it not only presents a dignified exterior, but the dining-room is most elaborately painted and carved, and furnished with canopied stalls, and the Lodge furniture is particularly fine, the officers' chairs probably dating from the end of the eighteenth century.

On the Sunday we attended service in the Parish Church, where Bro. the Rev. W. E. Beck, P.Prov.G.Chap., Principal of St. Paul's College, Cheltenham, preached a most impressive sermon, which was specially written for the occasion; he has kindly allowed it to be reprinted in our *Transactions*.

Eventually the party dispersed, the London Brethren leaving by the 12.45 train, which brought us in comfort to Paddington by ten past four, after an Outing which, thanks to the enthusiasm and admirable arrangements of the Brethren of the Province, will be remembered by all who took part in it as one of our outstanding successes.

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## NOTES ON THE BUILDINGS INCLUDED IN THE ITINERARY.

*By Bro. Thomas Overbury.*

### Cheltenham.

In spite of its modern appearance, Cheltenham is essentially an old foundation. It enters historical view in the ninth century, subsequently becoming a royal manor, the Docmsday Survey recording that Edward the Confessor held Chintineham, a church and five mills being mentioned. Throughout the succeeding centuries no events of national importance seem to have occurred here as they did in Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and, so far as is known, Cheltenham suffered the vicissitudes common to other small towns.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Cheltenham, with a population of 1,500, consisted of one straggling picturesque street—now the High Street—its buildings being principally of brick with roofs of red tile, thatch or stone slats. Early in the eighteenth century a spring or stream in a meadow at the bottom of Bays Hill attracted a large number of pigeons, and upon investigation the water proved to be saline. In 1718 the spring was enclosed and a shed erected over it, and thus commenced "Cheltenham Spa." The royal patronage, bestowed in 1788 by the visit of King George III. for a course of the waters extending over a month, gave an impetus to the development of the little town which in half a century was transformed into a modern spa of more than 30,000 souls. This great development occurred at the very period when Grecian influence was beginning to alter the course of English Renaissance architecture, with the result that, like some of the contemporary seaside spas, Cheltenham possesses many fine examples of the later Georgian or Regency architecture in which the Grecian feeling predominates. One of the first building schemes was the Royal Crescent, formed in the old Church Mead early in the nineteenth century, and for long the

The two-storied north porch is a good example of Perpendicular work, its vaulting having carved bosses among which the Tudor rose is conspicuous. The external doorway is now built up and the porch converted into a baptistery, the font being modern, but the little internal doorway (also blocked) which gave access to the room over the porch still remains.

Unhappily, most of the fittings of the church are gone, but the fine altar table, dated 1638, the wardens' chest, which is a "dug-out," and a mutilated brass on the north wall of the chancel to Judge William Greville (1513) still remain. The twelve bells form the lightest ring of that number in any ecclesiastical building in this country. In one of the stages of the spire is still preserved the "ting-tang," dated 1674, assumed to be the sanctus bell recast. Inside the church are memorials of practically every description and varying interest, while outside, at the eastern end of the chancel are the well-known epitaphs to John Higgs, the pig killer; John Paine, the blacksmith, and others.

## Deerhurst Church.

No church in the county possesses the same antiquity and details of the Saxon period as does the Priory Church at Deerhurst, on the banks of the Severn. The monastery of the eighth or early ninth centuries was destroyed in the first half of the tenth century, and in 970, during the Christian revival of King Edgar, Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, installed Benedictine monks here. Edward the Confessor divided the possession of the monastery between St. Denys Paris, and his church at Westminster, and about 1469, Deerhurst was appropriated to Tewkesbury Abbey.

Recent excavations and investigations (by W. H. Knowles, F.S.A.) have revealed the original plan of probably mid-tenth century date, comprising a western tower, a nave, of which the eastern portion was used as the choir, a polygonal apsidal presbytery, and on each side of the choir a chamber or chapel opening transeptwise off it. Still in Saxon times, a chamber was added east and west of the latter. At an undetermined date, the wall dividing the nave and choir was removed and the "chancel" arch built up. The original aisle-less Saxon nave, it should be noted, was of the height of the existing.

In the middle stage of the tower are interesting Saxon features, including the much illustrated double triangular-headed opening to the nave, an exterior door, windows and recesses.

Early in the thirteenth century an arcade of three bays was pierced through the Saxon walls of the nave, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many alterations were effected, and windows, including those in the clerestory, inserted. The seventeenth century arrangement of seats on three sides of the altar table is one of the very few examples remaining in the country. The beautiful Saxon font with the scroll ornament so well known, brasses, mediæval glass, and bench ends, add to the interest of this venerable building.

## Deerhurst Chapel.

About eighty yards south of the church yard, embodied in the picturesque half-timbered "Abbot's Court," is a small chapel with oblong nave about 25 ft. 6 in. by 15 ft. 10 in. and square ended chancel 14 ft. 0 in. by 11 ft. 2 in. The chancel arch and north door are of horseshoe form over inclined jambs, and on either side of the nave is a contemporary window. The building identified with the regia aula of Odda was erected in 1056, as appears by the dedication stone now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

THE PARISH CHURCH.

A church existed in Cheltenham in the ninth century, probably a little missionary settlement. Whether this early church flourished or not is impossible to say, but at the time of the Doomsday Survey a priest, a church, and five mills existed in this the "King's land," for the demesne was held by the Confessor. How much of the existing building, if any, dates back to the Confessor's time it is impossible to say. In 1133, the church passed from Worcester Cathedral to the Augustinian Abbey at Cirencester, and at once a rebuilding took place, which seems to have swallowed up the earlier structure. The twelfth century building, dedicated to St. Mary, was cruciform in plan with central tower, shallow transepts and probably narrow aisles, as at Bishop's Cleeve near by, in this respect following the type somewhat prevalent in the upper Thames Valley and common in the south-western counties of Devon and Cornwall. In the thirteenth century alterations were made, but what they were is difficult to say with certainty. The restored piscina and aumbry in the south wall of the south transept, the carved northern capital to the opening from north transept to the aisle, and the middle stage of the tower with the lancet lights are of this period. The great transformation came in the fourteenth century when additions were made which entirely altered the appearance of the church. The chancel was rebuilt and lengthened, the transepts increased in projection, the narrow Norman aisles gave place to those of the present width, nave arcades were rebuilt, and the upper stage of the tower with its graceful broach spire, 155 feet high, completed the change. In the fifteenth century the two-storied north porch formed the principal addition, with, of course, the rood loft, the blocked doorways to which are visible. Such, in brief, is the history of the church which possesses many interesting features and archæological problems which have never been satisfactorily solved.

Of the twelfth century church, the crossing with its four arches, the west end of the nave and its characteristic Norman buttresses with billet mould, and possibly, the upper portion of the northern nave wall still remain. The arches of the crossing are interesting, exhibiting three different treatments, and only that to the nave fits its opening. The capitals of the jambs vary greatly, from the coniferæ of the West of England cushion variety to that in the southern jamb of the sanctuary arch, which is carved with heads and foliage, one representing a Queen and Martyr, the head being crowned and she holds a palm leaf.

Of the later work, the piscina in the eastern jamb of the southern window of the chancel is one of the most interesting features. Of the mutilated figures in the spandrils of the arches one holds a sword, probably representing St. Paul, and the other a pennon, possibly St. John, or the risen Christ. The north transept was the chapel of St. Katharine of Alexandria, with a chantry, and the very fine wheel window in the eastern wall is probably symbolical of this saint, while in the northern gable is another circular window. The tomb recess in this transept was originally similar to that in the north aisle and formed before the windows. Probably they were the tombs of the founders, as doubtless an altar also existed in the north aisle against the screen, as was the case in the south aisle. In the south transept was the chapel of the B.V.M. with a rich chantry, and it is possible that two altars existed here, one under each window.

Few churches possess such a variety of window tracery from simple lancet lights to the large transitional windows almost Perpendicular in character. Here are to be found varieties of geometric and flowing tracery, a beautiful example of a reticulated window in the western wall of the north aisle, while the rose window is well known throughout the country. Unfortunately, all the glass is modern, but preserved in the window of the sacristy are fragments of mediæval glass.

but the remainder is later. The great nave was commenced early in the twelfth century and finished about 1160, a fire in 1122 doing considerable damage, traces of which are clearly visible on the bases of the nave columns. Much of this Norman building remains, being very cleverly encased and cloaked with an outer veneer of "Perpendicular" masonry in the fourteenth century. The twelfth century vaulting still exists over the north aisle, but that of the nave belongs to the Early English period. The south aisle with its ornate buttresses, was rebuilt during the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and directly afterwards commenced the encasing of the Norman work in the transepts and choir, in which was evolved that peculiarly English phase of Gothic architecture known as "Perpendicular."

The cloisters on the north side are the finest in the country, and the earliest example of fan vaulting (c. 1400).

The glorious central tower, about 225 feet high, was completed in the middle of the fifteenth century, the Lady Chapel of great beauty and unusual size following and being finished about 1500.

Originally, the nave terminated at the west end with two towers, but these were removed early in the fifteenth century and the two most western bays rebuilt, and about the same period the south porch was added. Other features to be noticed are the great high piers of the nave (comparable with Tewkesbury), the grand east window of the choir, the "whispering gallery," the curious flying ribs in the transepts, the fourteenth century choir stalls, the mediæval glass and the very fine organ, first erected about 1660. The altar, reredos, and the choir screen are modern. Of the many tombs and monuments may be mentioned those of Robert, Duke of Normandy (thirteenth century), Edward II., murdered at Berkeley and brought to Gloucester for burial, King Osric (sixteenth century), and Dr. Jenner. On the north side of the cathedral are remains of the monastic establishment, and there is much of architectural interest in the buildings in the precincts. (For a more detailed description, see "Gloucester Cathedral," by the Dean, the Very Rev. Henry Gee, D.D., F.S.A.)

## Northleach.

Northleach, situated adjacent to the Fosse Way, and also on the main road—London to Gloucester and South Wales—was a place of importance until the advent of railways. In coaching days it was a considerable centre with many large inns now converted into shops and dwellings.

Its market place is very picturesque and on the western side formerly stood the Market house and Cross. The two-gabled manor house and the six-gabled almshouses (1616), founded by Thomas Dutton, are the most architectural of the domestic buildings.

"The Cathedral of the Cotswolds," dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, is a magnificent example of Perpendicular architecture, of which the tower and south porch are perhaps the chief glories. John Fortey (a wool stapler, who died in 1458, raised the nave to make it "more lightsome," and did other work, but the tower was existing at that time and would appear to be the oldest part of the building, probably soon after 1400 in date. Traces, however, of an earlier church are visible, but so scanty as to render it impossible to determine the form or date.

The building consists of chancel, with north chapel and north and south aisles, nave about 58 feet long, with aisles, south porch and western tower, which, like Cirencester, appears to have been built for a spire which was never added. The church is crammed with architectural interest, some of the outstanding features being the concave-sided octagonal nave piers, the rich oak roofs with emblems of the Passion on shields and excellent corbels, three-seated sedilia in

## Tewkesbury Abbey.

A monastery is said to have been founded in Tewkesbury during the eighth century on the lines of that then existing at Gloucester. Of the great Benedictine abbey of St. Mary founded, or refounded, in the eleventh century, the church and gate-house remain, all else having been swept away. The abbey church was consecrated in 1121, and in the work consequent upon the fire in 1122 at Gloucester, the influence of Tewkesbury is visible. The nave and transepts are Norman, while eastwards, in the fourteenth century, a crown of beautiful chapels was constructed round the polygonal apse of the choir in a manner most unusual in England. In plan, and in the great massive cylindrical columns of the nave, Norman Tewkesbury is very similar to Norman Gloucester, and both would appear to be the work of one architect. The interior of the church is full of charm and interest and very beautiful detail, notably in the richly groined nave roof, the apsidal chapel to the south transept, the apse to the choir, chapels, tombs, chantry-chapels, stalls, organ and glass.

Externally, the great twelfth century central tower, probably the finest of the period in the country, and the magnificent Norman west front, with its huge arch 34 feet wide by 65 feet high, form an impressive picture in which colour plays no small part. The great arch is now filled in with a window of seventeenth century date, but the flanking pinnacles are original. Judging from the cloister doorway, the cloisters, which were on the south side, must have been very fine. At the Dissolution the abbey church was saved owing to the generosity of the townsfolk. The very fine wrought iron entrance gates to the church yard should be noted, while the town of Tewkesbury is renowned for its interesting black and white houses: the "Hop Pole" and the "Bell" are associated with Charles Dickens and Mrs. Craig (John Halifax, Gentleman) respectively. West of the abbey was fought the great battle of Tewkesbury (1471) and in the church were buried several of the leading combatants.

## Gloucester.

Gloucester was an important town (Glevum) in Roman times and its long history is full of interest. Remains of the Roman encircling wall are still visible and the museum contains exhibits of the period. It was at Gloucester, in 1085, at the mid-winter court or parliament, that William the Conqueror, after "very deep speech with his Witan about this land," ordered the famous survey of the country, the result of which is known as the Doomsday Book.

Half a dozen churches exhibiting every phase of ecclesiastical architecture, mediæval remains and much post-Reformation work add to the county town's interest. The siege of Gloucester in 1643 when the citizens under Col. Massey held out for four weeks was an event which considerably influenced the course of the Civil War.

### The Cathedral.

A monastery founded or completed by Osric in 681 passed through many vicissitudes until the present structure was commenced in 1089 as the church of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter.

The abbey was considerably altered and added to in the five centuries succeeding its Norman foundation, resulting in one of the most beautiful and architecturally interesting buildings in the kingdom. Formerly included in Worcester, Gloucester at the Dissolution became a See, its diocese practically co-inciding with the county boundaries. The church (excluding Lady Chapel and cloisters) is essentially Romanesque in plan with a polygonal eastern end, the crypt and choir being part of Abbot Serlo's work begun in 1089 and dedicated in 1100,

the tower raised and a spire added. The three-storied south porch with its imagery and fan vaulted ceiling is one of the chief architectural features in a building which teems with interest. The roofs of the nave and north aisle and the fourteenth century font (with its figure subjects somewhat similar in character to that at Shilton Church nearby), screens, brasses and fragments of old glass should be noted. Of the many tombs that to John Leggare (founder) in the south transept, of Lord Chief Justice Tanfield (died 1625) and his wife in the north chapel of the chancel and a memorial to Christopher Kempster, clerk of works to Sir Christopher Wren during the building of St. Paul's Cathedral and the City Churches, (south transept), call for attention.

### Inglesham Church.

This is one of the few churches that escaped the "restoration fever" in the "eighties" due to the efforts of William Morris and Dean Hutton. Dedicated to St. John the Baptist this small church—chancel and nave are only fifty feet in length—is extremely interesting, presenting either in the building or its fittings features of almost every period of architecture from the twelfth century, and not only so but still retains fittings which in most churches have been swept away. In plan the building consists of a comparatively long chancel, nave of two bays, north and south aisles, south porch and a bell cot on the western gable. It is possible that the nave was built in the eleventh century, but the scalloped capital on the south side and the stiff leafed cap to the north arcade indicate that this portion of the church was commenced very late in the twelfth century, and a wall arcade of three bays of round-headed arches on the north side of the chancel appears contemporary. In the fourteenth century the deep south porch was probably erected and the following century saw the south aisle extended eastwards overlapping the chancel to form a chapel, both aisles increased in height and massive roofs added. In the fifteenth century also screens were fixed to the north and south aisles, a font added, and other alterations made. The seats in the chancel are Elizabethan, altar table, rails, pulpit with sounding board a little later, and the benches in the nave of two periods of the seventeenth century. The clerk's desk, hour glass and fragments of old glass give added interest to the interior which is quite unlike any other church in this district. In the south wall of the chancel chapel is a sculptured stone, earlier in date than the church, of the infant Christ on the lap of His Mother. Above is a hand pointing to the nimbed Child.

### Cirencester.

As the fourth largest town in Roman Britain, Corinium situated at the intersection of many roads was of considerable importance. It possesses a museum of great interest and in the garden of the Abbey a Composite capital pronounced to be the finest in Europe.

Two pre-Conquest churches existed, one St. Cecilia being founded in the first half of the ninth century, but both have disappeared.

The present church—dedicated to St. John the Baptist—straddles the Ermine Street from Gloucester to Winchester, is the largest in the county and one of the spacious churches of England. Founded in the twelfth century, cruciform in plan and probably with a central tower as at Cheltenham, the structure is a most admirable example, not only of the growth of the English parish church, but of the development of ecclesiastical architecture. Of the Norman building a doorway in the east end of the north aisle remains, and also transitional chancel arcades, that on the south side containing Roman materials. During the thirteenth century the chancel was lengthened and the chapel of St. John the Baptist rebuilt, but of the work of the succeeding century little remains,

the chancel, slender stone pulpit of the "wineglass" pattern, font, and mensa of the high altar (10 feet by 3 feet by 8 inches) back in position. In the north chapel of the chancel is a stone altar "in situ" still bearing some of its dedication crosses. No less than eight brasses remain (1430-1530), nearly all memorials to wool merchants, on some of which appear a sheep and woolsack. Fragments of two beautiful copes are preserved in a frontal, and the very fine plate is Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Queen Anne in date.

The porch has been described as one of the finest in England and is two storeys in height. The exterior still retains some of the original figures under beautiful canopies, including the seated Virgin with the Child, and the Trinity, flanked by smaller figures.

The cunning way in which the flue from the fine stone chimney piece, with candle brackets and recessed oven, in the room over the porch has been contrived by piercing one of the western pinnacles to form a chimney, should be noted. Internally there is much carving, grotesque and otherwise, including in the very graceful vaulting a crossed nimbus of Christ, but the statues, unfortunately, have gone from the niches of the walls. The great western tower with its richly moulded portal is a most admirable example of good proportion, and gives an impression of strength and solidity in happy accord with its upland situation.

## Burford.

Burford mentioned in the Doomsday Book has a history dating back to the eighth century, and in mediæval times had a considerable market: in the seventeenth century it was also a place of importance. Now it is an interesting little town, the wide grey stone High Street tumbling down a slope of the Cotswolds to the river Windrush giving that peculiar charm always attaching to buildings on the hillside. Many fragments of mediæval architecture remain, and several houses of post-Reformation date are of considerable interest, *e.g.*, the Rectory House, and the Great House.

After the Dissolution the Priory (Augustinian Canons) passed through various hands: a house was built on the site which was sold by Sir John Fortesque to Sir Laurence Tanfield who rebuilt the house and entertained James I. in 1603. At the death of Sir Laurence Tanfield the Priory passed to Lord Falkland in 1625 who entertained there Ben Jonson and other well known literary men, selling the property about 1636 to William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament, in whose family it remained until last century. From a ruinous state the house was again made habitable about twenty-four years ago.

But the chief interest in Burford is its church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which is an outstanding example of the development of the plan of the English parish church. The original twelfth century building consisted of chancel, central tower and nave of which the west end of the latter and the tower remain. In the thirteenth century the chancel was extended to its present length, transepts with eastern chapels added by piercing the north and south walls of the tower, a narrow aisle formed on the south side of the nave, and a chapel added in a peculiar position to the south west of the church. In the fourteenth century, St. Thomas' chapel was built west of the south transept over an existing bone house which accounts for its floor level being some 4 ft. 0 in. above that of the nave. The chief transformation, however, occurred in the fifteenth century when the nave of five bays with its clerestory was built, and a north aisle, south porch, and a sacristy on the north side of the chancel were formed. In addition chapels were added on the north and south sides of the chancel, the north transept shortened in projection, the south west chapel extended eastwards to the south porch, curtailed westwards and opened to the south aisle, a chapel formed by screens under the eastern bay of the nave arcade on the north side,

except perhaps the nave aisles. The great transformation of the Perpendicular period obliterated most of the earlier work, for the fifteenth century saw the erection of the western tower designed for a spire which could not be added owing to the failure of the former, hence the addition of the great flying buttresses: in 1430 the Trinity chapel, north of the north aisle was built, which, with its stone screen, carvings, and roof is one of the features of the church. About the middle of the fifteenth century the rebuilding of the Lady Chapel, the lengthening of St. Katharine's chapel and the addition of the sacristy on the south side took place.

In the early part of the sixteenth century the erection of the three-storied south porch took place, followed by the rebuilding of the nave, the latter a most beautiful piece of work more Somerset than Gloucester in character, and after the Dissolution the fan vaulting from the Abbey Church was re-erected in St. Katharine's chapel. The south porch is unique and subsequently the two upper storeys were converted into one hall and used as the public town hall. Cirencester church has much to interest the visitor, including a quantity of glass, mostly fifteenth century in date, pierced stone pulpit, screens, mediæval vestments, brasses, wall paintings, chained books, and last, but not least, the magnificent plate. The famous Boleyn Cup (1535) now in the bank, has been valued at 15,000 guineas.

The great Augustinian Abbey of Cirencester stood north of the parish church, but it has, unfortunately, entirely disappeared.

Considerable Roman work remains in the town, and also a portion of St. John's Hospital, founded by Henry I.

In writing the foregoing notes frequent reference has been made—and is thus acknowledged—to various papers published in the *Transactions* of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

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## MASONIC LINKS WITH THE COTSWOLDS.

*By Bro. David Flather.*

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One of the many interesting facts connected with the Cotswold country is the close connection which existed in past days between the City of London and many of the Cotswold villages. No doubt this was the natural result of the trade in wool, woollen fabrics, for wool growers and merchants of Cotswold birth found their way to London, where they traded and made fortunes, returning to their native villages to await their latest days in peaceful scenes. So also London merchants discovered the beauties of the district and came to sojourn here and often to continue those benefactions which in London they had practised.

In many Cotswold villages we find traces of these worthy men. Alms Houses, Schools, Village Crosses—and, too, memorials in the churches, where many of these benefactors were laid to rest.

### Burford.

In the church at Burford we find several memorials of members of London Livery Companies, but the most interesting of all is the one recording the life and death of Christopher Kempster, who was Master of the Mason's Company in the year 1691. A very full record of him will be found in Bro. Edward Conder's

classic history of the Worshipful Company of Masons of the City of London, pp. 235-6-7 and 9, from which the following notes were taken:—

Christopher Kempster was a native of Burford and was the owner of important Stone Quarries. He was also a skilled Mason.

He was a friend of the Strong family and in their company, or at least at their suggestion, he journeyed to London after the Great Fire, at a time when there was the most ample scope, both for his abilities as a Mason and for the supply of stone from his quarries.

For many years he was closely associated with the brothers Strong in their many building contracts, and especially in the work on St. Paul's Cathedral.

At the end of a long and honourable career, he returned to Burford, where the modest fortune he had won in London was employed to extend his estates and to build himself a house worthy of his position. The quarries are still in existence and are to-day known as "Kits Quarries."

He died 12th August, 1715 (not 1725 as stated by Conder), in his 89th year, fourteen years after the death of his wife, with whom he had lived sixty years.

It is perhaps interesting to see that if the dates given on the memorial and the gravestone are correct, he was seven years younger than his wife and that as in 1701 when she died he had lived with her for "nigh on sixty years," he must have been only sixteen years of age when he married. It certainly was a successful union, as is shown by the inscription on the memorial.

The memorial is typical of the period, both in design and in the concise but very elaborate enumeration of the virtues of the departed.

The tablet is surmounted by the Arms and Crest of the Company of Masons.

It should be noted that Joan Kempster, his wife, who died fourteen years before her husband, was buried in the Churchyard, while Kempster himself was buried in the body of the church. This suggests to our mind that at the time of his wife's death Kempster was not in a position to bespeak a burial place within the church.

Whether Kempster's five sons, or any of them, followed their father's profession, I do not know.

### Fairford.

In Fairford Churchyard we shall see the grave of Valentine Strong, the father of six sons, all of them masons engaged in the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral under Sir Christopher Wren. It is stated that his eldest son, Thomas, actually laid the Foundation Stone of the Cathedral with his own hand, and that his brother Edward put on the Cape Stone of the Lanthorn on completion.

Edward is buried in St. Peter's Church, St. Albans; he seems to have been the most eminent of this great family and a most interesting record of his work is given by Bro. Conder on pp. 239-242 of his history of the Mason's Company.

To return to Valentine Strong, who died December 26th, 1662, the father of this illustrious family. His tombstone is an elaborate memorial of a type very general in the Cotswold country. It bears the arms of the Mason's Company, which indicate that he was a Freeman of that Company, although he does not appear to have occupied the position of Master. Bro. Conder states that he was a member of the Mason's Company of Oxford, and it should be noted that the inscription refers to him as a "Freemason."

values. The scientific exploration of life during the past hundred years has inoculated man with the idea that he is the lord of all power and might. The scientific explanation of life has tended to reduce God to a metaphor or to rule Him out as an irrelevance. Old philosophies have appeared in modern dress which encourage the pleasant heresies that man is his own saviour, that kindness and culture are the twin redeemers of the race, that Christianity is a slave-morality only fit for people with slave-mentality and human happiness lies in cutting loose from it.

A world infected with such ideas is in danger of losing what soul or sanity it has. And the danger is a call to the Christian Church for courageous and consecrated thinking, to remint the gold of the Gospel in the mould of modern thought and send it into effective circulation in the currency of modern life, to reinvest its interpretation of the Universe and God and life with new significance, and not least to preach it with new sincerity.

"One thing have I desired . . . to behold . . . beauty." You have beheld it in your pilgrimage of research. You have seen beauty at its best in the Early English style as the servant and handmaid of architecture. You have seen it in the Perpendicular style less pleasingly as the more dominating mistress of architecture. For beauty is a good servant but a bad mistress. When the cult of beauty veils the old pieties and sniggers at the old purities, when the deadly cant that 'Art has no connexion with morality' is accepted as a dogma, then comes an eruption of the sexual and the sensual which smears its lava of corruption over the finest gifts of God and the finest works of men's hands and brain. If beauty is used not as a gateway to the Temple but as the Temple itself, the chances are that the Temple will become a tomb. For beauty like knowledge is not meant to be a terminus but a thoroughfare, not a luxury of the senses but a gateway of the spirit, a porchway into the presence of the Most High.

However, I suppose that as a nation we are more blind to the need of beauty than to the peril of it. That blindness is one of our national sins. And we can see the wages of it in every city in our land and in the erysipelas of our countryside. Souls are not saved by beauty but beauty helps in the saving of souls; and we are doing Divine service if we do what we can in any way we can to redeem our land from dreariness and drabness and dirtiness and dulness by mitigating the vulgarity of our streets and the littering of our country and the squalor of our slums.

"One thing have I desired . . . to behold the beauty of the Lord." George Eliot once said that ideas are poor things till they become incarnate. Much the same may be said of ideals. They are most persuasive when they are personalised. Therefore the beauty of goodness is more than the goodness of beauty. And there is no beauty which is so desirable and so satisfying as moral and spiritual beauty manifested in a human life and making it a Temple of the Eternal. Most of all we see that in the face of Jesus Christ. His life was the master-piece of the great Artist and Architect of the Universe, built on the ground-plan of the Cross and tapering to the height of the Cross. God literally put Himself into the creation of that master-piece of beauty. "God was in Christ." By the winsomeness of His character and the wonder of His ways He commands our admiration. But He asks more. By the credentials of His Cross and Passion, lighted up by the eternal glory and beauty of self-giving, He asks for the adoration of love and the homage of loyalty. He is worthy. And always as He makes good His claim to redeem, transfigure, and inspire the life that is loyal, He answers in that life the ancient prayer:—"May the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us. Prosper Thou . . . the work."

# THE LECTURES AT THE OLD KING'S ARMS LODGE.

*BY BRO. THE REV. W. K. FIRMINGER, D.D.*

HE following extracts from the Minutes of the Old King's Arms Lodge bring together the references that they contain to Lectures delivered in the Lodge between 1733 and 1743. It is an interesting record as it shows the wide variety of subjects in which the masons of the period, at all events in this particular Lodge, were interested. The dates are O.S.

1733. Aug. 6.

B^r^. West one of our Visitants was pleased to take Notice of some evident Faults in the Cartoons of Raphael at Hampton Court and this gave Birth to much useful and entertaining Conversation which ended in B^r^. Maccolloch's promising the Society an entertainment on the Nature Structure and Force of the Muscles hoping that when this is clearly proposed the Members will draw good Use and Consequences from it, and especially it will assist the Masons to know what quantity of Power is reasonable to be expected from their eldest Son.

Monday, Sept. 3rd.

Bro. Maccoloch was so good as to perform his promise which was so well done and to the Satisfaction of all the Members present but as Bro. Clare was not present and the said Reader seemed desirous of his explaining the force wherewith the Muscles act he was unanimously desired to repeat his Lecture at next Conference when probably Bro. Clare would be present.

Monday, October 1st.

Bro. Maccoloch was so obliging as to repeat his ingenious Lecture[1] upon Muscular Motion which was received with a strict attention and with so great a Satisfaction that his Health was drunk in a Bumper and the thanks of the Society decreed him.

He was pleased to make a motion that as he had said nothing relating to the Force of the Muscles nor the Levers whereby they act which was a Province he thought the acting Master capable of explaining, this person could not refuse a thing that might delight or inform the Lodge accepted the Talks for the next Lodge night on condition that the Brethren would please to go on with the Humour and midwife unto the Lo: on these Occasions some of their own observations and B^r^. Hellot was so good as to promise that he would follow his Example on the subject of Watch making with which the Lodge seemed generally delighted.

[1] It does not appear on the Minutes that Bro. Clare was present. At this meeting "Br. Maccolloch, Br. Norton and Br. Flahalt made it their joynt Request to the Lodge, that they would be pleased in regard the Master Lodge just opening, that they might have the Favour of being admitted to that Dignity, promising on their part to do their utmost Endeavour to shew themselves not unworthy of this Favour, in consideration of the promising merits of three such Members, this was granted, and they were honoured with that Degree of the Craft, by the acting Master."

Monday, Nov. 5.

The Master acting read the Society a small Essay on the Force of the Muscles which they were pleased to receive very kindly and drank his Health with Ceremony.

Bro Smith was so good as to promise to explain something of the principles of Masonry at the next Conference save one.

Monday, Decem. 3rd.

Br. Hellot according to his promise entertained the Society with a lecture upon the History of Automata and traced the origin of the Clock and Watch work from the Dyal of Ahaz to the present Age and favour'd the Society with an acct of the Disposition and Dependence of the several parts of the Work with which the Society were entertained best part of an Hour and returned him unanimous thanks and drank to his Health with Ceremony.

He was pleased to mention Bro. Adams to advantage in his Lecture which naturally turned the eyes of the Company on him for a Lecture in Feby which he was so good as to promise on the Subject of Opticks.

1733. Monday, Jan. 7th.

Bro. Hellot gave the Society an accont of a simple Water Clock mentioned by . . . which gave the Society much satisfaction.

Monday, Feby. 4th.

Bro Smith having forgot to bring with him the Book of Constitutions[1] by him borrow'd of the Lo: Bro. Macculloch was desired by the Acting Master[2] to read a Lecture of his lying useless in the drawer.

Bro. Smith entertained the Lodge with a Lecture upon the Requisites of an Architect and laid down great and good Rules for the Election of a proper Situation in building an House or Seat to dwell in. The Society drank to his Health.

Bro. Adams entertained the Society in his place with an Essay on the way of Lecturing in this place but not having got ready the thing he proposed the Lodge joyn'd in their Request, that he would persue his Intentions on Opticks against the next Lodge night.

Bro Robt Goodchild was so good as to offer his service to read in April voluntarily, which readiness was very acceptable to the Lodge.

Monday, March 4th.

Bro. Chovet according to his promise entertained the Society with a Lecture on the Brain and Course of Circulation of the Blood and Animal Spirits through the Heart which he demonstrated by dissection to the Satisfaction of the Society who returned him thanks for his elaborate Discourse and drank to his Health with great Ceremony.

Monday, May 6.

Bro Adams was call'd upon by the Society for his ingenious Lecture which he was to exhibit in April and which it seems he had then ready but the Multiplicity of Affairs prevented the Lodge having that satisfaction. It was therefor determin'd that the next Lo: night he should be seen and heard with much regard and Attention pleasure and Satisfaction. After which Bro. Robt: Goodchild will be attended to upon any Subject with like Judgment and equal Delight.

[1] It was the practice in this Lodge to read the Constitutions or a portion of them at every meeting.

[2] Martin Clare acting for Sir Cecil Wray.

Monday, June 3rd.

Bro. Adams agreable to our last Minute: very ingenious and Amply discovered was (by ye help of a Microscope) ye living creatures in ye . . . that ye Naked Eye could not perceive; ye Skin of a Man ye Down of a Butter flyes Wing: ye proportion of a louse; but we were depriv'd of seeing ye Circulation of ye Blood: not being able to catch a Gudgeon. Also Divertingly shew'd in ye Surprising Figures by ye Magical Lanthorn.

Monday, July 1.

Bro Robt Goodchild with his natural Modesty was very loath to produce to the Society his Observations he had promised on the Woolen Manufacture but being at length prevail'd on he gave the Society a very clear and distinct Acct of the progress of the Wool from the Sheep's back to that of the Consumer with which the Society were greatly delighted and returned him Thanks and drank to his Health.

Bro Wagg generously offered to read in August on the subject of Metals, which was generally acceptable to the Society and Bro. Hayman undertook to read in Septr.

Monday, Sept. 2nd.

Bro Hayman the reader of this night being absent not being in Town as was represented to this Lodge as Bro Wagg attending with his Lecture now prepared he proposed reading this night in his stead, which on this Exigence was accepted and the subject being as promised on Metals he entered on the process of making Iron from the Stone to rendering it malleable and fit for Service in a very intelligible and good Manner, the performance however on Acct of his late Indisposition was abbreviated, and he quitted his subject with the conversion of it into Steel. It was however so acceptable to the Society that they unanimously drank to his Health with thanks.

Monday, Oct. 7th.

Bro Waring favoured the Society with a sight of several Impressions of Figures and Plants and Flowers taken off with a very great skill and Exactness in plaister with which the Members were very greatly delighted and returned him their thanks.

Bro Clare then entertained the Society with a Lecture on Military Architecture which he deduced from its origin and then proceeded to show its present state which he illustrated by a Model which he exhibited for that purpose which the Society were pleased to accept.

Monday, Nov. 4.

Bro Norton was cited to come forth and appear with his promised Lecture but neither he nor his Bail appearing he was non suited in form but by the Lenity of the Court he was indulged in one Court day more to appear in as Bro. Smith for fear of disappointment provided a Lecture on Civil Architecture which he delivered to the general satisfaction of the Society and they unanimously drank to his health.

Monday, Decem. 2nd.

Bro Hayman appeared not with his Lecture not that he had forgot as he told a Brother his Engagement to this Society any further than to do nothing toward it.

Bro Adams proposed this question whether it is possible that a Malefactor who is shot do death may be sensible of the Report of ye piece that occasioned his loss of life, it was determined in the affirmation unless

the medulla oblongata where the nerves of the whole system centre, be torn to pieces by the ball.

Another point was started by another Member whether a Bullet fired from the Muzzle of the piece will do greater Execution at leaving the Muzzle or at its descent in the same level. It was determined in the Affirmative to be equal nearly.

1735. Monday, April 7th.

. . . Br West proceeded to give the Lodge an excellent Discourse on the Rise and Progress of Architecture in Britain to which the Lodge paid every attention and they drank to his health with many Thanks.

Monday, August 4th.

Bro Wagg being present entertained the Society with an Acct of the digging of the Ironstone and the process of working it into the Metal and the Usage it meets with till it becomes a Barr of Iron. He entered into the Manner of making 2 Bars into 1 by a Welding Heat, and by other kinds of heat and by Smiths. The nature and properties of the various kinds of Steel came under Mention but the manner of hardening them and other curious practices he deferred the consideration of to another opportunity. The Lodge was greatly entertained by this practical discourse and the Master proposed and drank to his Health.

Bro Wagg made a decent apology for his not appearing with his Lecture in July as he had intended which was not only acceptable to the Brethren but a very good pattern for succeeding Defaulters in the kind.

Bro Clare undertook to read in October next.

Monday, Oct. 6th.

The penalty of a bottle of wine to be paid by any Bro who should fail of his Lecture to the Society was considered a second time and it was passed Nem. contrnd. that such Defaulter should give the Members a Bottle of Wine the first time of his Appearance in the Lodge after such neglect. He is nevertheless to be excused in Case he send his Lecture to be read by some one of the Members before the Lodge ought to be closed.[1]

Bro Clare according to his Promise in August last entertained the Society with a small Dissertation on Magnetism and the manner it is communicated to other Bodies capable of receiving it. He also supported it by Experiments. With this the Lodge and Visitors seemed to be very well pleased and they drank to his Health and Thanks with Ceremony. He offered to pursue the Subject at the next meeting and Bro. Dr. Grieme was so good as to promise the Society the same Favour this first meeting in Novembr.

Monday, Oct. 20th.

Bro Clare entertained the Society with the Sequel of his Lecture upon Magnetism with which the Confraternity seemed be well entertained and returned him with their thanks and drank to his Health.

Monday, Nov. 17th, 1735.

Bro. Dr. Grieme entertained the Society with the Beginning of a Dissertation on a very curious subject that of Fermentation wherein he showed that all various and intoxicating Liquors were only to be found in the Vegetable Kingdom he pointed out which those were and was so good

[1] The Minutes for March 3rd, 1734, show:—"Bro Grieme visited this Lodge and paid in his half Guinea to Bro Clare for his second admission and took his Place and Clothing in the Lodge according to the Statutes."

as to promise to resume and proceed in this Subject this day month, his Health was drunk to with a very particular Regard and many thanks for the Trouble himself had taken and the Delight he had given the Society.

Monday, Decemr. 15th.

Bro. Dr. Grieme entertained the Society with the Continuation of his ingenious Lecture on Fermentation in which he proceeded to the great Entertainment of this Society and what heightened the Favour was the promise to go on still in it this day month his Health was gratefully drunk to with great applause.

1736. Monday, Feby. 2nd.

Bro Grieme being prepared with his Lecture was pleased to entertain the Society with the Continuation of his Excellent Subject the Fermentation of intoxicating Liquors with which the Society were as heretofore greatly delighted and drank to his Health with great Respect and Satisfaction and gave him many Thanks for his Entertaining Lecture and pray the Continuance of it at the next Conference which he was pleased to promise very frankly.

Monday, Nov. 15.

Bro. Dr. Grieme according to the desire of the Master pursued the agreeable Subject of Fermentation which he had spoken of in 3 Lectures before in this place with general satisfaction. In the present Discourse he went through the Affair of Distillation the Lodge seemed very attentive and drank to His Health with great Ceremony Gratitude and Respect.

1737. Monday, Feby. 7th.

Bro. Curson entertained the Society according to his promise this Evening with a Discourse upon the Beauty of Truth which he illustrated in a very agreable Manner and with which the Fraternity seemed very much delighted and accordingly drank a hearty Glass of Thanks to him for his instructive Lecture.

1737. Monday, Feb. 21st.

Our Bro Dr. Grieme J.G.W. at the unanimous request of the Brethren present gave an Apposite Extempore Acct of ye fixed Jewels belonging to the Craft which he was so good to comply with in such a manner as gave a general Satisfaction to all present.

Monday, April 4.

Bro Doight was pleased to entertain the Society with some thoughts on the Circumstances of the Museums (*sic*) Obln, which were received by the Society with great Attention and Regard and his Health was proposed and drunk to with a very great Unanimity and Regard with a great many Thanks for his Endeavours to restore the probable practises of Antiquity in the Matter before said.

Monday, Sept. 5th.

Our Bro Dr. Hody entertained the Society with a Dissertation on Friendship in general and shewed how pathetically of how little Significancy Life was without a Friend and also emphatically pointed out and described the Requisites in a true Friend. The Society applauded his Performance short as it was scarce 8 Minutes Reading. But as he had been employed in taking Care of the Health of the Brotherhood in this Sickly Season and called Vouchers to this Matter his Excuse was allowed of on condition that this be not hereafter drawn into precedent.

Monday, Novr. 7.

Bro. Robertson was so good as to entertain the Society with a Lecture on Some of the Principles of Geometry which conduce in particular to the Practice of Masonry to which the Society paid great attention.

Monday, Decem. 5th.

Bro Gascoigne appeared and after decent Apology entertained the Society with a Discourse upon Chearfulness, and the proper motives to and the Assistances that conduce to it. He was very grave himself but gave very great joy and Satisfaction to his Auditors.

1738 (?). Monday, March ye 6th.

Our Bro Sir Robt Lawley, S.G.W. was so good as to give us a most excellent Lecture on Honesty.

Monday, Sept. 4th.

Bro Lens according to promise this night entertained the Society with a very agreeable Lecture [on Painting].

1739. March 5th.

Bro Robertson entertained the Brethren with an agreeable Lecture, extemporary on Astomony.

Monday, April 2, 1739.

Our Bro Hody made good his promise to the Lodge in giving us a very agreeable and Instructive Lecture on the Social Virtues of Good-Fellowship.

1740. January 7.

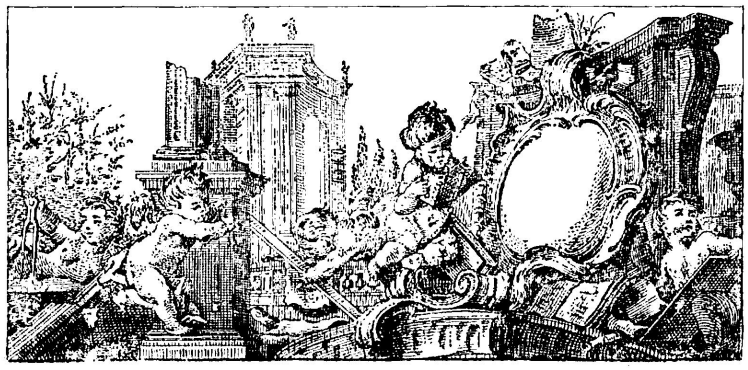
The Lodge this Evening extraordinarily entertained with a Lecture on the proportion and harmony of Architecture and Masonry by Bro. Burton who did us ye Honour of a Visit.

1741. Wednesday, August 5th.

Bro Clare's D.J.'s Lecture upon Good Behaviour was read by our R$^{t}$.W.M.

1743. January 4th.

Sir Robert Lawley was so good as to entertain the Lodge with a usefull and instructive Lecture on the properties of the Compass.



# REVIEW.

## THE "YORKSHIRE" OLD CHARGES OF MASONS.

*By Bros. Poole and Worts.* 1935.

*Published by the Leeds Installed Masters' Association.* 15/-.

BRO. Poole is well-known to us all as our foremost expert on the Old Charges, to which he has devoted many years of study. Bro. Worts has recently come before us, in a paper printed in *A.Q.C.*, xlv., as an advocate for their more intensive study. In that paper he stressed the absolute necessity of having accurate transcripts, if *facsimiles* were not procurable, and pointed out how very faulty much of the work done by previous students had been. The Leeds Installed Masters' Association having decided to publish, in a single volume, transcripts of all the MSS. in the two Yorkshire Provinces, could not have entrusted this difficult task to better hands. There are eighteen of these documents, or, if we include the *Scarborough* MS. now with the G.L. of Canada, and the *Boyden* MS. which is now in Washington, D.C., although it was obtained in the county, twenty. We here have them all brought together, and we also have full notes on the versions used by Hargrove and Drake, of which we know nothing however beyond what those authors gave us by way of extracts. The editors have also given us brief notes on three other texts of Yorkshire origin, but which are not now in the county; the *Buchanan* (G.L. Library), the *Levander-York* (Port Sunlight), and the *Foxcroft* (G.L. Library). They also give us a brief account of the mysterious *Krause* MS. and the two missing MSS., *Wilson* and *York 3*. At the end of the book are photographic *facsimiles* of the two *Colne* MSS. which are necessary to enable us to complete the text of the *Clapham* MS., but actually they belong to Lancashire. Bro. Worts has written the first chapter which summarises the history of the Old Charges generally, and to him has fallen the most laborious part of the work, the business of making the actual transcripts. Over this tedious task he has taken immense pains, and really only those who have tried to do work of a similar nature can realise its difficulties. Bro. Poole writes the second and third chapters which explain the system on which these documents have been classified and their descent, and include a part of the text so printed that any individual text can at once be assigned to its correct place in the scheme by comparison with it. An Appendix gives a complete list of all known versions with their present location. Each transcript is preceded by a history and description of the text, and textual notes contributed by Bro. Poole, and in almost every case there is a photograph of some part of the actual document.

It will be seen therefore that we have here a very important collection of material for the study of the subject; between them the various documents now brought together represent every Family from the *Plot* onwards, except the *Spencer*, and almost every Branch in those Families. The editors in their Preface give instances of errors by previous transcribers, but as they point out, these are due very often to the fact that these brethren were less concerned with script forms than with the content. But an error such as that of reading "one mile" for the "1 miles" (*i.e.*, fifty miles) of the *York No. 1* was a serious matter. The editors draw attention to it at

p. 110, but they do not mention that Hughan had already pointed it out at p. 70 of his *Old Charges* (1895).

They explain their own position with regard to capital letters, punctuation, and so on, and they have set themselves to give us the best reproduction that is possible within the resources of ordinary typography. But abbreviation signs are generally ignored by them, the abbreviations not being expanded however. This is presumably due to typographical difficulties, but in some transcripts, *e.g.*, *York No. 1* and *York No. 6*, these signs are indicated. It would therefore have been possible to indicate them generally and this would have had the advantage of consistency.

Their own accuracy could only be tested completely by consulting all the originals, which is clearly impracticable. But in two cases, *William Watson* and *Scarborough*, we have the *Q.C.A. facsimiles* to work on, and the result is somewhat disappointing, in view of the very high standard of precision that the editors themselves have set us.

Taking the *William Watson* first, on p. 49 the editors note that Hughan read as *soundrie* a word that they themselves transcribe as *ferreine*. It was read by Speth in *Q.C.A.* as *forreine*, and this is undoubtedly the correct reading. On p. 50 they have, fifteen lines down, *chronicble*. But the word is certainly *chronickle*. The *k* is a most peculiar letter of which there is another instance two lines further on in *makeing*. The *b* is quite different; the word *Bible* shows it quite clearly in the next line. Again they put the mysterious words *bargarie ware* as *bargarie war*, without a final *e*. But the letter is plain. The final *r* by itself is different, and another instance of *re* final occurs in the same line. The last words of the First Charge they give as "or discreaton wise mens teaching". The text runs "discreat or wise mens" all into one; the scribe wrote them without lifting his pen. It would be pedantry to reproduce this. But the words undoubtedly are "or discreat or" as Speth has it, and there is no good reason for introducing the meaningless "discreaton". On p. 14 there occurs a transcript of four lines of this same text, which is not free from error. In particular the word "King" has dropped out; there is also a superfluous "and".

In the *Scarborough* MS. there is one corrupt passage which the scribe has written "he that shall be bound and made mason be andable ouer shires". The editors have made two words of "andable", thus further confusing the matter. On the same page they have *ungodlie* for *ungodly*, *slandered* for *slandred*, and, three lines from the bottom, *mould stones* for *mold stones*. This MS. also gives us a useful instance of a cause of error against which Bro. Worts warned us in his paper in *A.Q.C.*, xlv., the photograph that has been unskilfully touched up. The third line of the text ends with the word "Worshipfull", and to fill up the line the scribe put in a little flourish, something like a figure 4. There are over forty of these things in this particular manuscript, sometimes two together. In the photograph given in the present work of the commencement of the text, this particular flourish, the first to occur, appears as "of", and it has been so transcribed, and of course the word does not make sense. But the *Q.C.A. facsimile* clearly shows the true state of affairs. The photograph also reproduces what is really a very incorrect sketch of the coat of arms at the head of the manuscript. It seems a pity that the editors did not avail themselves of the *Q.C.A. facsimile* and give us a correct reproduction of the original. They do not in any way indicate that their Plate is so faulty.

On p. 10 they have a note that the date, 1583, of the *Grand Lodge No. 1* MS. is suspect; it may be 1543. This refers to a suggestion that had been made while the work was in the press, based on the circumstance that the third figure of this date was of an unusual form, very similar to the 4 in use at an

earlier date. But the authorities at the Public Record Office, to whom the original was submitted for examination, have now unhesitatingly confirmed the reading 1583.

On p. 19 Bro. Worts speaks of Anderson's famous book *The History, Charges, Regulations and Masters Song*, published in 1723. He tells us that it came out in a second edition in 1738 with a simpler title *The Book of Constitutions*. Both of these titles are incorrect, the former wildly so. In fact, the title of the 1738 edition of Anderson is longer than that of the 1723. Blunders like this are much to be regretted in a work of this character.

When discussing the celebrated reading "hee or shee" in *York No. 4*, the editors seem to differ in their views. Bro. Poole, adopting the usual view, explains it simply as a mistranslation of an original "ille vel illi." But Bro. Worts says that it apparently allows women to be initiated, and points out that the writer wrote "she" deliberately. A second *e* has been added, he says, "doubtless by a later hand", because he sees in it a difference in form. But the difference is very slight and it is at least as likely that Mark Kipling himself corrected his spelling when going over his work. He had written *hee*; he was only being consistent if he corrected his *she* into *shee*.

When discussing the quotation from "an old record preserved in our Lodge" in Drake's Speech, which ranks as the *Drake* Version, the editors quote a record of Sir William Milner, which says: "On St John Bapt. Day 1728 at York he was elected Grand Master of the Free Masons in England being the 798 Successor from Edwin the Great". They go on to speak of the suggestion that a Roll of Grand Masters from Edwin's time existed in York in 1728-9, Edwin here being Edwin of York. In the first place, the quotation has no suggestion of any Roll. If there was a Grand Master Edwin, and if there was an unbroken succession of Grand Masters since his day, naturally in 1728 Milner was the 798th. But 798 subtracted from 1728 brings us to 930, which is Anderson's date for Edwin, the son or brother of Athelstan, so that the allusion is to him and not to Edwin of York. But he was certainly never Edwin the Great, and I do not know that Edwin of York was either. They also have thought it necessary to put on record the alleged Charter granted by Athelstan in 926, which has been claimed for York. Some unnamed person told someone else in 1869 that he had seen it. But the two claims are mutually destructive. If we are to accept Edwin of York as Grand Master, following Drake, then there is no occasion for a Charter obtained from Athelstan by his Edwin. It is the fact, as pointed out by Bro. Dring in *A.Q.C.*, xxii., that there are Charters in existence signed by both Athelstan and Edwin. Indeed, Athelstan granted a levy of corn from all lands in the diocese to the Colidei at York in 936. (Gould, i., 53.) Possibly this document was still extant in 1869. But it is not the Charter of the later versions of the Old Charges.

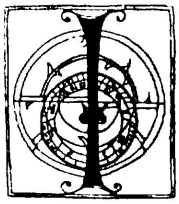
As Bro. Dring pointed out, we can trace the development of the Charter legend quite clearly. In the *Book of Charges* Athelstan gives a rule; there is no mention of a son or a charter. In the *Regius* we are told that in Athelstan's day the masons drew up their own regulations; it also speaks of the statutes ordained by Athelstan. The *Cooke* tells us that Athelstan's youngest son was a master of "speculatif", and he purchased a free patent of the king, authorising the assembly. It is only when we get to the *Henerey Heade* and *William Watson*, representing a text of about 1450, that we get Edwin, the son of Athelstan, and a free Charter which gave the masons the right to manage their own affairs. Edwin accordingly convened an Assembly at York, and this is also the first appearance of York in the MSS. But that the Charter was granted at York, or for the exclusive benefit of York masons, is nowhere stated.

The editors say that the questions raised by the Edwin tradition have not yet been satisfactorily settled. But this is merely a concession to local patriotism. Edwin of York as a Grand Master is the invention of Drake. Edwin the son or brother of Athelstan has been dealt with by Bro. Dring in the paper in *A.Q.C.*, xxii., already referred to, and he has left little more to be said. That in Athelstan's time building regulations were enacted is likely enough. But a charter implies an organised fraternity or gild, and for that it is vain to look at so early a period.

But these after all are minor considerations. We may not be prepared to follow the editors in some of their suggestions; we may wish we could be more certain of the accuracy of their work generally. But the fact remains that they have rendered all students a great service in bringing together in a compact form a complete statement of the versions of the Old Charges in the Yorkshire Provinces, together with a really valuable body of information on the subject generally. The book will be an indispensable work of reference.

LIONEL VIBERT.

## OBITUARY.



T is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**James Howarth Begg,** of Seattle, Wash., on 18th June, 1932, in his 68th year. Our Brother had held the office of Grand Master, and was Grand Lecturer at the time of his death. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1922.

**William Briggs,** LL.D., D.C.L., of Cambridge, on 19th June, 1932. Bro. Briggs held the rank of Past Grand Treasurer (Craft and R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1906.

**Donald Charles Cameron,** of Dunedin, N.Z., on 7th May, 1932, in his 83rd year. Our Brother was a member of Otago Lodge No. 7, and for fifteen years was the Local Secretary for his district.

**John Edwin Clark,** of Cheam, Surrey, on 17th April, 1932. Bro. Clark was a member of the Earl of Zetland Lodge No. 1364, and of the Sutton Chapter No. 410. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in 1928.

**Sydney Emanuel de Haas,** of London, N.W., on 24th June, 1932. Our Brother was a member of St. Leonard Lodge No. 1766, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1917.

**Robert A. Dickson,** of London, on the 19th April, 1932. Bro. Dickson held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C., and P.Pr.G.So. (Essex). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

**William John Dyer,** of Brighton, on 8th March, 1932. Our Brother had held office as G.Stew., and was a P.Z. of Montague Guest Chapter No. 1900. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1903.

**William Emmerson,** of London, in 1932. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1926.

**William Joseph Evans,** of Eastbourne, in 1932. Bro. Evans had held the office of Dis.G.W. (Madras), and was P.Z. of Goodwill Chapter No. 465. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1905.

**Woodfield Fitz-Henry,** of Myrtle, Manitoba, in 1932. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 135. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

Major **Sydney Hugh Jackson,** of Louth, on 27th April, 1932. Bro. Jackson was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1926.

**Thomas Jones,** of London, E., on the 7th April, 1932, at the age of 83 years. Our Brother held L.R., and was P.M. of Lodge of Loyalty No. 1607 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1890.

**David A. Kennedy,** of New York, on 23rd June, 1932. Bro. Kennedy was a member of Lodge No. 972, and P.K. of Chapter No. 302. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1919.

**Walter McCulloch Kerr,** of Edinburgh, on 29th June, 1932. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 349, and P.Z. of Chapter No. 1. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

**Albert Neilson,** of London, N., on the 18th April, 1932. Bro. Neilson was a member of Royal George Lodge No. 3539, and P.So. of Vane Chapter No. 538. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1919.

**Frederick Grove Palmer,** of London, N., on the 10th June, 1931. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.S.B. (Japan), and was a member of O Tentosama Chapter No. 1263. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1914.

**Edwin Parry,** of Cleeve Hill, Glos., in February, 1932. Bro. Parry held the rank of P.Pr.G.R. (Worcester). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1906.

Rev. **Henry Guy Sclater,** of Argyll, suddenly on 29th May, 1932. Our Brother had held the office for many years of Pr.G.Ch. (Craft and R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

**Edward Reginald Taylor,** of Sidcup, Kent, on 14th May, 1932. Bro. Taylor was a member of Oak Lodge No. 190, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1900.

**Arthur Thewlis,** F.A.I.S., of Melbourne, on 22nd April, 1932. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Warden, and was P.Z. of Chapter No. 8. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1917, and was for many years our Local Secretary for the State of Victoria.

**Kenneth Roberts Thomson,** of Burnham, Somerset, on 17th June, 1932. Bro. Thomson was a member of the Rural Philanthropic Lodge No. 291, and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1914.

**Edward Henry Watts,** of Sidcup, Kent, on 25th April, 1932. Our Brother was a member of Isca Lodge No. 683, and of Manchester Chapter No. 179. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1914.

**Andrew Ellis Wynter,** M.D., of Bristol, on 7th May, 1932. Bro. Wynter was a member of South Norwood Lodge No. 1139, and of St. James's Union Chapter No. 180. He was also a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1898.

# 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 XLV. PART 3.**

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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.

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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.

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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 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 3,000 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, 7th OCTOBER, 1932.

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HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Williams, W.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch.; 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.; Douglas Knoop, J.D.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., I.G.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C.; and W. Ivor Grantham.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. J. White, W. Young Hucks, G. Townson, J. F. Tarrant, James Wallis, W. Barrett, C. H. Boag, A. Saywell, H. F. Mawbey, Ed. B. Holmes, Fred. J. Mote, T. A. R. Littledale, D. C. Rennie, A. H. Crouch, Eric Alven, E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D., H. F. Strainford, L. G. Wearing, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., Geo. C. Williams, A. Norman Gutteridge, Rev. J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., Lambert Peterson, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, S. Huskisson, A. F. Ford, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.Pt., R. Matthews, P. E. Beavis, F. L. Morfee Walsh, John I. Moar, F. W. Mead, G. D. Hindley, G. W. South, S. Hazeldine, E. J. Marsh, A. N. Foster, W. Brinkworth, E. Eyles, G. Pear, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., H. Johnson, Geo. Ness, W. H. M. Smeaton, J. F. H. Gilbard, W. T. J. Gun, A. E. Gurney, Wm. Smalley, and T. H. Carter.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. P. Mullin, Pioneer Lodge No. 1305 (S.C.); the Bishop of Gibraltar, P.M., Old Harrovian Lodge No. 4653; H. W. Matthews, Clapton Lodge No. 1365; G. F. Gayford, P.M., Tivoli Lodge No. 2150; Rev. A. T. Holden, P.G.M., Victoria; J. L. S. Wright, Anglo-Overseas Lodge No. 486; and A. E. Hunwick, P.M., Rock Lodge No. 260.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; B. Telepneff; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.D., Warwicks.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; and John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.

Bro. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., 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. G. Hook was elected as Tyler.

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Three Lodges and Thirty-two Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Oakley: *The Magazine of Architecture, Perspective and Sculpture*, 1731. Plates engraved by Benjamin Cole. Bound up with it is another work: *The Principles of Ancient Masonry or a General System of Building compleated.* It is announced as being in ten parts, but only the first two are here. There is no author's name; it is stated to be written "By a society of the most experienced practitioners in Building and the several Branches of Learning relating thereto." London 1733.

Otis Paine: *Solomon's Temple and the Holy House.*

Ashmole: *Memoirs*, edn. 1717.

*Constitutions*; 1767 with the 1776 Appendix.

*Constitutions*; the 1815/1819 edition.

*Regius Poem.* One of the six copies of the *facsimile* issued by the Lodge on vellum.

A Drinking Glass; flute, half-yard. Engraved with Masonic devices; date probably early nineteenth century.

All the above being from the Bequest to the Lodge by the late Bro. J. T. Thorp.

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Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP read the following paper:—

# THE EVOLUTION OF MASONIC ORGANISATION.

## BEING A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE OLD CHARGES AND OF THE EARLIER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO OPERATIVE MASONRY.

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

HE various MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* (commonly called the 'Old Charges') consist of a body of regulations, *i.e.*, the Charges properly speaking, prefaced by a legendary account of the origin of the building industry and the supposed manner in which the regulations came into being. Since the days of Hughan and Begemann the recognised practice in studying the MS. Constitutions has been to classify them into groups, families, or branches, according to textual similarities or differences, to examine the various forms of the legend and to discuss the uses to which they may have been put. Our purpose is to take a different and independent line of inquiry: leaving on one side almost entirely the legend and also the form, language and orthography of the texts, we concentrate our attention on the Articles, Points, Charges General and Charges Singular, and attempt to obtain pictures of the stone-building industry and of its regulation and organisation at different periods. These pictures we check, so far as possible, by means of contemporary evidence from other sources.

### ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE *REGIUS* AND *COOKE* MSS.

Before examining the Old Charges with these objects in mind, it is necessary to consider the origin, character and authenticity of the regulations embodied in the MS. Constitutions, so as to re-assure ourselves as far as possible that any pictures of the industry which we may obtain shall not be as fictitious and unreal as the 'history' of masonry based on the legendary matter of the Constitutions. The oldest known versions of the Constitutions are the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., the former being in verse, the latter in prose. It has been suggested that the *Regius* Poem may have been connected in origin with the government inquiry into gilds made in 1389.[1] Its form lends some support to such a view. The returns made from gilds normally contained (i.) a citation of gild charters, if any, and a statement as to the date and circumstances of the gild's foundation, (ii.) gild ordinances or constitutions, and (iii.) particulars as to gild possessions, if any. The *Regius* Poem is on this model, the legendary matter about King Athelstan corresponding to (i.) and the Articles and Points to (ii.); the third element is wanting. It is quite clear, apart altogether from the metrical form, that the *Regius* Poem would not be adequate as a return to the government inquiry, but it might have been an attempt to equip the masons with something like the apparatus possessed by associations which could make adequate returns.

[1] See, *e.g.*, Poole, *Old Charges*, pp. 19 and 20.

The use of the terms *article* and *point* in itself is not extraordinary: both are found in gild regulations of this period.[1] But the distinction between *article* and *point*—not, as might perhaps have been expected, a logical distinction between the inclusive (article) and the included (point)—made in the *Regius* Poem is not usual, if indeed it occurs, with the scribes or composers of gild regulations, for whom point and article are synonyms.[2] The numbering of all the articles and points is also rather unusual. Gild regulations, as a rule, number the first ordinance, or whatever it may be called, and introduce the others with a conjunction, 'and,' 'also,' 'moreover,' or the like; though in one instance at least, *viz.*, the rules of a Cambridge gild of 1431, each statute is headed with an ordinal number and summary in Latin.[3]

It would be unsafe to lay any very great stress on such details as these, but, as far as they go, they suggest for the *Regius* Poem a date some little time later than 1389. The inquiry of that year would be likely to disseminate a notion of what was desirable and necessary for a craft association to possess in the way of credentials. Assuming that the *Regius* Poem was an attempt to supply something of the kind, we may reasonably suppose that its author had some familiarity with gild regulations, but chose a more orderly and elaborate plan than that commonly found at the period. This elaboration is perhaps indicative of lateness, and the gap in time between the *Regius* Poem and the *Cooke* MS. may not have been so great as is usually supposed.

These considerations, it should be noted, apply to the *form* of the *Regius* Poem, and the dating of the form is a problem quite separate from the dating of the *matter* of the Articles and Points, which may well have existed in some form or other even for centuries before the scribes of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. set down their versions. So far as we can tell, the author of the *Regius* Poem—if there was indeed a single and determinate author—does not appear to have taken his Articles and Points bodily from any Masons' Gild Ordinances. They certainly bear no very close, let alone verbal, resemblances to the London Regulations for the Trade of Masons of 1356,[4] or the York Minster Masons' Ordinances of 1370,[5] and they are quite different in character from those of the Masons' Gild at Lincoln, as set out in the return made to the government inquiry of 1389.[6]. This is obviously purely negative evidence; they may have been closely based upon, if not actually taken bodily from, various contemporary masons' gild ordinances with which we are not acquainted. We venture to think, however, that this is very unlikely, and that they do not bear the stamp of gild ordinances at all. In support of this assertion we would urge that the following features which characterise gild ordinances—including those of the London Masons of 1481[7]—are entirely missing from the Articles and Points:—

(i.) Provision for the appointment of wardens or other officers to administer the affairs of the gild. This would apply to a social or religious gild, as well as to a craft gild.

(ii.) An indication that the regulations had the approval of the Crown or Municipality or other Authority, so that the necessary powers might be secured to enforce craft ordinances.

(iii.) Powers of search for false work.

(iv.) Penalties for breach of ordinances.

[1] "These ben the poyntes and the articles ordeigned——" Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, p. 9, *cf.* p. 6.
[2] *Cf.* Ducange, *Dict. Med. et Inf. Lat.* s.v. *punctus*, *punctum*, *articulus*.
[3] Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, pp. 274, *folg.*
[4] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 280.
[5] *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (*Surtees Society*, vol. 35), p. 181.
[6] Printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii., pp. 64-7.
[7] *Cal. Letter Book L.*, pp. 183, 184. Printed in full in Knoop and Jones, *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 251 *folg.*

In three cases the omission from the Charges of any provision for choosing wardens and of any penalties for breaches of the regulations is met by the adoption of 'Orders' providing for the election of wardens and fixing the various fines to be imposed, which goes to show that the regulations embodied in the Constitutions were practical rules and not merely imaginary precepts invented by the author(s) of the MSS. It has to be noted, however, that in each case the 'Orders' were adopted by a "Company and Fellowship of Freemasons," whose relationship to the local Lodge is not very clear. Perhaps it was something like the relationship which Murray Lyon states existed between the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel and the Lodge of Mary's Chapel at Edinburgh.[1] The places with which these 'Orders' are associated are Alnwick,[2] Gateshead,[3] and either Wakefield,[4] or some other town where the *Taylor* version of the MS. Constitutions was used. It will suffice for our present purpose if we draw attention to the *Alnwick* 'Orders.' At the commencement of the Minute Book of the Alnwick Lodge there is a version of the Masons' Constitutions, which is immediately followed by "Orders to be observed by the Company and Fellowship of Freemasons at a Lodge held at Alnwick September 29, 1701." These 'Orders' provide for the election of wardens and the punishment of certain offences, but (unlike craft ordinances), they rested not on the sanction of the municipality, but on the promise of the members to observe them. Whilst some of the Orders relate to injunctions contained in the Charges General or Charges Singular, and impose fines for their breach, others supplement the Charges. It may be noted, however, that the wording of the corresponding Charges and Orders is never identical; the 'Orders' were probably drafted with the 'Charges' in mind, but did not follow the wording. Thus the Charge runs:—

> Alsoe that noe ffellow within the Lodge nor without misanswer another neither ungodly or irreverently———

and Order No. 8 is as follows:—

> That noe Mason shall thou his ffellow or give him the Lye—or give him any other name in the place of meeting then Brother or ffellow—for every such offence shall pay 0. 0. 6d

Again, the Charge reads:—

> Alsoe that noe Master or ffellows supplant others of these works———

and Order No. 4 states:—

> That noe Mason shall take any work that any of his ffellows is in hand with all [to] pay for every such offence the sum of £1. 6s. 8d.

The scale of the penalties gives some indication of the 'craft' importance attached to the different charges. Thus failure to attend the assembly without reasonable cause—6s. 8d.; failure to keep the secrets of the Lodge or Chamber—£1. 6s. 8d.; taking any work by task or by day other than the King's work but that at least he shall make three or four of his fellows acquainted therewith—£3. 6s. 8d.; setting a rough layer to work in the Lodge—£3. 13s. 4d.

[1] According to Murray Lyon (*History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 2nd edition, p. 42) the Lodge was an auxiliary of the Masons' section of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel. The Deacon, or head of the masons in their incorporate capacity, was in reality also the *ex-officio* head of the Lodge.

[2] See Reproduction and Transcript of the Alnwick MS. (Newcastle College of Rosicrucians), 1895, and W. H. Rylands, *The Alnwick Lodge Minutes*, in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiv., pp. 4 *et seq.*

[3] See A. F. A. Woodford, *Masonic Magazine*, August and September, 1875, and W. J. Hughan in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxi., p. 213.

[4] Printed with preface by Wm. Watson and Commentary by W. J. Hughan in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxi., pp. 214-217.

## MASONS' 'CUSTOMS.'

If our view is correct that the Articles and Points of the *Regius* MS. were not based on contemporary ordinances or regulations of masons' gilds, the alternatives would appear to be either that the Articles and Points were "fabricated by learned men", like the legendary matter of the Constitutions,[1] or that the Articles and Points had some existing, if unwritten, masons' 'customs' as a basis. So far as fabrication is concerned, the Articles and Points make a very different impression from that made by the legendary matter; one cannot help being struck by the intimate knowledge shown in the Articles and Points of the problems of the industry, *e.g.*, the inclusion of such questions as the wages of the master's apprentice and the mobility of labour, which could occur in practically no other contemporary industry, and the exclusion of such questions as an apprentice taking up his freedom at the end of his term, and restrictions regarding residence, which might arise in almost any trade except that of masons.

The only definite evidence we have of the existence of masons' 'customs' independently of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. occurs in 1539 in connection with the erection of Sandgate Castle. In the fifth month of the Building Account [August, 1539] we find under the head of expense of William Baker [jurat of Folkestone] for certain business concerning the King's great works at Sandgate:—

> Item, ij times Rydyng to the Downes to have certayn communicacion with master countroller there concernyng th[e] use and custome of ffre masons and hard hewars, ijs.[2]

We suggest that "the use and custome of ffre masons and hard hewars" existed long before 1539 and that they served as a basis for the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. In this connection, we may be permitted to refer to a little-known instance of the existence of ancient customs in another craft, *viz.*, that of the lead miners. These, though no very early written version appears to be known, existed before 16 Ed. I. (1288), in which year the Sheriff of Derby was directed by writ to assist in finding out what they were, and the return of the writ gives the customs as they were then claimed.[3] Numerous later versions are known, and in 1653 the customs were "composed in meeter by Edward Manlove."[4] In this instance, it will be observed that the metrical version is comparatively late, and it may be that such was also the case with the masons, *i.e.*, that the pre-1390 form of the Articles and Points was in prose. We think it just possible, however, that it was in verse, not for art's sake, but for convenience. If, as is likely, the majority of masons in the period of extensive building were migratory, and moved about as our investigations seem to show, and that individually rather than in organised groups, it is not very probable

[1] Begemann, *A.Q.C.*, vol. v., p. 38. The learned German investigator does not mean that the legend was invented by the author of the *Regius* poem, but that it was compiled from sources which might then be regarded as authoritative though they cannot now be recognised as giving a historically correct account of the craft or the industry. In view of the great antiquity of Masonic legends these traditions deserve the most careful study, but such a study is outside the scope of this paper, which is concerned with the development of organisation and not of tradition.

[2] Brit. Mus. *Harleian* MS. 1647, fo. 109. Of what elements such 'use and custom' were composed, and how they originated, we do not know. They might have arisen by a generalising of agreements or practices at particular buildings or in regard to particular points, *e.g.*, holidays. The accounts for work done at Nottingham Castle in 1348 (P.R.O., *Exch. K.R.* 544/35), *e.g.*, state that, according to old custom (*ex antiqua consuetudine*) one feast day in the week does not count towards wages. It must indeed be admitted that the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. show no trace of this particular *antiqua consuetudo*; actually the *Regius* MS. (Point ii.) requires a mason to work truly upon a work-day, that he may deserve his hire for the holiday, which clearly implies payment of wages for holidays.

[3] *The Liberties and Customes of the Miners*, 1645, pp. 1-3.

[4] His version is printed by T. Tapping in Eng. Dialect Soc. Reprinted Glossaries, Series B. N. VIII., 1874. For earlier versions, see *The Liberties and Customes of the Miners*, 1645.

that the rules of the craft would be carried about in writing, but quite conceivable that they would be orally transmitted. In these circumstances, the metrical form might have value as a mnemotechnic device, comparable to the rhymes by which medical students remembered part of their art, or the stanza by means of which children to-day remember the number of days in each month.

The preservation of the lead miners' Laws and Customs from generation to generation was no doubt largely due to the holding of two great courts every year, in addition to the Barmaster's court every three weeks, in which the customs were administered. It is to be doubted whether the masons had anything comparable to the great court, and practically certain that they had nothing comparable to the three-weeks court, which made of the miners an association to be compared rather to a borough or a manor than to a gild. The great court, an institution similar to that which tin miners called their parliament, was also different, in some important respects, from the normal annual meeting of a gild. Whether it resembled the 'assembly' of the *Regius* Poem we may consider later when dealing especially with that term.

If, as we believe, the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. were based on the Masons' 'customs,' the problem still remains as to whether the 'customs' were the original version, which might be quite archaic by 1390, or whether they were a revised version incorporating any new usages which might have crept in in the course of time. We take the view that they were based on a revised version of the 'customs' (unless the authors of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. modernised and embellished the 'customs' before setting down the Articles and Points). On the assumption that the masons' 'customs' existed at least as early as the twelfth century, a great period of ecclesiastical building in this country, it is almost inconceivable that the original version of the 'customs' should have contained any reference to apprenticeship, let alone detailed rules for a seven years' apprenticeship. The first mention of apprenticeship in London appears to be in certain statutes of the City dating about 1230; steps, however, were not taken to enforce enrolment until 1300, whilst of the 909 persons admitted to the freedom of the City in 1309-12, only 253 were admitted by apprenticeship.[1] Outside London, the earliest references to apprenticeship with which we are acquainted are a Norwich indenture of 1291[2] and the York Girdlers' ordinances of 1307 which required a four years' apprenticeship.[3] Even in London, apprenticeship was not a well-established practice in the thirteenth century, and its adoption outside London was undoubtedly a later development, and there is certainly no evidence to show that masons were amongst the first craftsmen to adopt it; rather does the contrary appear to have been the case.[4] If the Articles and Points of the *Regius* MS. were set down in writing about 1390, we feel that the various rules they contain concerning apprenticeship must have represented a recent devolopment and that the 'customs' had already undergone modifications since they were originally formulated, just as during the next 150 or 200 years they underwent many further changes, if the Charges General and Charges Singular of the later versions of the MS. Constitutions are accepted as embodying contemporary masons' 'customs.' To these changes attention will be drawn very shortly; for the moment it suffices to say that the pictures of the stone-building industry given by the Articles and Points of the early MS. Constitutions and by the Charges General and Charges Singular of the later MS. Constitutions do accord with the facts ascertained from other contemporary sources. These facts also show what the existence of a body of 'customs' would suggest, *viz.*, that conditions in the stone-building industry were very similar in different parts of the country.

[1] A. H. Thomas, *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1364-1381*, pp. xxx., xxxii.

[2] W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, *Records of City of Norwich*, vol. i., p. 245.

[3] *York Memo. Book I. (Surtees Society*, vol. 120), p. 181.

[4] See our paper on *Masons and Apprenticeship in Mediæval England* in *Economic History Review*, April, 1932.

The manner in which relative uniformity of masons' 'customs,' such as we believe existed, came to prevail over wide stretches of country, and the changes that were gradually introduced also spread over the whole country in an age when local customs rather than national customs were the order of the day in most spheres of activity, can only be surmised. We suggest four probable influences:—

1. *The influence of the migratory character of the masons' craft.*

We have stressed the mobility of labour among masons elsewhere and the evidence need not be repeated here.[1] In view of the fact that masons moved about the country fairly freely as a consequence of voluntary search for work or as a result of 'impressment,' they could hardly fail to carry their customs with them, and the intermingling of masons coming from many parts of the country would undoubtedly tend to a unifying of usages and practices.

2. *Ecclesiastical influence.*

The view, once held, that a considerable amount of stone-building was performed by lay brethren of the various monastic orders, has been abundantly disproved,[2] and there seems no reason, therefore, to look for the development of masons' 'customs' from rules drawn up for monastic artificers. Nevertheless, though the monasteries and churches of mediæval England were built by lay craftsmen, the association of such workers with particular ecclesiastical foundations is not likely to have been without some effect, and there is ground for believing that the Charges show traces of it.

(i.) In the first place, the Charges lay stress on the mason's duty to reverence the Church.[3] No doubt such reverence was required of all men in the Middle Ages, but the mason was often doubly subject, for the Church, besides exercising spiritual authority over him, was also his employer. The interest of the ecclesiastical employer in the maintenance of industrial discipline is clearly evident in the York Regulations.[4] It is worth noting, too, that the post-Reformation Church at times required from masons no less reverence than had been paid to its predecessors.[5] It is possible, if no more, that the Charge which prohibits a mason from going into a town by night unless he have a fellow with him [6] reflects the care of the Church for the morals and efficiency of its employees, who, though not cloistered, and not therefore to be kept from commerce with the world, stood in danger of being corrupted by their freedom, especially if they used it to haunt taverns and disorderly houses.[7]

[1] See *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 142 *folg.*

[2] See, *e.g.*, G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 26-72, and 505-516, and A. Hamilton Thompson, *Medieval building documents and what we learn from them* (*Somerset Arch. Soc.*, vol. lxvi., 1921).

[3] "The first Charge is that you shall be true men to God and to the holy Church, that you use no heresie nor Error to your understanding or discreet men teaching." (*Tew* MS.)

[4] *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (*Surtees Soc.*, vol. 35), pp. 171-3, 181-2. For hours of work, compare the regulations, made by the municipal authority, for the master mason of St. Giles, Edinburgh, in 1491, and those made by the municipal authority and the kirk-maister at Dundee in 1536. (D. Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 2nd Ed., pp. 38, 39 and 37.) See also our paper on *Masons' Wages in Mediæval England* in *Economic History*, January, 1933, pp. 492 *seq.*

[5] "Ye wardenis of everie ilk ludge salbe answerabel to ye presbyteryes wtin thair schirefdomes for the maissonis subiect to ye ludgeis . . ." Schaw Stat., 1599. (Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, p. 12.)

[6] "12[ly].——And that no Fellow shall go into the towne in the night there as is a lodge of Fellows without some Fellow that may bear him witness that he was in an Honest place." (*Tew* MS.)

[7] No similar prohibition occurs in the York Regulations, but we take it that the masons employed there lived in the town in any case. For masons employed at a monastery in remoter parts a visit to town would be a rarer and more perilous event. The monastic view of the dangers of the world without the cloister is clearly evident in an injunction (for calling our attention to which we have to thank our colleague Prof. G. R. Potter) to the monks of Muchelney Abbey in 1335: "quod monachi domus vestre monasterii limites non aliter exire presumant, nisi obtenta abbatis . . . licencia, et tunc bini fratres simul adminus equitent vel incedant" (*Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, ed. T. S. Holmes: Somerset Record Soc., vol. ix., 1896, p. 195). With the last sentence *cf.* the thirteenth charge singular in *William Watson* MS.: "That noe ffellow goe into y[e] Towne . . . without a ffellow to bear him witnes etc."

(ii.) The position of the Church as employer probably tended to have a restrictive rather than a formative influence on masons' associations; an association in the nature of a religious gild would, doubtless, be permitted,[1] but not an organisation likely in any way to diminish the authority of the chapter or whoever the employer might be. For convenience, great power might be delegated to the master mason or chief mason, as was done at York, and the practice of such delegation may have been one factor in the developing of the kind of master contemplated in the *Regius* Poem: but even such a master was the servant of the employers, who reserved to themselves the power of appointment and the ultimate making of rules for masons, irrespective of any views on the subject entertained in the Lodge.

(iii.) The Lodge, in a place like York or Westminster, if not a permanent was at least a continuous institution, and might easily develop rules and customs of its own. So long as these did not interfere with industrial efficiency and reverence for the Church, there would be no need to suppress them. Even if they were suppressed they might persist, for vigilance was apt to be fitful in the Middle Ages. Persistence would require secrecy, and, in that matter, it is by no means improbable that the masons were influenced by an institution, of which they cannot have been ignorant, of great importance to their employers, namely, the chapter. The nature of this gathering is too well known to need recapitulating here,[2] but we may be permitted to recall the importance attached by its members to secrecy concerning its proceedings. Before it commenced, the monastery doors and windows were closed; when the affairs of the house came up for discussion the novices and any monks of other orders who might be present retired, and to reveal what occurred in the daily chapter was a serious offence.[3] It will be noted that the business of the lodge and assembly was in several respects similar to that of the chapter, being concerned with new entrants, the correction of faults and abuses and the discussion of matters concerning the order, and both monastic order and mason's craft keep such matters secret.[4] Finally it should be noted that the terms 'congregation' and 'chapter' were applied to confederacies of masons in the Statute of 1425,[5] but whether the terms were currently used by masons we do not know; the masons' assembly is certainly referred to as 'congregation' in the *Cooke* MS.

3. *The influence of legislation.*

This does not appear to be very strongly marked. The Statutes of Labourers may perhaps account for the articles about paying masons such wages as they deserve. In the later versions of the MS. Constitutions the prohibition of games of hazard and the injunction that no mason shall take an apprentice unless he have sufficient occupation for two or three fellows possibly reflect legislative activity.

4. *The influence of the Crown.*

There would seem to be at least three ways in which this might be brought to bear:—

[1] The Charter of 1475 to the Masons and Wrights of Edinburgh (see Rev. R. S. Mylne, *The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland*, pp. 5, 6) suggests that their association had a religious character. The Masons' Gild established at Lincoln in 1313 (see Certificate of 1389 printed in *A.Q.C.* xlii., pp. 65-7) was certainly a religious gild.

[2] For a summary, see, *e.g.*, Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, pp. 121 *folg.*

[3] Qui secreta ordinis saecularibus vel personis alterius Religionis revelaverint, ultimi sunt omnium, et omni vja feria sint in pane et aqua, usque ad visitatoris adventum. See J. T. Fowler, *Cistercian Statutes*, p. 84 (Reprinted from *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vols. ix. and x.)

[4] With the quotation from the Cistercian *Carta caritatis* in the previous footnote compare the General Charge: "Also that every mason keep councill both of Lodge and Chamber, and of the craft and all other Councells that ought to be kept by way of Masonry." (*Tew* MS.)

[5] 3 H. vi. c. 1. *Congregatio* in the Rule of S. Benedict chap. xlvi means the daily chapter. *Capitulum Generale* in the Cistercian Statutes is the yearly chapter, for all houses of the Order, held at Citeaux.

(i.) Masons located in one place, *e.g.*, London, might be granted a royal charter with widespread powers, such as the charter granted by Edward III. in response to a petition of the London Girdlers in 1327, which enforced the custom of the trade in the matter of false work not only in the City, but elsewhere throughout the whole of the realm, and gave the London 'searchers' powers to go into other cities, burghs and towns, to make search for false work.[1] We have found no trace of a comprehensive charter of this kind in the case of the masons. In the seventeenth century the powers of the London Masons' Company extended to any place within seven miles of the City of London or Westminster,[2] and it may be that the London masons possessed similar powers by earlier charters.

(ii.) The King's Master Masons appear to have moved about from one building operation to another, or very possibly were in charge of more than one work at the same time, and they would doubtless tend to carry their usages and practices with them. Thus Walter of Hereford was Master Mason and Master of the Works at Vale Royal, Cheshire, in 1278-80, and at Caernarvon from 1288 to 1315, but we have found references to him at Edinburgh in 1304 and think it probable that he was in charge of the Queen's work in London in 1306.[3] James de Sancto Georgio, another King's Master Mason and Master of the Works of the same period, was between 1279 and 1295 successively responsible for a time for the designing, or for the erecting, of Rhuddlan, Conway, Harlech and Beaumaris Castles, whilst in 1302 he appears to have been in charge of the works at Linlithgow Castle.[4]

(iii.) In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Scotland, quite apart from the King's Master Masons, there was a royal official described as Master of the King's Work or General Warden of the Masons. This Master of the Work, who was neither an architect nor a mason, must through his advisers have exercised very considerable influence over Masonic usages in Scotland. At the end of the sixteenth century, the post was held by William Schaw, whose name will always be associated with two codes or sets of Statutes issued in 1598 and 1599.[5] Many masons' 'customs' embodied in the Charges General and Charges Singular are incorporated in the code of 1598, but there are also some additions of a practical character about the erection of scaffolding and the use of marks. The second Statutes deal, *inter alia*, with the authority which certain Lodges, such as those of Edinburgh and Kilwinning, exercised over other Lodges in their neighbourhood, and thus indicate a further unifying influence.

So far as England and Wales are concerned, we have been unable to trace anyone occupying a position exactly corresponding to that of the King's Master of the Work in Scotland. As a rule the separate works, or at any rate the larger works, were each supervised by a master of the works or surveyor, such as William of Wykeham or William Mulsho at Windsor. In some instances, however, one individual acted as clerk for several works at once. In 1444, *e.g.*, William Cleve, chaplain, was appointed clerk for the works at Westminster Palace, the Tower of London, the manors of Eltham, Charyndon, Shene, Chiltern Langley and Odiham . . . "and of the works elsewhere throughout England."[6] The nature and the scope of his functions are to some extent indicated by the permis-

[1] Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 154-6.
[2] Charter of 1677, summarised in Conder, *Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons*, pp. 197, 198.
[3] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., p. 6. and *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 8.
[4] See W. Douglas Simpson, *James de Sancto Georgio*, *Trans. of the Anglesey Antiquarian Soc.*, 1928, pp. 31-41. Linlithgow Castle, with which Sancto Georgio was associated, was captured by the Scots and ordered to be demolished by Bruce. (Tytler, *History of Scotland*, i., 250.) Linlithgow Palace, of which the ruins survive, was a subsequent erection.
[5] Printed in D. Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 2nd Ed., pp. 9-11 and 12-14. The 1598 Statutes are reprinted in *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 258 *folg.*
[6] *Cal. Pat. R.* 1441-6, p. 232.

sion granted him in 1447 to put premises in repair for "an exchequer for books, the attendance and resort of the people and officers by reason of the said office."[1] Edmund Blake, appointed clerk and surveyor of the King's works in 1451, had a dwelling at Greenyard, Westminster, with counting houses, sheds and store-houses.[2] Similarly, other experts were put in charge of special kinds of work at several building operations. John Champard, *e.g.*, was appointed Master Smith within the Tower of London in 1446 and made surveyor of all castles and lordships south of the Trent in all things pertaining to the office of smith, at the same wages as the master mason and master carpenter. It is probable that a wide competence of the same kind belonged to Thomas Jordan, "serjeant of our masonry within our realm of England" in 1464.[3] We do not know how far he could determine or modify masons' customs, but we take it that his powers were more restricted and specialised than those exercised by Schaw in Scotland in the sixteenth century.

## CLASSIFICATION OF THE OLD CHARGES.

Having discussed various preliminary problems concerning the character and origin of the Old Charges, we may now examine them with the objects in mind which were indicated at the beginning of this paper. Looked at from that point of view, the Old Charges appear to fall into two main groups: in the one, we have the *Regius* MS. and the *Cooke* MS., in the other, all the remaining copies of the old Charges. Though the latter group of nearly 100 MSS. and Prints is capable of sub-division,[4] yet all the members of the group offer the same general picture of the stone-building industry and approximately the same body of regulations governing that industry.

It is more or less generally accepted that the *Regius* MS. dates from about 1390 and the *Cooke* MS. from about 1430. Although the *Regius* MS., as a document, may be older than the *Cooke* MS., it seems probable that the Articles and Points of the *Cooke* MS. were a copy of a distinctly earlier MS. and that they are really older than the Articles and Points of the *Regius* MS. This transposition, by which the *Cooke* version of the Articles and Points is placed about the middle of the fourteenth century and the *Regius* version near to the end of the fourteenth century, makes the nine relatively simple Articles and Points of the *Cooke* MS. older than the fifteen rather more elaborate Articles and Points of the *Regius* MS., and as the latter contains every regulation set out in the former and certain additions, this seems not unreasonable. We have already given reasons for thinking that the 'customs' embodied in the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. were a version revised in the fourteenth century. For our present purpose, we take it that these MSS. reflect, if they do not actually represent, conditions prevailing in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The oldest MSS. of the second group appear to be the *Grand Lodge No. 1* MS. of 1583 and the *York No. 1* MS. of c. 1600.[5] These and other MSS. which date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are all copies of older MSS. They all tell approximately the same tale, and we think it not unreasonable to regard our large second group as relating to conditions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

### *Conditions portrayed in Articles and Points of the Regius and Cooke MSS.*

As has previously been pointed out, the *Regius* MS. is in verse and the *Cooke* MS. is in prose. The latter contains a much fuller legend of masonry

[1] *Cal. Pat. R.* 1446-52, p. 76.
[2] *Cal. Pat. R.* 1446-52, p. 510.
[3] *Rolls of Parliament*, v., 547b.
[4] *E.g.*, The *William Watson*, the *Tew* and the *Henery Heade* MSS. possess more affinity to the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. than do the remainder of the group, whilst certain MSS. of Scottish provenance, such as the *Dumfries No. 4* and the *Thistle MSS.* have some additional regulations not found elsewhere.
[5] Both printed in Hughan, *Old Charges of British Freemasons*, 1872.

than the former, but a shorter version of the Articles and Points. Both MSS. divide the regulations into Articles for masters and Points for ordinary craftsmen, thus emphasising the distinction which undoubtedly existed in the stone-building industry at that period.

*The Master.*—The master would normally be the Master Mason or Master of the Works in charge of some big building operation for the King, or for the Church, or for some large landowner. The employer or owner behind the master is the 'lord' frequently referred to in the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. There can be no question that the interests of the 'lord' were strongly present in the minds of those responsible for the Articles and Points, a matter which is perhaps partly explained by what was said when discussing the origin of the Articles and Points. If the master was not the Master Mason or Master of the Works of the Crown, or the Church, or other corporate body, he was probably a man of some substance erecting a building by contract for some landowner or municipality. This latter type of master, whom we should to-day call the building contractor, is no doubt the man referred to in Article IX. of the *Regius* MS. which provides that no master shall undertake work which he cannot perform and complete (presumably owing to insufficient skill rather than to insufficient capital), and in Article X. of the *Regius* MS. (Article IX. of the *Cooke* MS.) which lays it down that no master shall supplant another—"unless the work be so wrought as to turn to nought." It may be noted that Article IX. of the *Regius* MS. is on all fours with an Article in the London Regulations for the Trade of Masons, 1356, which provides that no one shall take work in gross (*i.e.*, by contract) if he be not of ability in a proper manner to complete such work.[1]

The eighth Point for Craftsmen bears out the suggestion that the master was a relatively important personage, because it contemplates a craftsman being appointed Warden under the Master. Building Accounts show that such appointments were made; thus at Westminster Palace in 1442 John Wynwyke was Warden (*gardianus*) of the Masons and in charge of works of *cementarii, positores* and *lathami* by patents conceded to him 3 August 1439, at 10d. per day—£15 4. 2 for the year[2]; at the erection of Eton College in the middle of the fifteenth century, in addition to the Master of the Works (*magister seu supervisor operum*) there were a Chief Mason (*capitalis cementarius*) and Wardens (*gardiani*), the Wardens receiving £10 per annum[3]; at the building of Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1480-84 one of the freemasons is described as 'Wardyn' and was in receipt of 3s. 4d. per week, as compared with 4s. 0d. paid to the Master Mason and 3s. 0d. paid to the other freemasons.[4]

The Masters to whom the Articles appear to have been addressed were (i.) men of the type of Walter of Hereford, Master of the Works at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-80 and later at Caernarvon Castle[5] and Henry de Ellerton, Master Mason at Caernarvon Castle in 1316[6]; (ii.) William de Hoton, Master Mason at York Minster in 1351,[7] and Richard de Winchcumbe, Master Mason at Adderbury Church 1408-18,[8] and (iii.) contractors like John Lewyn, mason, who entered into a contract in 1378 to build part of Bolton Castle in Wensleydale,[9] and John Marwe, freemason, who contracted to build the Common Quay at Conesford, Norwich, in 1432.[10]

*Wages.*—The masters employed 'masons' or 'fellows' to whom the Points were addressed. They were to be paid such wages as they might deserve, according to the dearth of corn and victual in the country. (*Regius* and *Cooke* MSS.,

[1] Riley, p. 281.
[2] P.R.O. Exchequer K.R. Accounts, 473/18.
[3] Willis & Clark, *Arch. His. of Univ. of Camb.*, I., pp. 383, 384.
[4] *Leicestershire Archæological Society*, vol. xi., p. 236.
[5] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., p. 6, and *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 8.
[6] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 8.
[7] See *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (*Surtees Society*, vol. 35), p. 1.
[8] See *Adderbury Rectoria* (Oxfordshire Record Society), *passim*.
[9] Contract printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. x., p. 70.
[10] Contract printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxv., p. 34.

Article I.)[1] This stipulation suggests that the wages were paid entirely in money, and not partly in food as was often provided for in early London wage regulations.[2] So far as we can tell from the Building Accounts, masons' wages were paid entirely in money at Vale Royal in 1278-80,[3] at Caernarvon and Beaumaris in the early fourteenth century,[4] and at Adderbury in the early fifteenth century.[5] The London Regulations for the Trade of Masons, 1356, provide that "all those who work by the day shall take for their hire according as they are skilled and may deserve for their work, and not outrageously.[6] Whether the expression what they "deserved for their work" in this regulation is merely a repetition of the previous phrase "according as they are skilled," or whether it implies "what he may deserve after the dearth of corn and victual in the country," we are unable to say. In any case, a study of such statistical material as is available for the fifteenth century in no way points to money wages varying "after the dearth of corn and victual." On the contrary, money wages were practically stationary whilst prices of wheat and other food products varied not inconsiderably, so that real wages undoubtedly fluctuated quite substantially.[7]

If any mason were found "imperfect and uncunning," the Master was to take the first opportunity of replacing him by a more perfect worker. (*Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., Article VIII.) Apparently, it was sufficient if the master warned a worker before noon that his services would no longer be required. (*Regius* MS., Point V.) These regulations imply a considerable mobility of labour amongst craftsmen and liberty for the master promptly to dismiss a man who was not efficient. These provisions, so far as they contemplate mobility of labour, are somewhat along the lines of the York Minster Masons' Ordinances of 1370, which laid it down that no mason should be received upon the work unless he had been proved for a week or more "opon his well wyrkyng."[8]

Another wage regulation related to apprentices. As a general rule in the Middle Ages an artificer was an independent master craftsman selling his products to customers. If he had an apprentice, it was purely his affair; he fed, clothed, lodged and taught his apprentice, and in return was able to sell any work produced by the apprentice. No question of wage payment arose. Where the artificer was not an independent master selling a product to customers, but hired out his services to employers, it would become necessary to assess a wage in respect of the value of the apprentice's services, such wage being received by the master as compensation for the board, lodging and instruction he provided for the apprentice. This somewhat unusual problem of a wage in respect of an apprentice would arise in the building industry if master masons took apprentices, and it is provided for both in the *Regius* and the *Cooke* MSS. The former (Article VI.) states that the master shall not take of the lord for his apprentice as much as for his fellows "who in their craft are quite perfect, which he is not." The latter (Article V.) provides that the master is not to take so much of the lord of the place that the apprentice is taught in, that the lord shall have no profit by the teaching of the apprentice. These Articles may be compared with

[1] *Cf.* 13 Ric. II. c. 8 (1389) which enables Justices to fix the wages for masons, carpenters and others "according to the dearth of Victuals."

[2] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., pp. 25, 26. An Expense Roll of St. Stephens Chapel, Westminster, 1292, shows some masons in receipt of 3d. and others of 2d. per day, and in view of these low money wages we feel little doubt that they were also in receipt of food, which feeling is strengthened by the fact that there appears to have been a 'hostel' as well as a 'lodge' for masons. (See *Masonic Magazine*, vol. i., p. 318.) On the other hand, a Westminster Fabric Roll of 1292 shows most masons in receipt of 5½d., 5d., or 4½d. per day. (See *Masonic Magazine*, vol. iv., p. 616.) In this case the remuneration was no doubt all paid in money.

[3] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., p. 25.

[4] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 21.

[5] See *Adderbury Rectoria, passim.*

[6] Riley, p. 282.

[7] For discussion of the whole problem, see our paper on *Masons' Wages in Mediæval England* in *Economic History*, January, 1933.

[8] *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (*Surtees Society*, vol. 35), p. 182.

a London Masons' Ordinance of 1521 which provides that no master shall take a full mason's wage in respect of an apprentice until he had served at least four years,[1] and with a Norwich Masons' Ordinance of 1577, which stipulates that "no master of the same art shall take any greater wage for his apprentice's work the first year of his apprenticeship than is used to be paid for a common labourer."[2]

*Apprenticeship.*—With regard to other Articles about apprenticeship, there is nothing unusual. Both the *Regius* and the *Cooke* MSS. (Articles III., IV., and V.) provide that a master's apprentice shall serve for not less than seven years, that he shall not be a bondsman, and that he shall be of lawful blood and whole of limb. The London Regulations for the Trade of Masons, 1356, provide that no one of the said trade shall take an apprentice for a less term than seven years.[3] The other conditions about apprenticeship correspond to those of various gilds.[4] The *Regius* MS. (Articles XIII. and XIV.) further provides that the Master shall instruct his apprentice fully during his term, a provision probably contained in every indenture of apprenticeship. Neither the *Regius* MS. nor the *Cooke* MS. appears to contemplate an ordinary craftsman or mason having an apprentice; both MSS. definitely refer to the master's apprentice. On purely theoretical grounds it seems unlikely that a "lord" or employer would be keen about craftsmen having apprentices who would be likely to spoil his material and learn their art to some extent at least at his expense.[5]

The picture, therefore, given in the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. of apprentices bound solely to masters seems to be quite probable. In any case, the earliest apprentices in the craft that we have been able to trace were bound to master masons: Robert Lesyngham, Master Builder of the new Cloisters at Exeter Cathedral took one apprentice in 1382 and another seven years later[6]; Richard Winchcumbe, Master Mason at Adderbury, had an apprentice from 1412 to 1417[7]; Stephen Lote, *maceon*, who succeeded Henry de Yevele in 1400 in the office of disposer of the King's Works at Westminster and the Tower,[8] had two apprentices, Richard and John Stothley, when he made his Will in 1417.[9] If masters were the only people who could take apprentices in those early days, apprentices could not have been very numerous, nor could apprenticeship have been the chief system of training craftsmen, though there is no indication in the *Regius* or the *Cooke* MSS. of any other method of becoming a mason. Such study of early building documents as we have made points to the same conclusion: neither in the Building Accounts of Vale Royal Abbey, Beaumaris Castle or Caernarvon Castle, nor in the published Fabric Rolls of York Minster have we been able to trace an apprentice mason.[10]

*Government of the Craft.*—In what concerns this, both the *Regius* and the *Cooke* MSS. contemplate a system of congregations or assemblies, discussion of which we defer until we examine the problem of masons' organisations towards the end of this paper.

[1] *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 258.
[2] Printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xv., p. 210.
[3] Riley, p. 282.
[4] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii., pp. 265 and 290.
[5] We have discussed this point more fully in our paper on *Masons and Apprenticeship in Mediæval England, Economic History Review*, April, 1932.
[6] Exeter Fabric Roll; see Bishop and Prideaux, *Building of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 11.
[7] *Adderbury Rectoria, passim.*
[8] Cal. Pat. R. 1399-1401, p. 361.
[9] We have to thank Bro. W. J. Williams for very kindly drawing our attention to Lote's Will in which he gives legacies to his two apprentices.
[10] In the MS. Fabric Rolls of York Minster we have traced one definitely in 1469-70, and think it highly probable that two names occurring in the Roll of 1421-22 were those of apprentice masons. See our "Notes on Three Early Documents relating to Masons," *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., p. 233.

*Night Work.*—Reference must be made here to one other Article (No. XI.) in the *Regius* MS., which says that masons are not to work at night—except in study, the reservation perhaps implying that the workmen might study at night the plans and designs which had been laid down by the master for their guidance and instruction. Many municipal gild ordinances prohibited night work, on account of work by artificial light militating against good workmanship and making inspection difficult.[1] The search for 'false work' was essentially a device of municipal authorities to control local gilds. Neither the *Cooke* MS. nor any other MS. Old Charges, so far as we know, nor the ordinances of any municipal gild of masons with which we are acquainted make any reference to night work; yet night work in the building industry was not unknown, for the London Bridge Accounts in the fifteenth century show frequent purchases of candles for the daubers and plasterers and occasional purchases of candles for the masons and carpenters.[2] In the case of the Bridge, urgent repairs might from time to time necessitate night work by carpenters and masons, but it is not so clear why daubers and plasterers should frequently work at night, presumably in connection with house property belonging to the Bridge Estates. Cases of night work by setters occurred at Eton College in 1445-1446.[3]

*Craftsmen.*—The Points for Craftsmen are rich in admonitions to work hard, to receive pay meekly, to obey the assembly, to be faithful to the master and to lead a moral life. The position of the craftsmen thus portrayed is not unlike that which we gather from the York Minster Masons' Ordinances of 1370, though more stress is laid there on serving the Chapter of the Church of St. Peter (*i.e.*, the Minster) and less on being faithful to the master mason.[4] In the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. surprisingly little is said about the craftsmen working for the profit of the "lord," though there is one Point (*Regius* xi., *Cooke* ix.) which requires a skilled mason seeing a fellow about to hew a stone badly, to help him without loss of time, so that the lord's work may not be lost. Incidentally, with the exception of the *Wm. Watson, Tew* and *Henery Heade* MSS., we have not come across this particular admonition in our second group of Old Charges.

The precepts with regard to leading a moral life throw some light on another problem. The seventh Point of the *Regius* MS. says that no mason is to lie with the master's wife, nor with the wife or concubine of any of his fellows; the corresponding Point of the *Cooke* MS. says that a mason is not to covet the wife or daughter of his master, nor of his fellows. These Points would certainly seem to imply that in connection with some building operations at least, masons lived with their families. Whether masons who migrated voluntarily in search of work, or moved compulsorily as a result of 'impressment,' were accompanied by their womenfolk is another matter. The sites of some big building operations, such as Vale Royal Abbey, were very isolated. Neverthless, we know that houses were erected at Vale Royal for the workmen, and that some at least of the masons owned horses and carts,[5] so that it is quite possible that wives and daughters accompanied the masons. On the other hand, the ninth Point of the *Regius* MS. (to which there is a corresponding Charge in the *Wm. Watson, Tew* and *Henery Heade* MSS.) speaks of stewards of the hall whose duty it was to pay for all victuals consumed, to keep proper

[1] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii., p. 273.

[2] We have to thank Mr. A. H. Thomas, Deputy Keeper of the Records of the Corporation of London, and Dr. Helen Chew, a member of his staff who has worked more particularly on the Bridge Accounts, for this information. In our own detailed examination of the Bridge Accounts from 1404 to 1418 we have found two definite references to night work by masons, one in connection with the drawbridge and one in connection with the re-building of the market called The Stocks. For particulars, see our paper on *London Bridge and its Builders, A.Q.C.*, vol. xlvii.

[3] *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 121.

[4] *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (*Surtees Society*, vol. 35), pp. 181, 182.

[5] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., pp. 30 *folg.*

accounts and to see that every man was charged alike. Unless this Point refers to stewards at an annual feast, common enough among municipal gilds, it suggests communal rather than family life, but perhaps the two things were not incompatible. At York, where masons would be almost certain to live with their families, the Minster Ordinances for Masons of 1370 provide for masons 'drinking' and 'sleeping' in the lodge at a certain period of the afternoon, though it was further laid down that at time of meat at noon masons were not to dwell from the lodge for more than an hour, which strongly suggests that they went home for dinner in the middle of the day.

*Conditions portrayed in the Charges General and Charges Singular.*

Turning from the fourteenth and fifteenth century conditions pictured by the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. to the sixteenth and seventeenth century conditions pictured by the Charges General and Charges Singular of the later MSS., we may first notice that in the latter period there is nothing corresponding to the regulations concerning (i.) the fixing of the apprentice's wage; (ii.) the substituting of a more perfect for a less perfect craftsman; (iii.) the warning of a craftsman before noon if his services were no longer required; (iv.) the prohibition of night work, and (v.) the fixing of wages according to the cost of victuals. Further, the provisions about (a) a craftsman acting as a warden; (b) a craftsman helping a fellow who is less cunning than himself, and (c) a craftsman serving as steward of the hall, are only to be found in very few of the later MSS. These three provisions and three others about working days and holidays, about receiving pay meekly, and about acting as mediator between master and fellows, which are all embodied in the *Regius* MS. and with one exception in the *Cooke* MS., appear to be repeated only in the *William Watson*, the *Tew* and the *Henery Heade* MSS. This strongly suggests that in origin these three are older than the remaining MSS. of the group and that they represent conditions transitional between those pictured in the older group and those pictured in the newer group of MSS.

The newer group of MSS., however, differs from the older not merely by the omission of the various provisions which have just been indicated, but by the addition of various new provisions. The general effect of the omissions and additions is to change the picture of the stone-building industry from one in which the interests of the 'lord' and of the 'master' appear to predominate, to one in which the interests of the 'fellow' appear to be much more emphasised. The *Regius* and the *Cooke* MSS. belong to a period when the bulk of the stone-building represented large operations on behalf of big employers such as Crown or Church. The newer group of MSS. belongs to a period when stone-building had become much more common and the scale of operations consequently much smaller, especially in districts where stone became the ordinary medium of house construction.

*The Master.*—Masters of the works and master masons directing large undertakings on behalf of 'lords' had doubtless become rarer by the sixteenth or seventeeth centuries, whereas the number of master craftsmen working with one or two journeymen or apprentices on small building contracts had no doubt considerably increased. The gap between 'masters' and 'fellows' had almost certainly become much narrower; whereas at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century Master Masons like Walter of Hereford and Henry de Ellerton received 14s. 0d. a week at Vale Royal or Caernarvon, compared with 2s. 6d. or so received by skilled masons,[1] already by the end of the fifteenth century we find a Master Mason like John Couper at Kirby Muxloe Castle receiving only 4s. 0d. a week, compared with 3s. 0d. received by skilled masons.[2] The distinction between the ordinary master mason and

[1] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., pp. 18, 19, and *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., pp. 9, 21.
[2] See *Transactions Leicestershire Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 283.

the small building contractor on the one hand, and the journeyman mason on the other, was probably not very great in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which would be accounted for partly by a decline in the scale of stone-building operations and partly by a change in the functions of the master mason.

Whilst great master masons of the fourteenth century like Walter of Hereford and Henry de Ellerton appear to have designed the buildings whose erection they supervised, to have been responsible for the administration of the building operations, and largely to have been their own clerks of the works, this was no longer true in the sixteenth century. At the erection of Sandgate Castle in 1539-40,[1] Robert Lynstead was the principal mason described in the Building Account as "warden." He received 10d. per day, whereas the under-warden received 8d., the masons 8d. or 7d. and the apprentices 6d. or 5d. Apart from the fact that like the principal carpenter he signed the monthly accounts along with various officials, his position appears to have been that of a superior foreman or overseer. A small army of officials discharged the duties formerly associated with the Master Mason. Steven von Hassenperg was the "devisor" or designer. His salary was not charged to the Building Account, but a year later, as Master of the Works at the repair of Carlisle Castle, he was in receipt of 4s. 0d. a day. Richard Keys was "accountant and paymaster" at a salary of 4s. 0d. a day; whilst at first Thomas Cocks and later Reynold Scott was "controller," Scott receiving 3s. 4d. per day. There were also six clerks: the clerk of the check, the clerk of the call, the clerk of the ledger, the paymaster's clerk, the devisor's clerk and the controller's clerk, the normal remuneration of a clerk being 8d. per day.

At the rebuilding of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, in London, from 1672 to 1687, Sir Christopher Wren was the architect and Thomas Strong (later his brother Edward Strong) and Christopher Kempster were the contractors for the masonry and apparently the purveyors of much of the stone.[2] There can be no question that Kempster and more especially the Strongs, were masonry contractors in a very large way of business, for between 1681, when Thomas Strong died, and 1685, Edward Strong was simultaneously the masonry contractor for the rebuilding of six of Sir Christopher Wren's City Churches, as well as being the principal masonry contractor for St. Paul's Cathedral. Strong must have found large sums for payments of wages and materials, to judge by the fairly detailed accounts which survive. These show that the contractors were paid by instalments often of a substantial kind, but apparently only after the completion of the different sections of the work.[3] Under these big masonry contractors there were doubtless overseers, or wardens, or working masters, who might be described as master masons, though shorn of most of the glory of their former namesakes. In the case of the smaller jobs the contractor was probably a master mason working with his journeymen and apprentices; his financial status was probably not greatly superior to that of his journeymen.

Some further light is thrown on the position in the second half of the seventeenth century by Sir Balthazar Gerbier's *Counsel and Advice to all builders for the choice of their surveyors, clerks of their works, bricklayers, masons, carpenters and other workmen therein concerned*, published in London in 1663.

[1] W. L. Rutton, *Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40* (*Arch. Cant.*, xx., pp. 228-250), the basis of which is the *Boke of the leger of the Workes of the Kynges Castelle of Sandgate*, British Museum, Harleian MSS. Nos. 1647 and 1651.

[2] Thomas Strong, who was a mason and quarry owner at Taynton, near Burford, Oxfordshire, was admitted to the London Masons' Company in 1670; Christopher Kempster was Master of the Company in 1691 and Edward Strong in 1696. For further information about the Strongs and Kempster, and conditions generally in the seventeenth century, see Knoop and Jones, *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century* (Advance issue of a paper to appear in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlviii.).

[3] See L. Weaver, *The Complete Building Accounts of the City Churches (Parochial) designed by Sir Christopher Wren* (*Archæologia*, vol. lxvi.) based on MSS. Rawlinson B. 387 (*The bills of the Parochial Churches*) and B. 388 (*Leger of the Parochial Churches*) in Bodley's Library, Oxford. Also E. Conder, *Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons*, more especially pp. 191, 192, 238, 241.

The author, the well-known painter and architect, definies a surveyor as an exact architect who must have the art of drawing and perspective [1]; he states that a clerk of the works must be versed in the prices of materials and the rates of all things belonging to a building.[2] . As to the choice of Master Workmen, those which are fit to be employed are working masters, and not those who work from one building to another . . . The chosen master workmen must be bound to a prefixt time for the performance of their undertaking . . . They are to manage the paying of their own workmen on such a contract they have made with the Proprietor of the Building, for the Master Workman must keep his workmen under a certain regular proportion of pay to hinder them from spending their wages too fast and to run to other works as many (upon slight occasions) do.[3] As for the Builder and Proprietor, it is best for him to buy his own materials and have his works done by the rod or square.[4]

Thus Gerbier in 1663 contemplated an owner or proprietor (described as "the builder") buying his own materials, engaging (a) an architect or surveyor to design the building; (b) a clerk of the works to supervise the erection and check the materials, and (c) a number of contractors or master workmen (a master mason employing masons, a master carpenter employing carpenters and so forth) to carry out the various operations. A few years later, after the Great Fire, we see such ideas more or less put into practice in a somewhat modified form in the rebuilding of the City Churches. We have records of the architect and of the several contractors for the several trades, though so far as the contractors for the masonry were concerned, they would hardly appear to be of the type of master workmen he advocated; they were rather the kind of which he disapproved, "who work from one building to another." If his suggestion with regard to wages was carried out, and the contractors held back some of their workmen's pay, they would not have so much money to find before receipt of an instalment on account of work completed. On the other hand, the "builders" (*i.e.*, the Commissioners in this particular case) do not appear to have bought their own materials to any large extent, as advocated by Gerbier, for the accounts show very large payments to the contractors for Portland and Purbeck stone. The accounts that have survived give us, unfortunately, little information about the ordinary workmen.

*Apprenticeship.*—Whilst the Charges General mostly consist of advice or precepts and the Charges Singular are chiefly concerned with technical regulations, both sets of Charges are addressed to masons in general, with little or no reference to whether they be masters or fellows. Nowhere is this merging of the position of master and fellow more clearly brought out than in the provision that both masters and fellows could take apprentices, provided, as formerly, that the term was at least seven years and the apprentice was freeborn and whole of limb. If a mason who was not a small contractor took an apprentice, the question of the wage to be paid in respect of him to the master or fellow would arise, but, unlike the Articles of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., the Charges General and Charges Singular make no reference to this rather knotty problem. This suggests to us that at this period the masons who took apprentices were generally small contractors so that the problem did not arise.[5] A further provision contained in a good many versions of the Old Charges[6] that a mason shall not take an

[1] p. 5.
[2] p. 24.
[3] p. 58.
[4] p. 61.
[5] Since this was written in 1932, we have found cases of journeymen with their apprentices employed by contractors, and some cases of journeymen's apprentices working on jobs where their masters were not engaged. See *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 64 *folg.*
[6] *E.g.*, *Dowland*, *Grand Lodge* No. 1, *York* No. 1, *Lansdowne*, *Antiquity*, *Hughan*, *Stanley*, *Colne* Nos. 1 and 2, *Newcastle College*. Compare Statute of Artificers, 1563, sec. 26, which applies, however, to cloth makers, fullers, shearmen, weavers, tailors and shoemakers, and not to masons

apprentice unless he have sufficient occupation for two or three fellows, also appears to imply that a mason taking an apprentice was a small contractor. Thus both the absence of a regulation about fixing the apprentice's wage and the improbability that a fellow could provide employment for two or three fellows, would appear to contradict the previous provision about masters and fellows taking apprentices, unless the term 'fellow' in the Charge relates to his status in the Lodge and does not imply that he necessarily worked as a journeyman under a master. In Scotland in the seventeenth century, 'fellows' certainly appear to have taken work on their own account and to have themselves been employers [1]; further, in some cases at least, they appear to have taken apprentices.[2] It must be noted, however, that a good many versions of the Old Charges [3] do not contain the regulation about not taking an apprentice without having sufficient occupation for two or three fellows.

Practically all versions of the Charges General and Charges Singular distinguish between taking an apprentice and making a mason.[4] The wording varies slightly, but the *Tew* version, which is as clear as any, may be quoted:—

> That no master or fellow take no allowance to make masons without six or five at the least of fellows to give their assent and that they that shall be masons be free born and of good kindred and not a bondman and have his right limbs as he should have.

The conditions about birth and physique coincide with those for apprentices and would be mere repetition unless the Charges contemplated that at least some of those seeking to be made masons had not served an apprenticeship. This would seem quite feasible, as there is no stipulation that the man to be made a mason shall have served an apprenticeship. After 1563, the Statute of Artificers would require every mason to have served a seven years apprenticeship,[5] but how far the authorities were successful in enforcing this provision throughout the country is problematical. At Norwich several masons were admitted to the freedom of the city between 1563 and 1600 who, according to the *Calender of Freemen*, had not been apprenticed.[6] Actually the Masons' Ordinances of 1573 approved by the Corporation of Norwich provided that a master should neither "take any apprentice *nor learn any person his occupation* for money" [7] so that notwithstanding the Statute of 1563 there existed a recognized method of becoming a mason other than by serving an apprenticeship. If that was the position in a city like Norwich, we think it likely that in smaller towns and country districts the administration of the law was even more lax. An example of a 'learner' in masonry in a country district between 1563 and 1566 occurs in the Building Account of Loseley House, Surrey.[8]

With regard to the assent of six or five fellows, this would appear to be more or less in accordance with gild requirements. Thus the London Masons' Ordinances of 1481 provide that no one is to be admitted into freedom of the craft by the Wardens until examined and proved cunning therein.[9] Thus at

[1] D. Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge at Edinburgh* (2nd Ed.) Minutes of 1599, 1618 and 1680.

[2] *Ibid*, Minutes of 1613 and 1685.

[3] *E.g.*, *Sloane* 3848, *Harleian* 1942, *Hope*, *Alnwick*, *Wm. Watson*, *Tew*, *Beaumont*, *Henery Heade*, *Dumfries* No. 4.

[4] *York* No. 1, *Stanley* and *Newcastle College* are exceptions.

[5] XXIV. After the first day of May next coming it shall not be lawful to any person other than such as now do lawfully exercise any art, mistery or manual occupation, to exercise any craft now used within the realm of England or Wales, except he shall have been brought up there in seven years at the least as apprentice in manner abovesaid, nor to set any person on work in such occupation being not a workman at this day, except he shall have been apprentice as is aforesaid———

[6] One in each of the following years:—1563, 1566, 1573, 1575, 1577, 1582, 1584, 1587, 1599.

[7] Printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xv., p. 206. The italics are ours.

[8] *An Account of the Expenses of building Loseley House*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., p. 303.

[9] *Cal. Letter Book L.*, p. 182.

least the two Wardens and possibly other members would have to assent. By the Norwich Masons' Ordinances of 1573, the Wardens and Headman (*i.e.*, at least three members) had to approve of admissions.

*Position of Fellows.*—The fact that some fellows had to approve before an apprentice or any other person could be admitted and accepted as a mason was a definite restriction on the powers of the master. Whether the condition was intended to secure a limitation in the number of fellows in the interest of the fellows, or whether it was primarily intended as a means of guaranteeing that no unqualified worker should receive recognition, or whether it was to secure that apprentices were to be of local origin, if possible, there is nothing to show. The previously mentioned condition about no master or fellow taking an apprentice unless he had sufficient occupation for two or three fellows raises the same kind of question: was it intended to protect the journeymen from the competition of cheap labour, or was it chiefly in the interests of the masters who wished to restrict the number of potential rivals to share the craft monopoly? Whatever answer is given to these particular questions, some of the new provisions in the Charges appear to have been definitely in the interests of the fellows; of this character was the stipulation that no master or fellow was to make a mould, square or rule for a layer or to set a layer to hew mould stones, a stipulation found in practically every version of the Charges.[1] In some cases the wording even suggests that moulded stones should only be set or laid by the masons who prepared them,[2] which would confine the layer to setting ashlar and scappling and setting rough stones. This provision, however worded, clearly aimed at preventing layers engaging upon work which the hewers regarded as theirs. By implication, it restricts the terms 'masons' and 'fellows' to 'hewers,' part of whose work should be to make their own moulds or templets.[3] Whether the municipal authorities accepted this demarcation of work is a little doubtful: in any case, in 1356, after a dispute between the mason hewers and the mason layers in London, the Mayor and Aldermen ordained "that every man of the trade may work at any work touching the trade, if he be perfectly skilled and knowing in the same."[4]

The origin of another condition introduced into most of the later group of MS. Charges,[5] *viz.*, that work was not to be put to task, if formerly put to journey, is a matter for speculation, as it is not clear in whose interests this prohibition of piece rates in favour of time rates was laid down. Whether it was intended to back up a general dislike on the part of the workers of what is often called 'payment by results,' or whether it was aimed at maintaining a higher quality of workmanship by offering workers no encouragement to hurry over their jobs, it is impossible to say. In the few cases where we have been able to compare time-rate earnings and piece-rate earnings of mediæval masons on the same sort of work, they were approximately the same; we have found no indication of a piece-worker speeding up his work and taking home more earnings at the end of the week than he did when engaged at daily rates.[6]

One other provision which was certainly in the interests of fellows was that which required masons to receive and cherish strange fellows, to provide them with work—in many versions a "fortnight's work"—or failing work to supply them with money to bring them to the next Lodge. Whether we are to think of these "strange fellows" as newly-fledged journeymen on a 'wander-

[1] The *Papworth* and *Aberdeen* MSS. are exceptions.

[2] *E.g.*, the *Hope* and *Waistall* MSS. In practice, hewers of straight moulded work and especially hewers of arch moulds, frequently set their own stones at the present time, and no doubt also did so in former times.

[3] The restriction of the word *cementarius* to 'hewer' and the use of the word *cubitor* to represent 'layer' was discussed in our Beaumaris and Caernarvon paper. See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 20.

[4] Riley, pp. 280, 281.

[5] *Harleian* 1942, *Macnab*, *Holywell*, *Rawlinson* and *Thos. Carmick* are exceptions.

[6] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., pp. 26 *folg.*

year,' or as ordinary craftsmen in search of work, is not clear. The wording with its definite "fortnight's work" almost suggests the former, though the system of the wander-year was not common amongst English gilds. On the other hand, there can be no question that masons did move about the country, presumably in search of work. The Building Accounts with which we are acquainted show considerable comings and goings amongst the workmen, some of the men staying on a job for a week or two only.[1] The same idea of mobility of labour is borne out by two Charges about masons paying for their meat and drink and doing no villainy in the places where they board. These two Charges suggest that a good many men were living away from home; they also suggest that there were houses near to the building sites where masons could board.[2] Presumably the main employment for masons was no longer the erection of isolated abbeys and castles, but the erection of churches, public buildings and, in many cases, houses, in towns. Though employment was possibly steadier in any one place than in the days of castle and abbey building, it would nevertheless fluctuate in any particular town, so that some masons would have to be prepared to move from town to town. As late as 1539-40, when a castle was being erected at Sandgate, near Folkestone, considerable supplies of labour had to be drawn from outside the immediate vicinity, and the Building Account shows that many masons were recruited from as far afield as Somerset and Gloucestershire.[3] During the seventeenth century, masons were from time to time 'pressed' in London when required for royal works in other places. On some occasions, at least, the actual 'pressing' was entrusted to the Masons' Company.[4] After the Great Fire, building labour was drawn into London from all parts of the country and local restrictions were removed to encourage and facilitate such immigration.[5]

The moral precepts of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. that masons were to respect their elders, and not to slander each other, not to be thieves, nor take a mason's wife or daughter in villainy, are repeated in the later group of Charges and are supplemented in nearly all the versions[6] by two others, *viz.*, a general injunction against adultery and a prohibition of hazard, dice and other unlawful games, with an occasional exception in favour of Christmas time.[7] Amongst other provisions which are common to the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., on the one hand, and to the later MSS., on the other, are regulations against masters taking work which they were unable to complete, and against masons supplanting one another. Further, a master is still admonished to pay his fellows as they may deserve, so that the master be not deceived by false workmen, which strongly suggests that the ideas at the back of the Statutes of Labourers against raising wages still prevailed. Another rule which is repeated in the newer group of MSS. is that about attending and obeying the assembly. The difference between the newer rule and the older rule, as well as the whole problem of the assembly, will be discussed shortly and need not detain us here.

[1] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., p. 30, and *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 37. *Cf.* G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 189, 190, with reference to masons staying only a short time at Eton College in 1442-3.

[2] If masons were boarded by their employers they would presumably receive so much less cash wages, and the problem of paying for their meat and drink would not arise.

[3] Rutton, *Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40. Arch. Cant.*, xx., p. 235. In May, 1539, 43 masons were 'pressed,' each receiving a bounty of 4/-, being 6d. in respect of every 20 miles they had travelled to reach Sandgate; in June, 1539, 54 were 'pressed,' and in March, 1540, 71 were 'pressed' in the West and 43 nearer home.

[4] See Conder, *Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons*, pp. 153, 161, 187, for examples of 'pressing' in 1629, 1636 (to repair Castle Cornet in the Isle of Garnesey), and 1668 (for work at Sheerness).

[5] 18 and 19 Car. II., c. 8 and c. 16 (1666). *Cf.* Conder, *Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons*, pp. 192, 193. An earlier attempt of a more general kind to remove local restrictions had been made by 2 and 3 Ed. VI., c. 15 (1549), which legalised the employment of freemasons, roughmasons—hardhewers—though they do not dwell in the city or borough, nor be free of the same, but it was repealed the following year by 3 and 4 Ed. VI., c. 20 (1550) owing to the protest of the London freemen.

[6] The *Aberdeen* and *Holywell* MSS. are exceptions.

[7] *E.g.*, *Harleian*, 1942, *Macnab* and *Rawlinson* MSS.

In concluding this section of our paper, reference may be made to certain additional Charges embodied in some versions of the MSS. which have Scottish associations. The version belonging to the Old Lodge at Melrose contains extra provisions of a very definitely craft gild character, stipulating that no master or fellow is to supplant another of his mark, and that a freeman is not to take more than three apprentices in his lifetime. The former is analogous to London Gild Ordinances amongst blacksmiths, bladesmiths, etc.,[1] the latter is in accordance with the Schaw Statutes to which reference was made above. It suggests to us that masons did not anticipate an adult working life much exceeding twenty-one years, which, in view of the unhealthy nature of the sandstone dust, which must have pervaded the lodges, appears quite probable.[2] Two other Scottish versions, *Dumfries* No. 4 and *Thistle*, have various precepts, not found generally, about carefully and religiously observing the Sabbath day, relieving the poor, visiting the sick, being kind to the widow and fatherless, and refraining from becoming drunk and from using obscene language. There is a homely ring about these additional admonitions, which is equally true of the *Dumfries* No. 4 version of the injunction that a mason shall be careful to pay for his meat, drink, *washing* and lodging where he goes to board.

## TYPES OF MASONS' ORGANISATIONS.

Combining the pictures gathered from the Articles and Points, Charges General and Charges Singular of the MS. *Constitutions* as embodying masons' 'customs,' with those which are derived from various Building Documents, from Statutes of the Realm and from Municipal Records, we gather that there were at least three types of organisation amongst masons in the Middle Ages and early modern times, each type being of two varieties and in one case possibly three. In the first place, we have the 'assembly,' either of the comprehensive variety pictured by the *Regius* MS., and, in a modified form, by the *Cooke* MS., or of the craft gild variety pictured by the later versions of the Old Charges. To this type may also belong as another variety the congregations, confederacies and chapters which the Legislature endeavoured to suppress, unless it was the 'assemblies' themselves at which the Statutes were aimed. In the second place, we have 'lodges' either of the variety associated with particular buildings, or of the variety associated with particular areas. In the third place, we have municipal gilds either of the early craft variety or of the later 'company' variety. In some cases the information available is but slight, and in no case is it as full as we could desire. What follows, therefore, must be regarded as a tentative study of the problem, no definite solution being possible unless and until more evidence is forthcoming.

## THE ASSEMBLY.

In what concerns the government of the craft, both the *Regius* and the *Cooke* MSS. contemplated a system of congregations or assemblies. General assemblies of the members of a trade in a particular town to choose overseers and to transact other business were quite common among craft gilds,[3] so that the 'assembly' of itself would present little difficulty, were it not for the description of the assembly contained in the *Regius* MS. (Point XII.), which suggests that it was attended not merely by masters and fellows, but by great lords, knights

[1] See Riley, pp. 361 and 569, and also *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii., p. 274.

[2] *Cf.* statement of a mason at a Trade Union convention in 1833:—"The lives of masons are shorter than the lives of men in other trades . . . When a mason comes to about 40 years of age he is generally troubled with a cough—he goes to a medical man and tells his case—the doctor shakes his head and says '. . . it is the masons' disease, all I can do for you is to give you some temporary relief—something to ease your breast.'" (R. W. Postgate, *The Builders' History*, pp. 135-6.)

[3] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii., p. 268.

and squires, as well as by the sheriff of the county, the mayor of the city, and the alderman of the town in which it was held. The *Cooke* MS. (Point IX.) contemplates a rather less comprehensive body consisting of masters, together with the sheriff of the county *or* the mayor of the city *or* the alderman of the town in which it was held. This distinctly unusual body portrayed in the *Regius* MS. was to make ordinances for the craft. It was quite usual for the overseers or reputable men of a trade to appear before the mayor and aldermen to have their ordinances approved. Thus, for example, on 15th October, 21 Ed. IV. (1481), "came good men of the art or mistery of masons of the City of London . . . before the Mayor and Aldermen and prayed that certain articles for the better regulation of the mistery might be approved." [1] On the other hand, meetings of leaders of a craft, of municipal authorities, and of great lords, knights, sheriffs, etc., were assemblies for which we can find little or no analogy among craft gilds.

The solution of the difficulties raised by these descriptions was attempted by Gould,[2] Begemann,[3] and Speth,[4] in a discussion which we do not think necessary to revive, for we have little doubt that Begemann and Speth were in the main right, and that Gould must be regarded as having failed to substantiate his equation of the Assembly with the Sheriff's Court. On the other hand, in discussing the connection between the sheriff and the mediæval mason, we believe that Begemann and Speth left some points out of account, and in the second place, a complete discussion of the points at issue would require some reference to the organisation of other craftsmen who could not associate together in exactly the same way as those belonging to a localised municipal gild. Our present intention is to supplement the discussion on these points.

1. *Great Lords, etc., in the Assembly.*

It is possible that the author of the *Regius* Poem, when first describing the assembly in the legendary matter as an institution established by Athelstan, had in mind the estates of the realm and, by an anachronism to which many mediæval parallels could be found, describes that King as having provided the mason's craft with a parliamentary foundation. There are two objections to such a view, namely: (i.) that the burgesses said to have been present were not drawn from all boroughs but only from *that city* in which the assembly was held, and (ii.) that the assembly mentioned in the Twelfth Point is evidently a local, not a national, gathering. If this very unlikely solution be rejected, there remain, so far as we can see, three other possible ways of accounting for the presence of people other than masons at a gathering concerned with masons' affairs. These may be briefly considered in turn:—

(i.) *The Merchant Gild.*—One mediæval institution in which it was possible for great lords, or their officers, to be fellow members with humbler folk was, in some instances at least, the merchant gild. This, though mainly consisting of burgesses in a particular town, did not necessarily include all the burgesses or exclude non-burgesses. The merchant gild of Ipswich, *e.g.*, admitted to membership many landowners in the neighbourhood, the Earl of Norfolk among them.[5] The annual assembly of such a gild might thus contain great burgesses, squires and lords, and it is not impossible that the author of the *Regius* Poem attempted to glorify the masons' assembly by attributing to it a membership which added social distinction to quite a different kind of gild. On the other hand, he describes the sheriff as being present, and, unless in the character of an honoured guest at a feast, or in some personal and non-official capacity, the sheriff would not attend the meeting of a gild merchant.

[1] *Cal. Letter Book L.*, p. 183.
[2] *A.Q.C.*, vol. v., p. 203.
[3] *A.Q.C.*, vol. vi., p. 169.
[4] *A.Q.C.*, vol. vi., p. 173.
[5] See Lipson, *Economic History of England*, vol. 1, p. 250.

(ii.) *The Religious Gild.*—Similarly, though there might be diversity of social rank among the membership of some religious gilds, the sheriff would not attend the annual meeting of such associations in an official capacity. The line between a craft gild and a religious gild may not always have been easy to draw in the Middle Ages, but the absence of any reference to corporate religious objects or to any introductory religious ceremony in the *Regius* Poem account of the assembly makes it in the highest degree unlikely that the assembly was the professional counterpart of an ostensibly religious gathering.

(iii.) *Minstrels.*—If we cannot find a counterpart of the masons' assembly in the annual gathering of any kind of localised gild, religious or secular, we must look for it in the organisation of some profession the condition of which was more like that of the masons than was that of weavers or merchants. Such was that of the minstrel, who, like the mason, found a market for his skill outside his own immediate locality and was, at least in some periods of the year, migratory. The regulation of this profession, so far as it was possible, was therefore necessarily on a territorial, not merely a municipal, basis. Jurisdiction over minstrels and artificers in the earldom of Chester is said to have been conferred by Ranulph, the last earl, on his Constable, De Lacy, who transferred the governance of minstrels to his steward, Dutton, whose family had a recognised title thereto as late as 1597.[1] Dugdale thus describes the procedure at the annual gathering of minstrels at the time of the midsummer fair:—

> . . . all the minstrels of that countrey resorting to Chester do attend the heir of Dutton, from his lodging to St. John's church (he being then accompanied by many gentlemen of the countrey) one of the minstrels walking before him in a surcoat of his arms depicted in taffata; the rest of his fellows proceeding (two and two) and playing on their several sorts of musical instruments. And after divine service ended, give the like attendance on him back to his lodging; where a Court being kept by his steward, and all the minstrels formally called, certain orders and laws are usually made for the better government of that Society, with penalties on those who transgress.
>
> (Quoted in *Percy's Reliques* (1900), I., xxxiii.)

A similar jurisdiction is believed to have been acquired by John of Gaunt, in virtue of which he established in 1381 a court, at Tutbury in Staffordshire, which

> like a Court-Leet or Court-Baron, had a legal jurisdiction, with full power to receive suit and service from the men of this profession within five neighbouring counties, to enact laws and determine their controversies; and to apprehend and arrest such of them as should refuse to appear at the said court, annually held on the 16th of August. For this they had a charter, by which they were empowered to appoint a King of the Minstrels with four officers to preside over them . . .
>
> (*Percy's Reliques*, I., xxxvi.)

So far as is known, no record of the legislative proceedings of these courts has survived, and we cannot compare the organisation of the minstrel's craft in detail with that of the mason.[2] It is worth noting, however, (i.) that the minstrels' assembly, like that of the masons, had jurisdiction over a wide area and that attendance was compulsory for members of the profession in that area,

[1] 39 Eliz., c. 4, sec. X.

[2] Rules, relating both to prosody and to the functions and training of various kinds of bards and minstrels, exist in Welsh, but they are of uncertain age and authenticity. It is believed that an *eisteddfod*, *i.e.*, session, was held at Caermarthen, to regulate the craft, in 1451 and that similar sessions or assemblies took place in later times, *e.g.*, at Caerwys in Flintshire in 1523 and 1567 (*Llyvyr Sion Brooke*, a MS. in the National Library of Wales, fos. 473-476). It may be noted that at the former the Sheriff of Flintshire is said to have presided, and that prominent landed gentry and lawyers seem to have formed the court in both instances, an indication perhaps that the main object of the meetings was to reduce the number of vagrants.

and (ii.) that, at Chester at least, knights, esquires and great burgesses probably took part in the ceremony connected with the meeting of the court. If the masons' assembly ever was held, there can be little doubt that it resembled the midsummer gathering of the minstrels at Chester.

These courts do not complete the tale of minstrels' associations: there were, besides, local gilds, as at Beverley,[1] and the minstrels in the royal service appear to have been separately organised.[2] The masons had at least one local gild, in London; whether there was an organisation of the masons on the royal service we do not know.

2. *The Sheriff and the Masons.*

It is important to notice that the *Cooke* MS. gives a more reasonable account of the presence of the sheriff at the assembly than does the *Regius* Poem. In the poem, the dignitaries present include 'the sheriff . . . *and also* the mayor'; whereas in the prose account the sheriff is present not in addition to the mayor, but as an alternative—"the sheriff of the county *or* the mayor of the city *or* the alderman of the town." This is much more nearly what we should expect in view of that immunity from the sheriff's jurisdiction which it was the object of mediæval towns to obtain and preserve.[3] On this point, therefore, we follow the *Cooke* MS., and conclude that the sheriff would be present at an assembly only when it was held outside the limits of municipal jurisdiction.

Nothing can be clearer than that on frequent occasions the sheriff would come into contact with the masons in his county. It is unlikely that they were professionally subject to his court, though instances can be found of some trades being subject to its jurisdiction.[4] On the other hand, building work and repairs were often committed to the sheriff,[5] and he was frequently required to find workmen for royal building operations and had, at times, to choose and despatch large numbers of masons.[6] His presence at a gathering of them in his county would, therefore, be in no way surprising; and, in any event, if such a gathering were legal at all, he would naturally be the officer responsible for its supervision.

3. *Was the Assembly actually held?*

The brief summary we have given of the organisation of mediæval minstrels will be enough to suggest that the author of the *Regius* Poem, in his account of the Assembly, was not describing an unprecedented or impossible gathering[7]; but his description does not amount to proof that such an assembly ever existed in fact. It will be noted that the *Regius* Poem (i.) does not give the slightest indication of the date or location of the assembly or assemblies, and (ii.) does not cite any authentic charter or grant legalising such a gathering.[8] The masons, that is, were in a different position from the minstrels on the one hand, and from such organisations as those of tin and lead miners on the other. The

[1] For rules of the Beverley Gild, see Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*, pp. 134 *folg.*

[2] See *e.g.*, Rymer's *Foedera*, IV., iv., 93; V., ii., 119; V. ii., 169; VI., i., 179.

[3] *Cf.* the charter of Henry III. to Gloucester:—"We have granted to the same burgesses that none of our sheriffs intermeddle with them in aught touching any plea or plaint pertaining to the said borough": Bland, Brown and Tawney, *Select Documents* p. 119.

[4] Weavers and brewers, *e.g.*, in Anglesey in 1346: see *Anglesey Antiquarian Soc. Transactions*, 1930, p. 39: but it was the accuracy of measures rather than quality of work which was examined.

[5] See Morris, *The Mediæval English Sheriff to 1300*, p. 273: for authorities cited see *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 36.

[6] See *e.g.*, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 36.

[7] It is theoretically possible, but on the whole unlikely, that the author, since he composed verse, was familiar with the minstrels' court at first hand.

[8] Athelstan's mythical regulation described in the legendary matter is a substitute. It is perhaps worth noticing that Athelstan is also mentioned early in the Beverley Minstrels' Rules; see Lambert, *op. cit.*

miners had charters of self-government, and their customs are extant[1]; the minstrels were subject to chartered jurisdiction, but their customs and rules have not survived; the masons had rules and customs but no charter for their assembly. The lead miners of Derbyshire, it is clear, had their customs from an early period,[2] and the Crown recognised their liberties, we take it, as it might recognise the custom of the manor or some other similar immemorial usage. Whether the minstrels used to assemble and make rules for themselves, before the dates of the jurisdictions to which we have referred, there is nothing to show; but we think it not impossible, and the non-survival of written customs is no proof of the contrary, for the minstrels, who learnt their songs by rote and transmitted them orally, might do the same for their regulations. As to the masons, either the Articles and Points are a complete fabrication, or else the masons, too, had customs before the question of the legal recognition of those customs was raised. It may be suggested that the absence of royal charters to the masons is due either to (i.) the dependence of the Crown on 'pressed' labour for its large building works and its consequent unwillingness to sanction corporate privileges which might lessen its control, or (ii.) to the situation after 1348. Workmen who had not obtained sanction for their associations before the Black Death were not likely to obtain it easily afterwards.

Charter or no charter, we think it possible that an assembly of some kind was actually held. That master masons in rural areas were not completely isolated from one another appears from two references in the Fotheringay Church Building Contract of 1434[3] to masters other than William Horwood, who undertook that contract. Horwood is required to 'latlay' the groundwork "by oversight of maisters of the same craft," and, in case of doubt, the fitness of setters employed on the work is to be determined "by oversight of master-masons of the countre." This, if it does no more, suggests the existence of a professional body or tribunal of some kind with jurisdiction over individual craftsmen.

4. *Illegal Congregations.*

That some kind of congregations or assemblies probably were held at this period is borne out by Statutes of 1360 and 1425; the former declared that congregations and chapters of masons and carpenters should be void and wholly annulled, the latter prohibited yearly congregations and confederacies of masons which openly violated the Statutes of Labourers.[4] In the light of the general character of these Statutes, it must be assumed that the prohibited congregations existed with the object of raising wages, though this is not explicitly stated. That masons endeavoured to secure higher money wages at a time when prices were rising after the Black Death is highly probable, but, in doing so, they only did what other workers did individually or collectively. There are numerous records of fines imposed in different parts of the country on various kinds of labourers and artificers for infringing the Statutes regulating wages.[5] But it is very

[1] On the tin miners see G. R. Lewis, *The Stannaries*, especially chapters iii. and vi.; on the lead miners, footnote 3, p. 270.

[2] See footnote 3, p. 270.

[3] Text in *Masonic Magazine*, 1882, pp. 10 *folg.*; reprinted in *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 245 *folg.*

[4] Illegal congregations, which in some cases at least appear to have been casual meetings rather than permanent organisations, were by no means limited to masons and carpenters as suggested by the Statutes. In London in 1383, the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen issued a general proclamation against congregations, conventicules, assemblies of people and alliances, confederacies, conspiracies, or obligations to bind men together. (Riley, p. 480.) Four years later the overseers of the cordwainers charged certain serving men of their trade under the Proclamation of 1383 with bringing together on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin [August 15th] a great congregation of men at the Friars Preachers and conspiring and confederating to hold together. (Riley, p. 495.) At York about 1430, the cordwainers complained that their servants held illegal conventicles and congregations and prohibited conspiracies at the Friars Preachers and in other places. (*York Memo. Book*—Surtees Society—vol i., pp. xlix and 191.)

[5] *E.g.*, Sessions records 1390, 1391, 1392, for Oxford, printed in Salter, *Mediæval Archives of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii. Also *Cal. Letter Book G.*, pp. 115-118.

problematical whether these illegal congregations were the same as the congregations or assemblies contemplated by the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., as we find it difficult to believe that either Masters, or the Mayor of the City, or the Sheriff of the County, were present at gatherings which aimed at the maintenance or enhancement of rates of wages.

5. *The assembly of the later versions of the Old Charges.*

Like the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., the newer group of MSS. required masons to attend and obey the 'assembly,' but with this difference, that in most versions a distance is mentioned within which it was the duty of every master and fellow to attend, if warned. The distance most commonly mentioned is 50 miles, but some MSS. mention no distance.[1] Several have 5 miles,[2] some 7 miles,[3] one or two 10 miles,[4] and the *Embleton* 40 miles. In view of the variety, it is difficult to know what importance, if any, should be attached to the distance. As masons moved about fairly freely in search of work, travelling some little distance to attend an assembly would appear to be quite a feasible proposition. With regard to the constitution of the assembly, the various versions of the later group of MSS. seem to agree that it was to consist of masters and fellows; nothing is said about the Mayor or the Sheriff. The function of the assembly, to judge by the *Thos. Carmick* MS., which is perhaps fuller than any other on this point, was apparently to deal with quarrels amongst masons and with transgressions against the science of masonry.[5] Only if the assembly could not agree was the law to be invoked, a common provision amongst gild ordinances.[6] We thus get a picture of the assembly as a judicial rather than as a legislative or administrative body. We find no suggestion that the assembly drafted or approved new ordinances, as is implied in the *Regius MS.*, nor that it endeavoured to secure higher wages for masons as is implied of certain congregations of masons prohibited by the Statutes of 1360 and 1425. Apart from the distance question, the assembly of the later versions of the Old Charges appears to have been very much along the lines of craft gild assemblies.

We have no evidence that this type of assembly was actually held. The only information we have relates to Scotland: the Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh show that a general meeting was summoned at St. Andrews in January, 1600, and that it was attended by masons from Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth and St. Andrews.[7] Whether this was an isolated occurrence, or a single example of a regular practice, we do not know.

## LODGES.

The second problem in connection with the organisations of masons centres round the word 'lodge,' and the use that is made of that word in the Old Charges. In the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., the craftsmen or apprentice is to hele the counsel of his fellows in "logge" and in chamber, and a similar admonition is contained in pratically all versions of the Charges,[8] although in a few cases, instead of keeping truly the counsel of lodge and chamber, the mason is warned to keep obscure and secret the intricate parts of the science.[9] Where the word 'lodge'

[1] *E.g.*, *Henery Heade* and *Holywell.*
[2] *E.g.*, *Hope*, *Papworth*, *Wm. Watson*, *Waistell* and *Dumfries No. 4.*
[3] *E.g.*, *Tew*, *Beaumont* and *Buchannan.*
[4] *E.g.*, *Harleian*, 1942, *Macnab* and *Rawlinson.*
[5] "Trespassed against the craft" is the only expression used in many of the MSS.
[6] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. vlii., p. 269. A Statute of 1504 allowed gild members to sue one another without the gild's permission, but the Act aroused opposition and appears to have been inoperative. (See Lipson, *Economic History*, I., 308.)
[7] D. Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 2nd Ed., pp. 40, 41.
[8] The *Thomas Carmick* MS. appears to be an exception.
[9] *E.g.*, *Harleian*, 1942, *Macnab* and *Rawlinson* MSS.

(*logia*) occurs in early building documents, such as the Building Accounts of Vale Royal Abbey (1278),[1] or of Caernarvon Castle (1316),[2] there can be no doubt that reference is made to places in which the masons hewed or cut stone; whether they were more than workshops in those particular cases there is nothing to show. At York Minster (1370) it is clear from the Masons' Ordinances that the "loge" served the further purpose of being a place of rest and refreshment for the masons during the afternoon break.[3] In an indenture for building Catterick Bridge (1421) the trustees were to erect a wooden "luge" at the bridge "in which the masons should work," such lodge to consist of 4 rooms and 2 "henforkes" (? lofts), to be covered, and suitably closed in.[4] There is no evidence to show whether it was usual for a lodge to be divided into several rooms, but at Beaumaris Castle in 1320 timber was purchased for the repair of "a tumbledown house in which masons ought to work,"[5] and it is not unreasonable to suppose that such house had more than one room, as to judge by the value of the timber purchases, it was a large structure. At the erection of Sandgate Castle (1539-40) a lodge was built at the quarry for the use of hardhewers who shaped the hard limestone.[6]

We assume that each building undertaking had its own lodge or even lodges. There were certainly at least two lodges at Vale Royal Abbey.[7] The Charge about keeping secret the counsel of the lodge could clearly refer, and probably did refer, to what happened in the masons' workshops. When, however, the word 'lodge' occurs in the Charge about setting strange fellows to work (for a fortnight) or "refreshing them with money unto the next lodge," there would seem to be an implication that the "next lodge" was in another town or place, and not simply a second lodge or workshop within the same municipal boundaries. Of such lodges there might be several. Hence it would seem that the word 'lodge' was being given a wider meaning than a masons' workshop, or even the body of masons associated with a particular workshop[8]; it was very possibly being used to indicate the body of masons in a particular town. In Scotland, certainly, it is probable that at one period there was only a single lodge in each town or city, *e.g.*, the Lodge of Edinburgh, the Lodge of Dundee, the Lodge of Aberdeen. Possibly the fact that most of the stone buildings erected were houses, the erection of none of which would be likely to call for a special workshop or lodge, may have had something to do with this development. In these cases, and the same is no doubt true of the Lodge of Alnwick in Northumberland, we appear to have an entirely different type of lodge from the *logia* of the old building accounts; we appear to be concerned with groups of masons associated with a particular area or locality, instead of groups of masons associated with particular buildings. Whereas particular buildings would be completed and the workshops or lodges disappear (unless connected with maintenance or repair work in the case of very

[1] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., p. 16.
[2] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 18.
[3] *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Surtees Society, vol. 35), p. 181.
[4] Printed in *Archæological Journal* (1850), vol. vii., p. 58.
[5] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 18.
[6] Rutton, *Sandgate Castle A.D. 1539-40*, *Arch. Cant.*, xx., pp. 232, 235. The quarrying appears to have been done by labourers (see p. 239) some of whom were called "sledgemen," their work being to "break the rocks with great sledges, to rear the great stones with iron crows." "Freemasons" were employed at the erection of the castle in "barking" and dressing freestone (from Caen), which Mr. Rutton surmises (p. 235) was used in the jambs, lintels, parapets and embrasures. There is nothing in the published Accounts to show where the Freemasons worked.
[7] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., p. 16.
[8] At what period the word 'lodge' came to be associated with the body of masons connected with a particular workshop it is impossible to say. We are inclined to think that close contact with the Church may have tended to bring it about. The government of Cathedrals, Priories and Abbeys was vested in corporate bodies, which might suggest corporate action to the masons employed in church construction. This corporate feeling would no doubt be strengthened by the masons being allowed to enjoy refreshment and rest in Lodge, as was the case at York Minster.

big buildings),[1] particular areas or localities might provide employment for masons almost indefinitely in a stone-building region and thus render possible organisations of local masons or lodges, which might have century-long existence, as was actually the case with the chief Scottish operative lodges. In these cases a 'lodge' of operative masons may not have been dissimilar from what a yeomen or journeymen's gild attached to a masons' craft gild or 'company' would have been like. Certainly at Edinburgh in the seventeenth century, the Lodge appears to have existed chiefly as an auxiliary to the masons' section of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel, which included wrights as well as masons and corresponded to the 'companies' established in some of the English towns. The government of the Lodge of Edinburgh at that period, however, does not appear to have been of the democratic character[2] which one would associate with a yeomen or journeymen's gild.

## MUNICIPAL GILDS OF MASONS.

Whilst many fine sets of municipal records dating back to the Middle Ages are extant and have been published, the amount of direct evidence available about masons' craft gilds in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is extraordinarily slight; even if the indirect evidence is taken into account, the information amounts to very little. The gild regulations of more than forty trades are preserved in the *York Memorandum Book*,[3] but there are no regulations for the masons. The same is true at Norwich,[4] Leicester,[5] Bristol,[6] Coventry,[7] and Nottingham,[8] so far as the published records are concerned. The gild of masons at Lincoln, founded in 1313, was a social or religious fraternity in 1389, and not a craft gild.[9] The only masons' craft ordinances of the fourteenth or fifteenth century which we have been able to discover are those relating to the London masons, dated 1481.[10] The earlier regulations of 1356,[11] had been imposed by the Municipality because the trade of masons was not regulated in due manner by the government of the folks of the trade, in such form as other trades were, which strongly suggests that there was no craft gild amongst the London masons at that date.

With regard to the indirect evidence, in London there are entries in the *Letter Books* commencing in 1376 which show that masons were elected to the common council or that masters or wardens of the masons' mistery were sworn,[12] whilst in 1472 a grant of arms was made to the Fellowship of Masons.[13] At Norwich, wardens of the masons were elected in 1440; there are references in 1469 to irregularities practised by masons and in 1491 to failure to swear masters to search for defects.[14] At York,[15] Beverley[16] and Coventry,[17] the masons

[1] *E.g.*, at York Minster the 'Lodge' must have had a long life; masons' ordinances affecting the Lodge were certainly framed in 1350, 1370, and 1409. (*Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Surtees Soc., vol. 35), pp. 171. 181, 198.

[2] D. Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 2nd Ed., p. 42.

[3] Printed by the Surtees Society in two volumes, 120 and 125.

[4] Hudson and Tingey, *The Records of Norwich*.

[5] Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*.

[6] Bickley, *Little Red Book of Bristol*.

[7] Harris, *Coventry Leet Book*.

[8] Stevenson, *Records of Nottingham*.

[9] See Ordinances printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii., pp. 65-67. Certain masons at Norwich appear to have been associated with a religious gild established by the carpenters in 1375. (Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, pp. 37-39.)

[10] Summarised in *Cal. Letter Book L.*, pp. 183, 184, and printed in full in *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 251 *folg.*

[11] Riley, p. 280.

[12] *Cal. Letter Book H.*, pp. 43, 274; *Cal. Letter Book K.*, pp. 97, 256.

[13] Printed in Conder, *Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons*, pp. 84, 85.

[14] J. C. Tingey, *Notes upon the craft gilds of Norwich with particular reference to the masons*, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xv., p. 198.

[15] *York Memorandum Book II.* (Surtees Society, vol. 125), p. xlix.

[16] *Hist. MSS., Com., MSS. of Beverley Corporation*, p. 89.

[17] *Coventry Leet Book* (E.E.T.S.), p. 205.

took part in the Corpus Christi pageants in the fifteenth century, whilst they probably did so at Chester, though the earliest reference to such action appears to be in 1531.[1] Such participation points to some kind of organisation, but not necessarily to a craft gild.

We have to ask ourselves, is it a chance, an unfortunate coincidence, that there is such a paucity of references to municipal gilds of masons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, compared with references to other misteries, or is it rather that there were few craft gilds of masons and that those which existed were small and relatively unimportant? We cannot see any reason why masons' ordinances should have been lost whilst others have been preserved, and we feel compelled to conclude that local gilds of masons were not strongly developed in the boroughs before the days of Elizabethan labour legislation. In support of this conclusion, several considerations can be advanced: (i.) Craft gilds were municipal institutions, whereas most of the early stone buildings were erected outside the boroughs. (ii.) The stone-building industry had a capitalistic organisation practically from the outset, quite compatible with an oligarchical livery company of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century type, but not easily reconciled with a democratic craft gild of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century variety. (iii.) Considerable specialisation of labour characterised the industry even as early as the thirteenth century; hewers, layers, marblers, rough masons, wallers and paviors are found amongst others, all at very varying rates of pay. On the other hand, craft gilds were originally organisations of persons engaged in one process, *e.g.*, blacksmiths, bladesmiths, cutlers, heaumers, and the merging of different crafts in one organisation was only a late phase of gild development.[2] (iv.) Some masons were employed under life appointments,[3] which would seem quite incompatible with gild organisation. (v.) The Crown and the Church were the chief employers of masons in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whilst the municipalities gradually gathered some importance in this respect. As one or other of these authorities would have to approve craft gild ordinances, it would be somewhat surprising if any great enthusiasm was shown to foster gilds of masons. Crown, Church and Municipalities as builders would probably prefer to deal with unorganised labour. (vi.) The fact that masons were frequently 'pressed' by the Crown[4] and sometimes by the Church with the authority of the Crown,[5] is difficult to reconcile with the existence of well organised craft gilds among masons. (vii.) Finally, it may be pointed out that the author of *The Grete Sentence of Curs Expouned*, of *circa* 1383, which is commonly attributed to John Wyclif,[6] refers separately to "fraternytes or gildis," on the one hand, and "men of sutel craft, as fre masons and others," on the other hand. Although the judgments of Wyclif and his coadjutors may be questioned on the ground of their somewhat violent partisanship, yet the fact that the author treated of freemasons and gilds quite separately, does suggest that freemasons were not normally organised in gilds at the time when the tract was writen, *i.e.*, towards the end of the fourteenth century.

In the sixteenth century when craft gilds were decaying, if they had not already died or been converted into Livery Companies, or in some cases in the seventeenth century, trade companies or fellowships were set up and incorporated in various places. They appear to have represented organisations forced upon the various trades from above, schemes to facilitate municipal government at a time when Tudor monarchs were encouraging oligarchies and when the Statute of Apprentices provided a national control of industry. These new organisations

[1] See R. H. Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns*, pp. 306, 317.
[2] See Unwin, *Industrial Organisation in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, *passim*.
[3] For references see our paper *Masons and Apprenticeship in Mediæval England* (*Economic History Review*, April, 1932), p. .
[4] See *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 90 *folg.*
[5] See *ibid*, pp. 93-4.
[6] Printed in Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, vol. iii. The passage we refer to is on pp. 333-4.

seem to have been established for political rather than for industrial purposes. In a few cases, the masons were given an organisation of their own. This was certainly the case in London,[1] where the Masons' Company was no doubt the descendant of the former craft gild, and appears to have been the case at Norwich, where the ordinances of a company of masons were approved in 1573,[2] and at Newcastle where a charter was obtained in 1581.[3] In most cases, however, the masons were grouped in a company or fellowship with a variety of more or less associated trades. Thus at Lincoln, a charter was granted in 1564 to the Tilers, Masons, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Pavers, Tilemakers, Glaziers, Limeburners, Millers and Thekers.[4] At Ludlow in 1575 the plasterers, masons, carpenters, plumbers, joiners, tylers, slaters and helyers belonged to the Fellowship and Brotherhood of Smiths, commonly called the Hammermen's Company.[5] At Kendal, twelve companies were established in 1575, of which the twelfth comprised the carpenters, joiners, masons, wallers, slaters, thatchers, glaziers, painters, plasterers, daubers, pavers, millers and coopers.[6] At Exeter, the carpenters, masons, joiners, glaziers and painters were incorporated as a company in 1586.[7] At Durham, the masons are said to have been incorporated by Bishop Hutton in 1594; in any case, Bishop Morton gave a charter to the company, society and fellowship of freemasons, roughmasons, wallers, slaters, pavers, plasterers and bricklayers in 1638.[8] At Oxford, the company of freemasons, carpenters, joiners and slaters obtained its charter from the Crown in 1604.[9] At Canterbury the Fellowship, Society and Company of Carpenters, Joiners, Masons, Bricklayers, Glasiers, Painters, Coopers and Turners were granted a Charter in 1632.[10] In 1671, the Bishop of Durham constituted the freemasons, carvers, stonecutters, sculptors, brickmakers, tilers, bricklayers, glaziers, painterstainers, founders, nailers, pewterers, plumbers, millwrights, sadlers, trunkmakers and distillers of strong waters of Gateshead one fellowship and incorporation.[11] So far as we can tell, the Incorporations which existed in the Scottish burghs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were somewhat similar in character to the English trade companies or fellowships.

We have enumerated the various 'companies' with which we are acquainted, but, as a matter of fact, the newly-established trade companies and fellowships of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which included masons amongst other trades, appear to us to have little or no interest for students of operative masonry. Although it is true that many of the MS. *Constitutions* date from the same period, the Charges General and Singular of these MSS. represent a more or less modernized version of masons' customs and usages of bygone centuries, so that useful parallels and analogies can only be obtained from such contemporary institutions as have a similar unbroken connection with the past, like the few cases of masons' companies pure and simple, able to trace their descent from former masons' craft gilds. The later type of 'gild' or trade company is only mentioned for the sake of completeness, and in order to remove possible misunderstandings and confusions, and not for the light which it throws on the evolution of masonic organisation.

[1] Conder, *Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons.*
[2] Printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xv., p. 205.
[3] See Brand, *History of Newcastle*, vol. ii., p. 346.
[4] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xvi., p. 217.
[5] T. J. Sawley, *Notes on some Trade Guilds at Ludlow*, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxii., pp. 149 *folg.*
[6] See Poole, *Notes on Trade Companies of Kendal in the 16th and 17th centuries*, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxvi., pp. 5 *folg.*
[7] Charter printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xli., p. 225.
[8] See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxii., p. 19. The Charter of 1638 is printed on p. 23.
[9] Printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xl., pp. 217 *folg.*
[10] An Account Book for the years 1651 to 1714, which has survived, contains a transcript of the Charter, which is summarised in *Misc. Lat.*, June, 1935, pp. 129 *seq.*
[11] Charter printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xv., pp. 156 *folg.*

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Knoop, on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. D. Flather; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, R. H. Baxter, G. W. Bullamore, R. J. Sadleir, E. J. White, and Lionel Vibert.

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Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

This is the fourth of a series of important papers which Bro. Knoop has read to us. In three of the four so read he has collaborated with Mr. G. P. Jones, M.A.

The Craft is grateful to our Brother Knoop and his friend for what they have already published and for the promise that we are yet to be further indebted to them.

The present paper is wider in its scope than the previous three. The first was a comparison between Gild regulations and Craft statutes; the second concentrated on matters incident to the erection of an ecclesiastical building; and the third dealt on similar lines with two castles.

The authors now place before us the result of their re-examination of the Old Charges and of the earlier documents relating to Operative Masonry.

Except for a few incidental references to Scotland, the area of investigation is limited to England. It is profitable that Masonic students should from time to time attempt to find new angles from which they can view the Masonic structure and so, by obtaining a wider view of the scope of Operative Masonry, enlarge their vision as members of an organisation which has for its main object a realisation of the symbolism and implications of the Craft.

I do not propose entering upon a minute scrutiny of the facts and deductions now so skilfully and painstakingly presented to us, but rather to indicate certain supplemental matters which may enable us to make a more complete induction.

First, it is submitted that one main feature of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. and of the later Old Charges is that they bear every appearance of being compiled primarily for the purposes of the Craft in its interior and domestic aspects. They have to do with the relations of Masons between themselves and the duties they owe to each other and to the Craft in general. It is true their duties to their Lords are frequently alluded to, but even that is only done to inculcate good and honest workmanship so that the Craft may not fall into disrepute.

They are therefore fundamentally different in character from the various civic and municipal franchise regulations and ordinances which were from time to time granted and sanctioned by various Corporations, such as the City of London. These latter ordinances derived their value from their publicity, whereas the Old Charges stress the value of secrecy and seal up certain esoteric matters under the sanction of an oath.

Secondly. We might perhaps have expected that in such domestic documents there would be much said as to various distinctions in the Craft. Yet although the word fremason occurred (and was erased) in 1376 there is so far as I know nothing in them about the distinctions between Freemasons and Masons, Hewers and Setters, and Layers, and Rough, Ruff or Row Masons.

Speaking generally, the only distinctions insisted upon are those of Masters, Fellows, and Apprentices. This may, perhaps, be a result of the ever-present stress on the fact that all were Brethren and Masons.

Thirdly. Whatever relations may have been imposed on or adopted by the Masons in a particular locality so that London ordinances may have differed from provincial Regulations the Old Charges have a universal outlook. Their fount of origin is difficult with any degree of certainty to define; but it can hardly be maintained with any degree of plausibility that any of the documents now under consideration were parochial in their scope or purposes. The Craft of Masonry is their theme, and we need only instance the *Cooke* MS. as showing that its message was intended to be promulgated "that as welle the lowest as the hiest should be welle and truely served in his art beforesayd thorow out all the kyngdom[e] of England. Amen so mote hit be."

Fourthly. At the end of the second paragraph of the paper now before us a sentence occurs which indicates that there was occasion "to equip the masons with something like the apparatus possessed by associations which could make adequate returns." It is true that no certificate appears to be extant showing what the London Masons had to say for themselves, but this is far from supporting the inference that the London Masons made no returns.

The Will of William Hancock to which reference was made (and which was reproduced at *A.Q.C.*, xli., 130) shows clearly that in 1388 there was a Fraternity of the Masons of London founded, at some prior time, at St. Thomas of Acon. It is inconceivable that the Masons of that Gild were so foolhardly or so negligent of their duty as to fail to make the return demanded. We have only a remnant of the certificates given throughout the country in response to that demand. Forty of these were of London Gilds and eleven were clearly trade Gilds, namely, Whittawyers, Barbers, Cutlers, Glovers, Painters, Pouchmakers, Carpenters, Girdlers, Saddlers, Minstrels and Brewers. The Carpenters met at the same place as the Masons, *viz.*, the Church of St. Thomas Acon, and they disclosed their Craft statutes. See Westlake's *Parish Gilds of Medieval England* (pp. 236-8). The high probability is that the Masons did make their return and also disclosed their Craft statutes. The Carpenters and Masons were frequently co-operators, and what was done by one was indicative of what the other misterie would do. The Carpenters' Craft statutes have been printed at *A.Q.C.*, xxvii., 8.

Fifthly. In any case, it is abundantly clear that the Masons of London were under peremptory orders to make the necessary returns and would have ben subject to dire penalties had they failed to obey. They had a Gild, they had Craft regulations publicly sanctioned by the City Fathers in 1356. Their task would have been easy.

Our authors do not fail to note the existence of the Lincoln Certificate as to the Masons there. Lincoln's gild though important must have been a small affair compared with the London gild and the Mason's misterie of London.

Sixthly. *Concerning apprentices.* As this subject is only dealt with briefly in the present paper and the authors refer to a fuller discussion to their paper on *Masons and Apprenticeship in Medieval England* (*Economic History Review*) it is not fitting to deal here at length with their tentative conclusions.

This, however, is certain, that the *Regius* MS. gives great prominence to the conditions and obligations relating to apprentices. See Articles 3, 4, 5 and 6, 13, 14, and Points 3, 4, 7. This lends no colour to the suggestion that apprenticeship was a comparatively rare thing. Had it been rare we should probably have found little or no mention of it. The Lincoln Certificate relates to a Gild of Masons formed in 1313, and it records a provision that a mason taking an apprentice shall give 40 pence to maintaining of the Candle and if he be unwilling to give the amount shall be doubled. Forty pence was a large sum and may have acted as a deterrent, but such a provision would not have been made unless there was a general expectation that apprentices would be taken and paid for.

The essayists indicate that in their view apprenticeship could not have been the chief system of training craftsmen, although they cannot find in the *Regius* or *Cooke* MSS. (and perhaps we may add in any of the Old Charges) any indication of any other method of becoming a mason.

In my recent paper on *Masons and the City of London* reference is made to ordinances made in the year 1520, and this shows that it had then become necessary to limit the number of apprentices.

In the *Calendar of City of London Coroners Rolls*, at pages 261-2 is a record of an inquest held 22nd July, 1340, as to the death of William de Langebrigge, carpenter. The evidence was that Richard Polliscroft and William Alleyn de Stevyntone, masons, John Lewe, Adam de Stevyntone, John atte Wolde de Stevyntone and Robert Davy de Stevyntone, *young men of the craft of masons*, met the above William and struck him with a "balghstaf" and wounded him with a knife so that he died soon afterwards.

The expression "young men of the craft of masons" is a rendering of "garciones de officio cementariorum." (Mr. A. H. Thomas, M.A., the Deputy Keeper of Records, kindly inspected the original Roll and gave me this information.)

The question arises whether these "garciones" were apprentices to the masons named or whether they were an intermediate and perhaps irregular sort of mason.

The *Oxford Dictionary* in dealing under "Apprentice" with the substantive "prentis" as "learner of a craft" begins with Langland's Piers Plowman dated 1362; and perhaps the term had not become in vogue until after 1340 when that inquest was held. Later on the same Dictionary under Prentice cites extracts dated 1300 and 1292. I gather from page 365 of the article in *The Economic History Review* that our authors treat "garcio" as equivalent to "serviens," though in the only cases they expressly cite they say: "In both these examples the mason's assistant may have been an apprentice."

After all, the term "apprentice" means a learner; and it is not necessary to infer that indentures of apprenticeship were necessary to actual apprenticeship, although later on, in the process of development, indentures became the rule. Every apprentice had to serve his Master and was therefore in fact his servant or "serviens."

Seventhly. *Serjeant of our masonry.* The paper quotes the Parliamentary Roll dated 1464 (Edward IV.) as to the title Thomas Jordan "serjeant of our masonry within our realm of England." I submit that this does not connote any special jurisdiction conferred upon Thomas Jordan. The same title is given to Robert Stowell under date 1452, and was nothing more than a way of recognising the fact that he held the office of Master Mason by appointment of the King. There were Serjeants of all kinds in those days. The Parliamentary Roll refers to Letters Patent granted to Thomas Jordan, but, as I stated in my paper on *The King's Master Masons*, it does not appear that his Patent was enrolled. The Parliamentary reference to Jordan occurs in an Act of Resumption, 4 Edward IV., in which the amiable sentence occurs "any of the late pretended Kings Henry the IIII$^{th}$ Henry the V$^{th}$ or Henry the VI$^{th}$ or any of them."

It is with full conviction that they are worthy of that honour that I confidently move that the thanks of this Lodge be accorded unstintedly to our Brother Knoop and his colleague.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

At the commencement of this paper the authors refer to the fictitious and unreal nature of the history based on the legendary matter of the Old Charges. What I gather from the Old Charges is that the art of scientific building with prepared stone originated in Egypt, from whence it was carried into Asia and Europe. This seems to be in line with archæological research. The Old Charges imply that it had reached England in the days of Athelstan but was organised as branches of numerous foreign gilds, and that, through the influence of his son Edwin, these were united by Athelstan into an Anglo-Saxon gild. It is a matter of history that prior to the days of Athelstan missionaries from all parts of Christendom came into England to restore what the Danes had destroyed, and it is a reasonable deduction that the Old Charges refer to the branches of building gilds organised by these missionaries. It has been urged that Edwin is a fictititous character because Athelstan, being unmarried, had no son Edwin. But, as Athelstan was an illegitimate son who succeeded his father on the throne, the same line of argument shows that Athelstan's father had no son Athelstan. My belief is that the traditional history is sound at heart and that the difficulties are due to corruptions rather than to fictions.

The founding of the Yorkshire Abbeys suggests that at times the work proceeded very much on the lines of the rebuilding of Buckfast Abbey, and I am therefore surprised that monks are not credited with any of the practical work. I regard the Freemasons as members of a religious fraternity whose object was the building of churches, and should expect that the inner circle would consist largely of men who had taken the vows of a layman monk. In former days, lay brethren, half brethren and others must have mixed freely in the world wearing the cord and scapulary beneath their ordinary dress, but as there were special religious orders to maintain hospitals, build bridges and protect roads it is not unreasonable to suppose that there was a special religious order to build churches or chapels. I believe that the trouble of 1356 arose between the old city gild of setters and layers and the newer religious fraternity of church builders who had established lodges for the supply of chiselled ashlar. The decision suppressed neither gild but gave the church masons power to do ordinary work in the city. They remained a religious fraternity, and the recognition of concubinage suggests that the laymen monks adopted this relationship in order to keep the letter of their vows to abstain from marriage. I know no other craft that respected concubinage. The names of Freemasons often suggest that they had been trained at abbeys, and it would not be remarkable, therefore, if a certain number became lay brethren.

The value of the Old Charges as evidence of conditions among builders is mitigated by the fact that they were used ceremonially and were out of date for centuries. They also applied to only a section of the Craft, and the general laws for regulating the mistery would not embrace the Freemasons as church builders. So late as the Charter of Charles II. to the London Company of Masons, power to interfere with the building of churches was withheld as something apart from ordinary building.

I should like some satisfactory evidence that the grant of Arms was to the London Company of Masons. The facts as known to me at present are, that the grant of Arms was to a fellowship of masons, that a few years later we have evidence that the city masons were governed by a body apparently connected with the fraternity of the Quatuor Coronati, and that the Arms are only known to have been used by the Freemasons of the fraternity of St. John. The Freemasons appear to have become a London Company instead of a religious gild in the reign of Henry VIII., when they ceased to rely on Papal authorisation and received that of the King. The Quatuor Coronati Masons and the St. John Masons I regard as two distinct fellowships.

Bro. VIBERT *writes*:—

Part of what I said in Lodge had reference to the relative antiquity of the *Regius Poem* and the *Book of Charges*, the name by which the code transcribed at the end of the *Cooke* text was known. Bro. Knoop has now embodied this in the paper itself. As he points out, there is clear evidence of development between the *Book of Charges* and the code which the writer of the *Regius* versified. A particular instance of an addition to the simpler set of rules clearly made in the interests of the workman is the rule in the *Regius* that the Master must warn him before noon if he is going to dispense with his services. But the earlier code probably represents rules that had been in force for a long time and cannot be dated with any precision.

With regard to the influence of legislation, the varying rules about the prohibition of hazard were analysed by me in my Installation address; I think there may be more traces of legislative influence than Bro. Knoop seems to think existed.

With regard to the question of the training of the craftsmen, I think that both the Compagnonnage and the Steinmetz offer useful analogies. The Compagnonnage, as a body of journeymen, were hostile to the privileged apprentices, brought in by the masters. They trained their novices themselves. The Steinmetz constitutions of 1459 (which by the way has the words articles and points, and in other ways echoes the phraseology of the *Regius* and *Book of Charges*) allows each master five apprentices as a maximum, and the master in charge of the work may also take apprentices; there is a special set of rules for them. Gould gives in full the 1563 ordinances, but they are a revision of the earlier code from which they differ.

With regard to the candles for daubers and plasterers, is it possible that they were for work in dark places, like crypts or vaults, or staircases, and not necessarily for night work? The definite instances of night work quoted suggest emergency; but in the ordinary work at an abbey or cathedral there would be no special need for speed.

There is one other point I'd like to mention, and that is the provision which we get in *York No. 1*, that the apprentice shall be no alien, which is first laid down in the worsted workers' statute, 14/15 H. VIII., 3. This became the law of the land by 5 Eliz. 4, the statute of apprentices, but it is not clear that this applied to the trade of Freemason.

There are several other somewhat technical points to which I should have liked to refer. But I would just wish to say how much I appreciate the work that has been put into this paper, which gives us an examination of familiar material from a new and expert standpoint, with results of considerable interest.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

I have read this paper with much interest and no little pleasure. But I am afraid the pictures prepared by our authors are not sufficiently clear to enable me to grasp in any detail the life, habits and organisation of the different classes of workmen into which our operative forefathers were undoubtedly divided.

Without labouring the point too much I should like to cite the case of James de Sancto Georgio, whom our authors say was the King's Master Mason and was responsible for a time for the designing, or for the erecting, of Rhuddlan, Conway, Harlech and Beaumaris Castles, and later on at Linlithgow Castle.

I am at a loss to understand how one man could have been responsible for either the architectural design or the structural erection of both lots of work, not only because of the divergence of style, but also of the difference in the actual building traditions of the two countries.

An architect could, of course, nowadays build in any style, but things were otherwise in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But perhaps the King's Master Masons were not unlike our modern Borough Surveyors, who cheerfully tackle all sorts of building and engineering works and employ huge staffs of specialists to prepare the drawings and supervise the erections.

I should like to add my support to the vote of thanks which I know will be heartily accorded to the authors.

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Bro. KNOOP, on behalf of his colleague and himself, in reply, *writes*:—

In revising this paper for publication nearly three years after it was first set up in type, we are faced with the difficulty that we have in the meantime somwhat changed our minds as the result of further investigation. Some modifications were made when we embodied the gist of this paper in *The Mediæval Mason* in 1933, and a good deal of fresh information was incorporated in our paper on *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*, read in the Lodge in January, 1935, and issued in advance of *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlviii., by the Manchester University Press in June, 1935. Further, though we excluded the legends of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* from consideration in the paper, we are far from regarding them as undeserving of study. An antiquity of more than five centuries, were there nothing else to be considered, gives them a claim to be studied very carefully, and we hope to compensate for our apparent neglect of them by publishing a critical edition of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. within the next few months. In view of these considerations, and the fact that we have made various alterations and additions in the body and footnotes of the paper, in accord with suggestions in the comments of Bros. Vibert, Baxter and Bullamore, we think it better to forego further discussion here.

We would like, however, in reply to some of the points raised by Bro. Williams, to make some very brief statements. In the first place, we neither doubt the existence of the London Gild nor deny the probability that it made returns like other gilds. The equipment of that gild, however, would not serve for masons in general, and what we suggest is the possibility that the *Regius* MS. represents an attempt to supply a non-localised association of masons with something like the statements which the London Gild could produce. Secondly, we would like to make it clear that the *garciones* whom we inclined to consider as possible apprentices were in the service of master masons undertaking contracts of some importance. We do not think that *garcio* can generally be given the meaning of apprentice, and perhaps it ought not to have that meaning in the two instances to which we have referred. The *Medieval Latin Word List* (Oxford University Press, 1934,) translates *garcio* as 'boy, groom, servant.' Thirdly, we have no doubt that Bro. Williams is quite correct in his explanation of 'serjeant of our masonry.'

Finally, we desire to thank the Brethren for the friendly reception they have given to our paper.

# Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

## TUESDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1932.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Williams, W.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Douglas Knoop, J.D.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., I.G.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.D., Warwicks.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C.; and G. Hook, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Eric M. Baxter, A. E. Gurney, A. G. Harper, W. T. Dillon, P.A.G.Pt., Hugh C. Knowles, P.A.G.Reg., T. H. Carter, F. Morfee Walsh, C. H. Boag, W. Pryce-Jones, C. A. Newman, A. Thompson, Cecil Powney, P.G.D., Sydney G. Cole, Geo. C. Williams, Ed. Eyles, Algernon Rose, P.A.G.D.C., J. P. Hunter, J. Wm. Stevens, P.A.G.Sup.W., G. I. Davys, P.G.D., B. G. Burnett-Hall, L. G Wearing, Lambert Peterson, W. Shipley, A. W. Hare, Ernest J. Marsh, P.G.D., R. F. Baker, G. D. Hindley, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., H. Johnson, A. F. Ford, C. E. Bale, C. E. Cheetham, W. Brinkworth, S. S. Huskisson, C. J. Pocock, E. Saxime, W. C. Batchelor, J. F. H. Gilbard, Lewis Edwards, and Frederick Spooner, P.A.G.Pt.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. F. Welland, P.Pr.G.D., Middlesex; H. Lane, S.W., Salus Lodge No. 5369; and Z. Konecing, Dante Lodge No. 3907.

Letters of apology for absence were reported from:—Bros. Ivor Grantham; B. Telepneff; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; *Rev.* H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; and *Rev.* A. W. Oxford, *M.D.*

Thirteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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W.Bro. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. W. J. Williams, assisted by Bros. Cecil Powell, John Stokes, and G. P. G. Hills.

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The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

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| Bro. W. K. Firminger | S.W. |
| ,, B. Telepneff | J.W. |
| ,, W. W. Covey-Crump | Chaplain |
| ,, W. J. Songhurst | Treasurer |
| ,, Lionel Vibert | Secretary |
| ,, G. P. G. Hills | D.C. |
| ,, Douglas Knoop | S.D. |
| ,, G. Elkington | J.D. |
| ,, A. W. Oxford | Almoner |
| ,, I. Grantham | I.G. |
| ,, F. W. Golby | Steward |
| ,, S. J. Fenton | Steward |
| ,, G. Hook | Tyler |

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The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—"That W.Bro. W. J. Williams, having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him."

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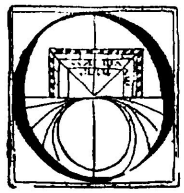
The WORSHIPFUL MASTER then delivered the following

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BRETHREN,



N reading over the forty-five Inaugural Addresses which have been delivered to the QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE by those eminent and learned Masters who have preceded me, I find that with one or two exceptions they are prefaced by two statements. The first of these is an expression of great appreciation of the honour of being Installed as Master of the QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE, and of diffidence in accepting it. The second statement has generally been an admission of exceeding difficulty in the choice of a subject for the address.

To-night you have placed in the Chair one, who, having but little claim to distinction as a producer of original work, has nevertheless been greatly honoured by your suffrages, and therefore I assure you that my appreciation—nay, my gratitude to you is a hundredfold greater and quite as real as those of my predecessors.

In regard to the subject of my Address, I was even in a greater difficulty, in that, having been content to restrict myself to a general study of Masonry, I have neglected to specialise in any particular direction, hence, there is no special line upon which I could hope to speak with authority.

It is therefore with diffidence and with scruple that I have allowed myself to be elevated by your goodwill. Diffidence, knowing that my attainments had not come up to the standards of the Lodge, and scruples, feeling that—even now in the moment of my promotion—I am unable to offer a fitting contribution to Masonic knowledge.

I have, however, made some notes, which I hope may in some way help to extend the influence of the Lodge and draw a greater number of Brethren into the circle of Masonic students.

In reading the Addresses of Past Masters I was struck by the fact that very few of them dealt with the affairs of the Lodge, and of that few, most of them were more of the nature of reviews of past work. As it is my intention to deal with the future rather than the past, there is only one of these Inaugural Addresses which in any way serves my purpose, but that one is so valuable that I propose to quote rather copious extracts from it. I refer to the Address of Bro. R. F. GOULD delivered to the Lodge on his Installation on the 8th November, 1887. In a double sense this was an Inaugural Address, as it inaugurated the now established custom.

I therefore ask your attention to the following extracts, as I am taking them as my brief for the case which I shall present to you:—

Vol. i., p. 86.

> Bro. GOULD says:—"My ideal of such a Lodge as ours is, that it should represent an educational ladder in Masonry, reaching from the abyss of Masonic ignorance to the zenith to which we all aspire. That it should supply elementary teaching for those on the nethermost rung, and also be ready to discuss purely academic questions of the most abstruse character."

p. 87.

> "The papers which have been read before the Lodge . . . have been of an exceptionally high standard, and as special studies on academical discussions, their value can hardly be over-rated, but it has occurred to me, that for the purposes of a body teaching, or endeavouring to teach, the elementary principles of Masonic Science and History, in which capacity—as it seems to me—this Lodge should also aspire to make its influence felt, they somehow fail to quite hit the mark."

> "This, I think, demands our attention, because there appears some danger lest the special work of the Lodge, as a purely Masonic body, might become completely overshadowed by the more engrossing studies of the Specialists among us, especially when embodied in papers combining so much real learning, and displaying such exquisite literary workmanship as we have had read in this Lodge."

May I here intervene to remark that what Bro. Gould said is as true to-day as it was forty-five years ago?

Bro. Gould goes on to suggest the reading of elementary papers in the Lodge, but as I had already written some notes on this subject when I came across Bro. Gould's Address, I will not quote him further, though I may perhaps say that, while my notes were written quite independently, it heartened me very much when I found that my views were identical with those of this great historian.

After this rather lengthy introduction, may I ask your indulgence while I deal with the question as to the possible extension and enlargement of the scope of the Lodge's Mission?

The QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE, since the day of its consecration, has, year by year, built up a huge compendium of knowledge relating to Freemasonry and kindred subjects, but, without, in any sense, making any reflection either upon its administration or its achievements, I feel that there may be directions in which its work and its great mission, as planned by the Founders, could with advantage be extended.

In the capacity of Local Secretary, an office which I have held for fourteen years, I have frequently had the disappointing experience of receiving resignations of members of the Correspondence Circle. Many times such resignations have been accompanied by the statement that the matter in the *Transactions* is "too deep," or that the Papers read before the Lodge are on subjects which the Brother in question has no means of studying. In short, the implication is that, while the Lodge is doing an immense amount of valuable research work, and is building up a great History of Masonry, it does but little to attract or to educate the young Mason in any branch of Masonic History or Archæology.

It is common knowledge that, in the large majority of Masonic Lodges, little more than the working of the three degrees is communicated to the Brethren. The young Mason of to-day will not accept, without question, the Traditional History as taught in our Lodges—he wants to know more, and to judge for himself on many things which in my own early days were accepted without question. He hesitates, for example, to believe that Masonry was first organised at the building of King Solomon's Temple.

Lodges of Instruction fall far short of their duty in this respect. Most of them are mainly, if not exclusively, concerned with the learning of the particular brand of Ritual they affect and repeating it with meticulous accuracy of detail and action, generally speaking with an entire absence of understanding. Fortunately, many Craft Lodges and some Chapters have, of late years, begun to include

Lectures and Addresses on Masonic subjects in their Agenda, and this is a move in the right direction, especially if these Lectures are of a sufficiently elementary character to interest and attract the young Mason.

Therefore, while in no way wishing to detract from the primary object of Masonic Ritual, I would urge the importance of regular Lectures and Addresses of an elementary character being adopted as a permanent part of all meetings of the Lodges, and that these Lectures should be given after supper, in place of the often banal entertainments to which we have to submit, or they could fittingly replace the unending round of dull speeches made in response to quite unnecessary Toasts.

This brings me to the consideration of the means for providing these Lectures. It is not every Lodge that includes in its membership a Brother or Brethren who are able to produce such short papers as will serve to instruct and to encourage Brethren to take up Masonic study. I know that for some time certain eminent Brethren have been doing most valuable instructional work amongst the Lodges, and that, in particular, the reading and publication of the "Prestonian Lectures" since this most excellent system was revived has been of the utmost value in arousing interest in Masonic study, but there is much more to be done in this direction. We have a great lesson to learn from our German and Dutch Brethren in this respect.

May I suggest that the QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE might greatly extend its influence for good, if it could arrange to prepare a series of short papers for the use of Lodges, and make it known abroad that these Lectures are at the disposal of the Lodges? A scheme on these lines would, in my opinion, do much to cultivate knowledge and encourage the spirit of enquiry amongst the Brethren and thus swell the number of Masonic students. In making this suggestion, I have in mind the experience of Bro. Stokes and myself in Sheffield, where there are eighteen Craft Lodges. For many years it has been customary in many of these Lodges to include short lectures on the lines indicated, such lectures being given after supper. In addition to this, it has been the established custom of the HALLAMSHIRE COLLEGE OF ROSICRUCIANS to invite M.M.'s who were not members of the Society to be present at the reading of many of the papers which are given at their regular meetings. These lectures generally lead to discussions and the asking of questions, and, to my own certain knowledge, many Brethren have by this means been encouraged to take up Masonic study.

I have no means of comparing Sheffield with other districts, but the fact that in 1917 Sheffield had nine members of the Correspondence Circle and in 1932 there are 82 members, is some indication of increased interest, and I think I am correct in attributing this to the effect of greater activity in the form of lectures and papers brought before the Lodges.

Now, while our main object must always be to widen the circle of Masonic Students, there is no need to disguise the fact that we hope also for an increase in the number of members of the Correspondence Circle. This is not a selfish desire, because we know that it is only by means of a considerable addition to our numbers that we can hope to resume the publication of our series of rare and invaluable reprints of inaccessible documents and books.

This brings me to the question as to how we can assist the young student in his reading, and also how we can give him further service when he joins the CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

Perhaps, before applying for membership, he may have seen odd numbers or bound volumes of our *Transactions*, and on joining he receives his own copies of the current issue. In this he will probably find references to earlier volumes to which, unless he has the good fortune to have access, he will be unable to refer. As we know, unfortunately many copies of our *Transactions* remain uncut and

unread. Some of these are given to Masonic Libraries, where they often have a similar fate, while others fall into the hands of the booksellers. The Lodge has a very considerable stock of back numbers, so large, in fact, that a special room has been hired to store them.

I might also add that our Library in Sheffield has a huge stock of these "unread" copies and it has become an embarrassment to dispose of them.

To meet this point, I suggest that an arrangement might be made by which these back numbers of the *Transactions* could be called in and purchased by the Lodge, at a reduced price—say of 2/6 per volume—and resold to enquirers at a slightly higher price. Such a scheme would, however, put a good deal of extra work upon our Secretary and his staff, and therefore, as an alternative, Brethren and Libraries having stocks of back numbers could be invited through the pages of the *Transactions* to report their offers or requirements, and thus a direct contact between the two be established.

## LODGE AND ASSOCIATION LIBRARIES.

I am afraid that, with a few notable exceptions, Lodge and Masonic Hall Libraries are more like Mausoleums than living distributors of knowledge. Too often is the need for the acquisition and circulation of live literature subordinated to the desire for the acquisition of rarities. Some libraries are greatly congested by the possession of extra copies of useful works—generally acquired by donation rather than by purchase.

On the other hand, as the recruitment of new students increases, the need for the formation of new libraries will arise, and what more valuable use for these spare copies could be found than their absorption in the formation of new libraries?

This, of course, necessitates some machinery, by which the buyer or seller (or donor) can be brought together. It is, of course, asking too much to suggest that the Quatuor Coronati Lodge could undertake this work, but possibly the "Masonic Clearing House," to which I shall refer later, might include this branch in its activities.

While on the subject of books, would it not be possible for the Lodge to prepare a short catalogue *raisonée* of carefully selected books suitable for the guidance of young students? Of late years many most valuable books, almost at "popular" prices, have been published. I remember that Bro. Speth, many years ago, published his *Masonic Curriculum*, and our Bro. Roderick Baxter's suggestions for a course of Masonic reading has been of the utmost value to many of us.

Such a catalogue should, so far as possible, be limited to books which are still in print, or to papers to be found in current *Transactions*, so that they would be accessible or attainable by Brethren in the Provinces or overseas.

I might here refer to that very valuable publication "*Miscellanea Latomorum*," and suggest that greater publicity might be given to it. I am quite secure in saying this, as nobody derives any profit from it, though I am delighted to have an opportunity to express our admiration of the work done as Editor by our Bro. Lionel Vibert. The Notes and Queries section of this little journal offer enormous help to all students.

Having thus far endeavoured to indicate the direction in which the Quatuor Coronati Lodge might extend the already wide range of its usefulness by spreading the desire for Masonic knowledge and providing the means for acquiring that knowledge, I suggest that there is still something the Lodge can do to help the advanced student, and to assist the research of the more learned writer.

It is not generally understood how difficult it is for Brethren engaged in writing the History of Provincial Lodges to render their work complete unless they are able to visit London in order to refer to the Archives in Grand Lodge, or to consult rare books and documents in the British Museum and other Libraries.

With the exception of LANE'S records and a few other works and our own *Transactions*, there is very little available to the Lodge Historian beyond the particular local records in his possession. On commencing work on a Lodge History, one very soon finds that reference to the records in Grand Lodge are vitally necessary, and often the work is incomplete, because the writer cannot afford time or expense to visit GRAND LODGE for the purpose.

To meet this need, is it not possible that means might be found by which such records could be looked up and transcribed on behalf of the Brother who needs them?

There must be many worthy and reliable Brethren in LONDON who would gladly undertake such work in return for a reasonable remuneration. This class of work is being done regularly at the BRITISH MUSEUM, the BODLEIAN and other great Libraries, and I feel that there should be no difficulty in the QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE, or even GRAND LODGE itself, inaugurating such a scheme and getting together a small number of competent Brethren, to whom the opportunity of earning a moderate remuneration would be greatly valued, and thus the Lodge Historian would be enabled to give a more complete record in his History.

I commend this suggestion for your consideration.

The last suggestion I wish to make is in regard to the "Clearing House" to which I have already referred; it is one which I fear the Lodge could take no part in, as it is, perhaps, more suitable for private enterprise.

It must be the experience of every student—especially when dealing with the History of a Lodge or Chapter—that the records available are incomplete, and much time and trouble are spent in searching for them. In the course of such search one sometimes is fortunate in finding interesting items having reference to some other Lodge or Chapter than that in which we are sepcially concerned—it may be a MINUTE BOOK, CASH BOOK, BY-LAWS, CERTIFICATE, or even an old SUMMONS, or a book containing a signature or other inscription—and while as a collector one is pleased to possess such a "find," yet it is only of secondary importance to that which we are looking for. And yet, very probably, some Brother in a distant part of the country may be searching for the very thing we have found, but there are no means by which the two searchers can come together.

I have had several fortunate experiences in this direction, but one of them will serve to illustrate my point.

Many years ago, while in Leicester, I spent an evening with our late Bro. J. T. Thorp, and in his library I happened to open a very good copy of the 1756 *Book of Constitutions*. Inside was written the following:—

"WILLIAM CUTTLER from his friend AARON LOWTON"

On returning home I was able to show that WILLIAM CUTLER was the first Master of LODGE No. 72 ANTIENTS and AARON LOWTON, a member of LODGE No. 105 ANTIENTS, and on showing this proof to Bro. Thorp he at once consented to let me have the book, and I was able to hand it over to the Britannia Lodge No. 139, which had amalgamated with Lodge 72 in the year 1797.

If, therefore, as I suggest, a Masonic Clearing House could be started, it would act as collector and distributor of a vast amount of material which at present is in the hands of those to whom it is not of primary interest.

Such an institution could circulate amongst its subscribers details of requirements and objects being sought for and could arrange: (1) Sale, (2) Exchange, (3) Perusal and examination, (4) Transcripts and Photographs.

I believe that once such a scheme was started it would lead to a general overhaul of collections and Libraries, which would bring to the surface many long lost or forgotten matters of great value to History.

In conclusion, while I fear that I may have wearied you with my views, I certainly feel that, splendid as has been the work of the Lodge and of its members in the past, the scope of its work and influence can be largely extended by means such as those I have suggested.

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At the subsequent Banquet, W.Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

BRETHREN,

It is with much pleasure I rise to propose the toast of our W.Bro. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., now the Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. Before proceeding to make any comments on the subject it is well that I should place before you the following particulars of his life, his avocations, and his Masonic and other activities.

Bro. David Flather was born on 1st July, 1864, his father, W. T. Flather, being also a Mason, and P.M. of Zetland Lodge, No. 603. He was educated at the Sheffield Collegiate School and Firth College. After six years with the great firm of John Brown and Co., as Metallurgical Chemist, he joined his father's business. This old-established firm, dating back to 1817, was originally engaged in the manufacture of Crucible Cast Steel. In recent times it has been devoted to the production of special alloy steels for Motor Cars, Cycles and Aircraft. During the Great War it took a considerable share in the production of special steels for munitions of war, and was frequently consulted by the Government on the problems connected with their application.

When the Sheffield Committee on munitions of war was formed he was an original member of it, being specially concerned in controlling the production in Sheffield of shrapnel-proof helmets. When, in 1917, Sir Albert Hobson became the Chairman of this Committee, Bro. Flather was appointed Treasurer, and on the death of Sir Albert, in 1918, he succeeded him as Chairman. This involved the responsible duty of closing down the work of the Committee, which, in addition to all that was involved in dealing with the large number of contracts that had been given out to local manufacturers, entailed actual trading on behalf of the Government to the extent of several millions.

When Bro. Flather was first associated with the production of steel, it was largely carried out without the aid of scientific knowledge. But he from the first saw the vital importance of science, and has been able to combine its technical application with his practical experience. He is to-day a member of the Iron and Steel Institute, the Institute of Automobile Engineers, the Society of Automotive Engineers of America, and the Sheffield Metallurgical Association. He has for many years been a member of the Committee of the Applied Science Department of the University of Sheffield, and the Court of Governors. He is also a "Governor of Assay" for the City of Sheffield.

It was only natural that he should become a member of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire, which he joined in 1911, and devoted much time and energy to its affairs. In 1926 he became Master Cutler, a position the importance of which is recognised far beyond the limits of Sheffield itself. He is also one of the Twelve Capital Burgesses for the Parish and Town of Sheffield. This is a corporation founded in 1554, and to-day it administers a large sum of money which is applied to the upkeep of the Cathedral and Parish Church, and generally to assisting in building and endowing new churches within the limits of the ancient parish. He is also a J.P. for the City and a Commissioner for Income Tax, but has not otherwise taken any part in the political or public life of the City.

His literary and archæological interests will be appreciated when I tell you that he was President of the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1925, and is a member of the Hunter Archæological Society, the Yorkshire Archæological Society, and the Egypt Exploration Society.

Turning now to his record in the Craft, our Brother was the first candidate after the consecration of the Hallamshire Lodge, No. 2268, and was initiated on 15th November, 1888. He occupied the Chair of the Lodge in 1898. He received his first Provincial Grand Rank in 1903, becoming Prov.G.S.W., Yorkshire West Riding, in 1920. In 1922 he received Grand Rank as P.A.G.D.C. He was a Founder of University Lodge, No. 3911; Milton, No. 3849; and Hadassah, No. 4871. He is also a member of the Authors' Lodge, No. 3456, and an Hon. Member of Britannia, No. 139. In the R.A. he was exalted in the Chapter of Paradise, No. 139, becoming its First Principal in 1906. He was given Grand Chapter Rank as P.G.St.B. in 1922. He is a Founder of four Chapters, Authors', No. 3456; University, No. 3911; St. Audrey, No. 3849; and Hallamshire, No. 2268. In the A. & A. Rite he is 30°, and has also occupied principal offices in the K.T. Mark, Royal Order of Scotland, and other degrees.

He was one of the Founders of the Sheffield Masonic Literary Society. But when the Hallamshire College of the Soc. Ros. in Anglia was revived by himself and Bro. Dr. John Stokes, the Literary Society was absorbed into it. He was Secretary of the College for many years, and Celebrant in 1912, and he now holds the position of Junior Substitute Magus, IX.°, in the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia.

In our own Lodge he joined the Correspondence Circle in 1903, and has been our Local Secretary since 1918. He became a full member of the Lodge in 1929. Brethren will remember the interesting paper he read to us in 1931 on *Freemasonry in Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century*. He has also written the *History of R.A. Masonry in Sheffield* in collaboration with Dr. Stokes. I should also mention a paper *What is Freemasonry?* read to the Authors' Lodge, and one on *Ancient and Modern Rosicrucians* read to Notts Installed Masters. But he has devoted his attention mainly to the delivery of lectures and short Masonic addresses in the Lodges of his own Province, and to an endeavour to spread amongst them a desire for serious Masonic study. He has also devoted much time to the study of local Masonic records, and the paper already given us on the early masonry of Sheffield is understood to be only an instalment, the subject being one on which he has a large amount of material collected.

With these brief but striking particulars before us I now proceed to make a few observations.

On 15th November, 1888, our Brother David Flather passed in view before the Brethren from the North, the South, the East and the West, to show that he was a fit and proper person to be made a Mason. Since then almost exactly forty-four years have passed, and the judgment of the then assembled Brethren as to his fitness and propriety has been continuously and completely confirmed

up to this present, notwithstanding the penetrating lights which have been attending him during all the intervening years. He has triumphantly passed all the tests to which he has in that long career been subjected.

On this very day, as at the beginning of his Masonic life, he is of good report, and amply fulfils the requirement that our Master should be true and trusty and held in high estimation among his Brethren and fellows.

He is essentially a working man, and is true as steel; true and trusty as Sheffield steel, that metal which has attended us from our birth until this present festive occasion, when our food has been cut up by the Sheffield blades we have been using.

Our Brother is indeed in the direct line of descent from Tubal Cain, the first artificer in metals, and in these days our Architects and Masons are having increased recourse to the use of steel in their building operations.

"David" is his name. The import of that word is "Beloved," according to the best opinions of the choicest Hebrew scholars. Right worthily does he fulfil and deserve all the highest implications of such a name.

Brotherly love is one of his outstanding characteristics, and therefore it is no wonder that he himself should be beloved. Thus our thoughts are carried back to those great and outstanding examples of Brotherly love in the persons of David and Jonathan, the record of whose fraternal and truly manly love has been the inspiration and won the admiration of all the ages.

Happy indeed am I to have so worthy a successor.

I therefore ask you to be upstanding and to join with me in drinking to the health and happiness of our Worshipful Brother David Flather, the present Master of this Lodge.

# NOTES.

**CCEPTED MASONS IN 1676.**—The following notice appeared under the heading *Divertisements* in the issue of *Poor Robin's Intelligence* for October 10th, 1676 (*vide* the photographic reproduction):—

> These are to give notice, that the Modern Green-ribbon'd Caball, together with the Ancient Brother-hood of the Rosy Cross; the Hermetick Adepti, and the Company of Accepted Masons, intend all to dine together on the 31 of *November* next, at the Flying-Bull in Wind-Mill-Crown-Street; having already given order for great store of Black-Swan Pies, Poached Phœnixes Eggs, Haunches of Unicorns, &c. To be provided on that occasion; All idle people that can spare so much time from the Coffee-house, may repair thither to be spectators of the Solemnity: But are advised to provide themselves Spectacles of Malleable Glass; For otherwise 'tis thought the said Societies will (as hitherto) make their Appearance invisible.

*Poor Robin's Intelligence* was a single sheet, quarto size, printed on both sides and issued weekly in London, from March 25th, 1676, to November 19th, 1677. It appears to have been sold in the streets, but some issues have a reference to "our office at the Queen's Head Tavern on Snow Hill." The contents consisted mainly of a series of scurrilous paragraphs, professing to give reports of social events in London. But the persons concerned all have obviously fictitious names, although it is possible that in some cases real incidents may be referred to and that readers would have been able to recognise the parties. But most of the paragraphs seem to be the merest inventions, and many of them are grossly indecent. Nevertheless, every copy has what appears to be L'Estrange's license to print. The bottom right-hand corner of the back of the sheet was generally filled by a facetious quasi-advertisement, or Divertisement, as is the title in the present case. But there is no other reference in the whole series to any of the societies referred to in this instance.

After the *Intelligence* had been discontinued, Poor Robin issued *Prophecies and Divertisements*, one sheet, printed on both sides, on May 23rd, 1677. This is an imitation of Mother Shipton, with political allusions. He then issued his *Memoirs* in a similar weekly series, running from 10th December, 1677, to 25th March, 1678; a burlesque biography, a very foolish affair; I could detect no Masonic allusions in it. What else he may have printed I cannot say; I have not been able to find out anything about the writer himself.

But the importance of this particular item is obvious. That it is fictitious is clear from the date assigned for the meeting, 31st November, if from nothing else. I have tried to make something of the alleged place of meeting, but without success. There is probably some hidden allusion here, which contemporaries will have appreciated.

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# *Divertiſements.*

THeſe are to give notice, that the Modern Green-ribbon'd Caball, together with the Ancient Brother-hood of the Roſy-Croſs; The Hermetick Adepti, and the Company of accepted Maſons, intend all to Dine together on the 31 of *November* next, at the Flying-Bull in Wind-Mill-Crown-Street; having already given order for great ſtore of Black-Swan Pies, Poach'd Phœnixes Eggs, Haunches of Unicorns, &c. To be provided on that occaſion; All idle people that can ſpare ſo much time from the Coffee-houſe, may repair thither to be ſpectators of the Solemnity: But are adviſed to provide themſelves Spectacles of Malleable Glaſs; For otherwiſe 'tis thought the ſaid Societies will (as hitherto) make their Appearance Inviſible.

THere will ſhortly be publiſhed, *The Cunning Fools Academy* in large Folio; An accurate peice, inſtructing People how to cheat others firſt, and themſelves at laſt: to be ſold by *Pragmaticus Dandiprat*, at the Sheeps head and Vinegar-Bottle in Knaves-Aker, a little on this ſide Bedlam.

*Rozer L'Eſtrange.*

This may be Printed, Octob. 16. 1676.

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Printed by *A. Purſlow*, for the General Aſſembly of Hawkers.

From *Poor Robin's Intelligence*; photographed from the copy in the British Museum.

The Green Ribbon Club had been founded in 1675. I am indebted to Bro. W. J. Williams for giving me the reference to it in the *Cambridge Modern History*, v., 214, from which what follows is taken. The great Cabal ministry had been scattered to the winds in 1673. In 1675 Shaftesbury, who as Ashley had been a member of it, "discovered the art of organising popular sentiment on a grand scale. The Green Ribbon Club which was founded about this time by means of an extensive system of agents, agitators and pamphleteers, gave the tone with increasing certainty to political feeling throughout the country and during the next seven years played a part in English politics that can only be compared to that of the Jacobin Club in France. The headquarters of the Green Ribbon Club were in the King's Head Tavern at the bottom of Chancery Lane, and of the club Shaftesbury was the president and the soul." In 1682 they were plotting open rebellion.

But the association of this purely political organisation with the Ancient Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross, the Hermetick Adepti, and the Company of Accepted Masons is not at all easy to explain. The very mention of these other societies by a paper of this sort in 1676 is remarkable. The date does not suggest any special reason for bringing them in. The London Company of Masons got its Charter in December, 1677. In October, 1676, the Acception was still associated with the Company as we see from the inventory of July in that year printed at p. 195 of Conder, which speaks of the fair large table of the Accepted Masons. It is somewhat surprising to find this phrase familiar to the general public.

Nothing is known of any activities of Rosicrucian or Hermetic philosophers at this date that would have attracted the attention of the general public. The allusion to making themselves invisible no doubt has reference to their supposed mysterious magical powers, which would be a very widely held belief. But the paragraph was certainly written by someone who was well acquainted with the bodies he names, and with their special terminology, and is in every way of very great interest. L.V.

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**Anderson's "Constitutions" in Canada.** — In *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 3, is an article by R.W. Bro. Chas. C. Plumb, Grand Historian of the Grand Lodge of Ohio; *The Distribution in the United States of America of Anderson's Constitutions.* In this are listed one hundred and twelve copies of the six editions located by him in that country.

The accuracy of Bro. Plumb's title is beyond dispute, but the final paragraph of his preface is open to the criticism that he falls into the error, so frequent among citizens of his country, of identifying the United States with the whole of the North American continent! In fact, his enquiries did not extend beyond the limits of the United States themselves, as his tabular statement clearly indicates.

Accordingly it has seemed advisable to collect such data as could be obtained about Canadian owned copies of these works, as a suitable addendum to Bro. Plumb's efforts in this direction, in which I am glad to have the opportunity to co-operate. The information I have been able to obtain is herewith tabulated:—

Anderson's *Constitutions* in Canada.

| Owned by | 1723 | 1738 | 1746 | 1756 | 1767 | 1784 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| M.Wor. Bro. F. J. Burd, Vancouver .. | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| M.Wor. Bro. J. M. Rudd, Nanaimo .. | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | |
| Rt.Wor. Bro. Dr. De Wolf-Smith, New Westminster .. .. . | 1 | 1 | | | | | |
| V.W. Bro. F. J. Ketchison, Montreal .. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| V.W. Bro. A. Brookstone, Toronto .. | | | | | 1 | | |
| Masonic Library, Toronto .. .. (John Ross Robertson collection) | | | | | | 2 | |
| Total .. | 4 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 20 |

The copies of the 1723 possessed by Bros. De Wolf-Smith and Ketchison are particularly fine, and the same is to be said of Bro. Ketchison's 1767.

The following details of some of these books will, I think, be found of interest.

Bro. Ketchison's copy of the 1723 has an inscription in Latin that it was the property of John Malpas in 1750. But nothing seems to be known of him. His copy of the 1746 has an old summons pasted into it, dated 1753, and inviting the Brethren of an unspecified Lodge to attend Divine Service on 27th December, and thence to proceed to dine at the usual place. The absence of details is tantalising.

Bro. Burd's copy of the 1767 has the name "St Alban's Lodge" stamped on the cover. There are only two Lodges of this name to which this copy is likely to have belonged. St. Alban's, No. 29 to-day, a London Lodge, was constituted in 1728, but not named till 1771. A Lodge constituted at Birmingham in 1762 was given this name in 1784. It was erased in 1829, when no doubt its belongings were dispersed.

Bro. Brookstone's 1767 has the Appendix of 1776, but only in part, as the copy is very imperfect.

N. W. J. Haydon.

# OBITUARY.

IT is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**Francis John Allan,** *M.D., F.R.S.E.*, of Teddington, Middlesex, on 28th July, 1932, at the age of 79 years. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1897.

**A. H. Anderson,** of Cambridge (formerly of S. Africa), in 1932. Bro. Anderson was a member of Frere Lodge No. 2089, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1897.

**George H. Bindon,** *F.S.A.A.*, of Pretoria, on 24th July, 1932, at the age of 77 years. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 12 (D.C.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1907, and for many years acted as Local Secretary for Pretoria.

Colonel **Claude Cane,** of Celbridge, Ireland, on 15th July, 1932, at the age of 73 years. Bro. Cane held the office of Deputy Grand Master. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1926.

**William Tait Conner,** *A.R.I.B.A.*, of Johannesburg, in 1932. Our Brother was a member of Lodge No. 510 (S.C.), and Chapter No. 510 (S.C.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in January, 1902.

**Frederick Ernest Cooper,** of London, S.W., on 31st October, 1932. Bro. Cooper held L.R., and was a Member of Aldersgate Lodge and Chapter No. 1657. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1907.

**Louis E. de Ridder,** of Weston, Bath, on 3rd November, 1932. Our Brother was a member of the Royal Clarence Lodge No. 68, and of Virtue Chapter No. 152. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1890.

**William J. Freer,** of Leicester, on 12th July, 1932, at the age of 80 years. Bro. Freer held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.J. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1903.

**Henry Jinks Grace,** of Leicester, on 2nd September, 1932, at the age of 70 years. Our Brother 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 November, 1908.

**Ely P. Hubbell,** of Bradentown, Fla., on 9th September, 1932. Bro. Hubbell was P.M. of Lodge No. 99, and had attained the rank of Past Grand High Priest. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1915, and for many years acted as Local Secretary for Florida.

**Andrew Hunter,** of Falkirk, on 22nd October, 1932, at the age of 58 years. Our Brother held the office of Prov. Grand Master, and was P.Z. of Chapter No. 210. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1907.

**George Edward King,** of London, S.W., on the 14th October, 1932, at the age of 89 years. Bro. King held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1919.

**Walter Lawrance,** *F.S.I.*, of London, W.C., on 20th November, 1932. Bro. Lawrance held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1899.

**John Charles McCullagh,** of Rye, Sussex, in July, 1932. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., Wicklow & Wexford, and Grand Chief Scribe (Ireland). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1904.

Dr. **Ferdinand Rees,** *M.D.*, of Saltdean, Sussex, on 11th November, 1932. Bro. Rees was a P.M. of Lindsay Lodge No. 1335, and a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1922.

**William Henry Smee,** of Monkseaton, on 3rd August, 1932. Our Brother was a P.M. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Lodge No. 24, and a member of De Swinburne Chapter No. 24. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

**Alexander Hannan Strachan,** of Dundee, on 2nd July, 1932. Bro. Strachan held the rank of P.Dis.G.St.B., Bengal, and was P.Z. of Ubique Chapter No. 2476. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in 1928.

His Honour Judge **Richard Whitbourn Turner,** of London, on 20th November, 1932. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1916.

**Percival Montague Watts,** of London, E.C., on the 16th July, 1932. Bro. Watts attained the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1918.

**J. Fred Whitehead,** of Melbourne, Victoria, in 1932. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 247 (I.C.), and a member of Chapter No. 159 (I.C.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1895.

# ST. JOHN'S CARD.

HE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1932:—

*LODGES, CHAPTERS, Etc.*: —Provincial Grand Lodge of Northumberland, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Lodge Greenlaw No. 1095, Toungoo, Burma; St. Peter's Lodge No. 1330, Market Harborough; Uva Lodge No. 3429, Badulla, Ceylon; Gymkhana Lodge No. 3796, Bombay; Lodge Hiram zu den Drei Sternen, Prague; City of Lincoln Installed Masters' Association, Lincoln; Elvetham Lodge of Instruction No. 4103, Hartley Wintney, Hants.; Verseilles Class of Instruction, Blackheath, London, S.E.3.

*BRETHREN*:—James Clement Anderson, L.R.I.B.A., of London, S.E. 140, *140*; Bernard Thomas Ashton, of London, N. 3901; Reginald Francis Baker, of Burton-on-Trent. 4268, *4268*; Charles Edwin Bale, of London, S.E. W.M. 4497, *P.So. 19*; William Barrett, of London, S.E. P.M. 2589; John Daniel Kelly Beardmore, of London, N.W. W.M. 5812, *975*; Charles Norman Bennett, of Singapore. 1152, *1152*; Robert Marr Benzie, of Glasgow. P.M. 772, *11*; Wyllys Rosseter Betts, of New York. P.M. 858; James Samuel Bookless, of Tavistock, Devon. W.M. 282, *P.So. 282*; Henry Stauffer Norneman, of Philadelphia, Pa. 487, *226*; William Thomas Boston, of London, E.C. 213; George Henry Carne Boulderson, of Southsea. P.M. 4337, *257*; Charles Percival Bowyer, of Warfield, Berks. J.W. 1635, *771*; Thomas Coombe Brice, of London, W. P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Earley Winfred Bridges, of Greensboro, N.C., U.S.A. 76; Frederic William Brockbank, of Bolton, Lancs. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.R.*; John Charles William Brockliss, of Surbiton, Surrey. 1669; Samuel Robert Brown, of Cootehill, Co. Cavan. Pr.G.I.G., *Pr.G.C.S.V.*, Armagh; James Walter Burrows, of London, N.W. 5158; Arthur Herbert Busby, of Bloemfontein. P.G.W. (D.C.), *1022*; Thomas Henry Carter, of London, S.W. S.W. 28, *Sc.N. 28*; Benjamin Chaikin, of Jerusalem. 4611, *4611*; Frederick Walter Fell Clark, of Argyll. G.S.W., Pr.G.M., *163*; Charles Thomas Thornton Comber, *M.D.*, *O.B.E.*, of London, S.E. 2948, *L.C.R.*, *Pr.G.Sc.N.*, Kent; *Rev.* William Antipas Congdon, *M.A.*, of Gloucester. 626, *103*; Richard Girdlestone Cooper, of London, S.W. S.W. 1657, *1657*; David Robert Davies, of Forest Hall, Northumberland. W.M. 2821, *Sc.E. 2821*; William Henry Eves Davies, of London, S.E. Sec. 2563, *P.Z. 2563*; Joseph Dean, of New Malden. 2389; Charles Wilcher Digby, Ilford. 2256; Norman Enoch Dixon, of Sheffield. 4069; Douglas Dobson, of Gosforth, Northumberland. Pr.G.W., *Pr.G.J.*; Lionel Archibald Donnellan, of N'kana, N. Rhodesia. P.M. 1113 (S.C.), *P.Z. 665* (S.C.), *P.Dis.G.J.*, Transvaal; *Air Commodore* Bertie C. H. Drew, *C.M.G.*, *C.B.E.*, of Harpenden, Herts. 362; William Fanstone Dyer, of London, S.E. P.G.S., P.M. 14, *P.Z. 8*; W. H. Earley, of London, S.W. S.W. 5267, *211*; George Leonard Elkington, of London, S.W. P.G.S., P.M. 28, *P.Z. 28*; Harold Douglas Elkington, of London, E.C. J.W. 28; Arthur James Henry Elliott, of London, W.C. 491; James Edward Exley, of Bexhill-on-Sea. W.M. 4921, *J. 2483*; Gilbert Audrey Fenton, of

Rouen, France. P.M. 5; Vivian Edmund Charles Ferrier, of Canton, China. S.W. 2013, *Sc.E. 2013*; Kenneth Darwin Flather, of Sheffield, 2268; Theodore Henri Fligelstone, of London, N.W. W.M. 4774, *1992*; Harcourt Leslie Forte, of Newton Abbot. P.M. 1181, *H. 1138*; Capt. F. K. Foster, *O.B.E.*, of Cheltenham. P.G.D., Dy.Pr.G.M., *P.G.So.*, *Pr.G.H.*; Shirley Elliston Francis, of Belgrave, Vic. P.M. 439, *H. 66*; Fred. Franks, of London, N.; Donald Geoffry Ralph Freeman, of London, W. 1708; Tom Leonard Gadd, of Chertsey. I.G. 2120, *P.So. 2120*; Harold Ennis Gardner, of Wirral, Cheshire. P.Pr.G.W., West Lancs., *2289*; Ernest James Pickett Garratt, of Banstead, Surrey. 4255, *72*; Louis Eugene Grandjean, of Copenhagen. Nordstjernen; William Haigh, of Southall, Middlesex. P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; Arthur Alfred Haines, of N'dola, N. Rhodesia. 1371 (S.C.); Harry Samuel Hall, of Bungay. S.W. 929, *P.So. 305*; John Joseph Hall, of Monkseaton. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.H.*; Kenneth Macqueen Hamilton, of Armagh. 409; Alfred John Harland, of Paddock Wood, Kent. P.M. 4291, *P.Z. 1414*; Sir David Allan Hay, of Glasgow. Subst.Pr.G.M., *189*; *R. Rev.* Frederick Cyril Nugent Hicks, *D.D.*, Bishop of Lincoln. P.M. 4653; Joseph James Hill, of Carshalton, Surrey. 1269; Geoffrey Ditom Hinks, of Yeovil. 329, *329*; Harold Hitchen, of Oldham. Sec. 854, *277*; Ernest George Hobbs, of N'Kana, N. Rhodesia. P.M. 5326, *2479*; Herbert Alexander Horsnell, of London, N.W. 765, *765*; Percy George Hughes, of Lewes. 1303; Stephen Samuel Huskisson, *B.A.*, of London, E. P.M. 3439, *H. 860;* Wade Hustwick, of Bradford. J.W. 600; Frank Imrie, of Greenock. 175, *17*; Edmund Jarosiewicz, of Bukarest. Sec., Die Arbiet; Charles Victor Jarvis, of Manchester. 3392, *3392*; Charles Joseph Johnson, of London, S.W. 3954, *574*; Jesse Jones, of Cooksville, Ont. 221, *221*; Daniel Kerrin, *M.A.*, of Allahabad. W.M. 391; Bernard William Leaver, of London, W. 3228, *201*; Frederick Gordon Lee, of London, S.E. L.R. 140, *P.Z. 140*; Edwin James Garner Lewton, of Wellington, N.Z. 136, *41*; Robert Strathern Lindsay, *W.S.*, of Edinburgh. 44, *40*; Victor Alexander Loftus-Paton, of Canton, S. China. 3705, *1165*; Samuel Henry Longley, of Eustis, Florida. 85, *33*; James Lothian, of Glasgow. P.M. 360, *79*; William Lyall, of Darlington. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.H.*; Alan McDougall, of Alderley, Cheshire. P.M. 1253, *P.Z. 62*; J. Reginald F. Maguire, of Durban. J.W. 1378 (S.C.), *247 (I.C.)*; Samuel Mainwaring, of London, N. 2168; Kenneth Charles Marrian, *A.M.Inst.C.E.*, of Heswall, Cheshire. Sec. 5302, *174*; Harold William Martin, of London, S.W. P.M. 1964, *P.Z. 58*; Leonard James Martin, of Ipswich. 114, *376*; Joseph Stanley Maxwell, of Montreal. 398; Walter John Mean, of Harrow, Middlesex. I.G. 2733; Walter Frederick Meier, of Seattle, Wash. P.G.M., *P.H.P.*; Charles Dick Melbourne, of London. P.A.G.R., *P.G.St.B.*; Archibald Galland Mellors, *F.C.A.*, of Nottingham. P.G.Treas., *P.G.Treas.*; William Neave Melville, of Ulverston. P.M. 1021, *P.Z. 1021*; John Ernest Messenger, of Kenton, Middlesex. P.M. 141, *2956; Capt.* Peter Purdie Millar, *R.A.*, of Waziristan, India. 1152, *1152*; Morlais Morgan, of London, S.W. S.D. 2473, *2473*; Edgar Ward Morris, of Kingston, Surrey. P.M. 2105, *J. 1891*; *Dr.* Gavin Muir, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. S.W. 2260, *2260*; Sy. Nash, of Olympia, Wash., U.S.A. J.W. 1; *Major* Herbert Dryden Home Yorke Nepean, of Abbottabad, N.W.F.P. W.M. 4159, *1960*; Luis Neuman, of Zurich. Zu den 3 Ringen (Alpina C.); Charles Allen Newbery, of London, W. 1962, *1962*; Stephanus Paul Ora, of Cambridge. 2432, *2432*; George Palmer, of Exeter. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*; *Major* A. C. M. Paris, *M.C.*, of Punjab. 1448, P.M. 1364 (S.C.), *P.H. 1448*; Lawrence George Parker, of London, E. 3808, *3808*; David Paterson, of Uddingston. P.M. 579, *170*; *Rev.* Lewis Penrice Penny, *D.D.*, of Gloucester. 82; Eric Sinclair Perkins, of Hull. 3891, *3891*; Fred Lomax Pick, of Oldham. 277, *277*; *Rev.*

Frank Pickford, of Coggestall, Essex. 3707; *Major* George Potts, *F.R.C.S.*, of Maidstone, Kent. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*; Benjamin Nash Pullen, of London, S.W. 5267, *211*; Ray Lewis Quick, of West Newton, Mass. 716, *58*; Edmund Kenneth Rainford, of Pretoria. 2967, *1747*; Charles William Randall, of Bishop's Stortford. P.M. 409, *P.Z. 409*; Harold Rayne, of Birmingham. Sec. 4340, *5224*; Archibald Walter Rayner, of Beccles. P.M. 305, *P.Z. 305*; George Berriman Redfern, of Hatch End, Mdx. P.M. 4941; Dennis Charles Rennie, of S. Persia. W.M. 1324 (S.C.), *3*; *Rev.* Walter Robbins, of Norwich. P.Dis.G.W., N. China; Gordon Mackellar Roberts, of London, S.W. P.M. 3817, *P.Z. 3817;* Edwin Saxine, of Beckenham, Kent. 1872, *1872*; David Geoffrey Scott-Smith, of Rouen. 5; A. H. Seabrook, of Tampico, Mexico. S.W. 10, *2*; James Woodrow Shaver, of Logansport, Indiana. 33; James Marrett Simpson, of Haverfordwest. 464, *464*; Ernest Edward Smith, of Dartford, Kent. P.Pr.G.R., *P.Pr.G.So.*; Perceval F. Smith, of Gosport. P.M. 903, *P.Z. 903*; William Henry Smith, of Tenby, Pembs. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*; Arthur John Southcott, of E. Molesey, Surrey. 2540; Bernard George Stagg, of Birmingham, 473; George Arthur Stewart, of Sunderland. 5373, *97*; *Dr.* John Stewart, of Glasgow. P.M. 772, *P.Z. 331*; Alva Harry Sweet, of Seattle, Wash. 72; *Major* Edgar J. Taylor, of Westbrook, Conn. 286, *8* (N.Y.C.); Arthur Leslie Terry, of Bombay. 3796, *Sc.E. 549*; Harold Duncan Thackrah, of Nakuru, Kenya. P.Dis.G.W.; Albert Thompson, *F.R.C.O.*, of London, W. *4676*; Everard Feilding Thornton, of Berkeley, Glos. P.M. 839, *Sc.N. 839*; Alfred Henry Timms, of Swadlincote. P.Pr.G.Treas., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.* (Derbyshire); John Harold Todd, of Gainsborough. W.M. 5121, *422*; Edward John Toner, of London, N.W. 3901; Herbert Cecil Towers, of Ajmer, India. S.W. 2307, *2307*; Richard Townsend, of Mount Vernon, N.Y. 927; Gilbert Townson, of Birmingham. 4134; Reginald Francis Turner, of Bishop's Castle, Shropshire. P.M. 329; William James Turpin, of London, S.E. P.M. 140, *140*; Robert Twentyman, of Barrow-in-Furness. P.M. 1021, *P.Z. 1021*; William Lechmere Wade-Dalton, of Constable Burton, Yorks. Dep.Pr.G.M., *Dep.Pr.G.H.*; Joseph Wainwright, of Wirral, Cheshire. P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Roscoe Raymond Walcutt, of Columbus, Ohio. P.M. 339, *P.G.Sc.*; Gladstone Walker, *B.L.*, of Tynemouth. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Z. 3635*; Frederick Leopold Morfee Walsh, of London, W.C. L.R., P.M. 2416, *Sc.E. 2416*; Frederick Walton, of Crook, Co. Durham. P.Pr.G.Reg., *P.Pr.G.So.*; Sidney Warhurst, of Ulverston. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.R.*; Arthur Ernest Wheal, of London. P.M. 3228, *201*; *Major* Eric Stuart White, *D.S.O.*, of Colombo. P.M. 1971, *1971*; Toler Rector White, *M.D.*, of Kingman, Arizona. P.G.St.B.; John Hugh Williams, of Llanybyther, Carmarthen. 4713; *Dr.* Reginald Charles Wilson, of Kaduna Junction, Nigeria. 2867, *2867*; Richardson Little Wright, of New York City. 323, *188*; Ernest Edward Yates, of Enfield. 1237, *1237*.

*Note.*—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.

# Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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| ,, ,, No. 3: The Prestonian Lecture for 1933. By Rev. H. Poole ... ... | | 1 | 6 |

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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:*

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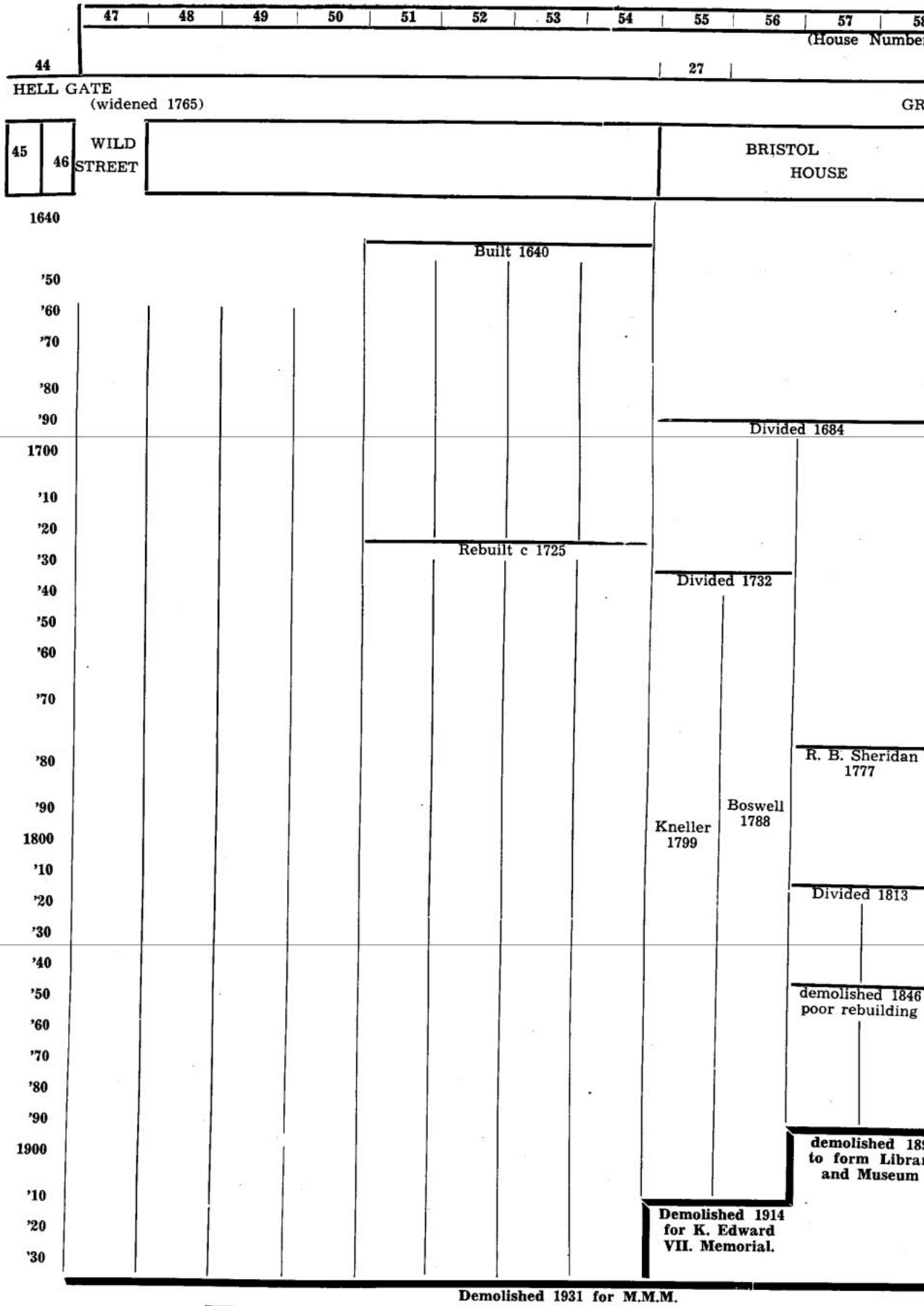
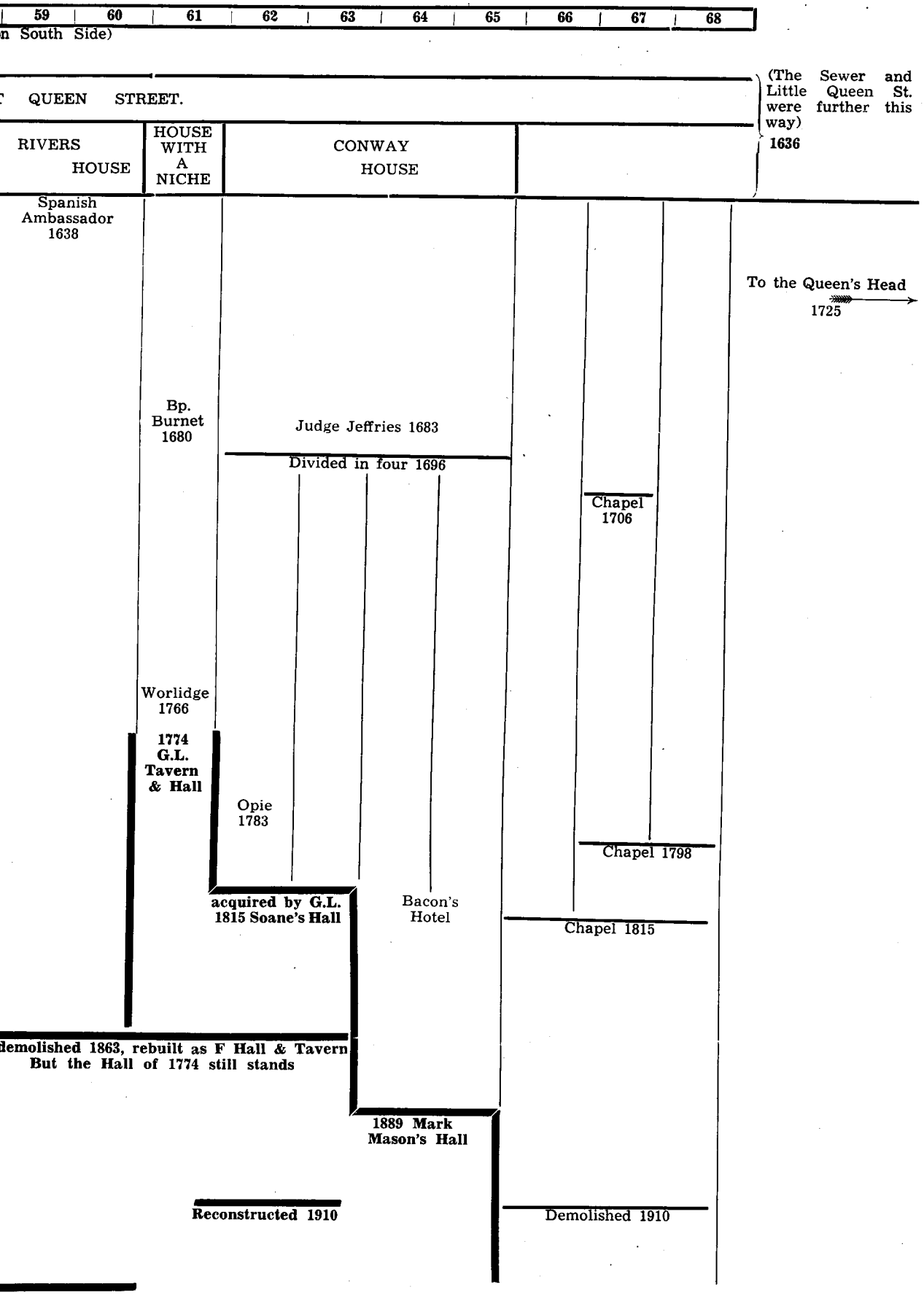



Sketch Plan, showing the property of Grand Lodge




F.M.V.

the South Side of Great Queen Street.

## LIST OF *CUBITORES* EMPLOYED

| Beaumaris, 1316-17. | | | Beaumaris, July, 1319. | | | Beaumaris, 1319-20. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAMES. | Wage. | No. of Weeks | NAMES. | Wage. | No. of Weeks | NAMES. | Wage. | No. of Weeks |
| Nich. de Grene | 2s. 5d. | 21 | | | | | | |
| John Grene | 2s. 4d. | 2 | | | | John de Grene | 2s. 4d. | 42 |
| John de Lenton | 2s. 5d. | 12 | | | | | | |
| Wm. de C . . . sond | 2s. 3d. | 1 | | | | | | |
| Rich. de Carleton | 2s. 1d. | 21 | | | | | | |
| Rich. Franceys | 2s. 1d. | 7 | | | | | | |
| Rich. de Haluhton | 2s. 1d. | 21 | | | | | | |
| Rob. de Weldene | 2s. 1d. | 1 | | | | | | |
| Hugo C . . . | 2s. 1d. | 1 | | | | | | |
| Wm. de Vaureal | 2s. 0d. | 1 | | | | | | |
| Rich. de Chereston | 2s. 1d. | 1 | | | | | | |
| John de Akle | 2s. 1d. | 15 | | | | | | |
| Henry de Elford | 2s. 1d. | 18 | | | | Henry de Elleford | 2s. 2d. | 17 |
| Nich. de Rontis | 2s. 1d. | 1 | | | | | | |
| Wm. de Dynbegh | 2s. 1d. | 2 | | | | | | |
| John de Ramesbury | 2s. 0d. | 1 | | | | | | |
| Nich. de Salesbury | ? 2/5 | 3 | | | | | | |
| Nich. de Felmsham | 16d. | 3 | Nich. de Ffelmyssam | 20d. | 3 | Nich. de Felmyssam | 20/21 | 48 |
| Mich. Bernard | 2s. 0d. | 2 | | | | | | |
| . . . de Leye | ? | 1 | | | | | | |
| | | | Thom. de Luston | 2s. 4d. | 3 | | | |
| | | | Wm. de Rothelan | 2s. 4d. | 2 | | | |
| | | | Hugh de Wynde [? sor] | 2s. 4d. | 3 | | | |
| | | | | | | Rob. de Grene | 2s. 3d. | 16 |
| | | | | | | John de Stennton | 2s. 5d. | 7 |
| | | | | | | Walter de Carlton | 2s. 4d. | 36 |
| | | | | | | Roger de Neth | 2s. 4d. | 16 |
| | | | | | | Thom. le Lymebryner | 18 | 25 |
| | | | | | | Ad. le Bedel | 12 | 16 |
| | | | | | | Wm. Broune | 2s. 0d. | 8 |

*DIX II.*

## AT BEAUMARIS AND CAERNARVON.

| Beaumaris, 1330. | | | Caernarvon, 1316-17. | | | Caernarvon, 1319. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAMES. | Wage. | No. of Weeks | NAMES. | Wage. | No. of Weeks | NAMES. | Wage. | No. of Weeks |
| | | | J. Grene | 2s. 4d. | 15 | | | |
| ? John de Lanton | 2s. 0d. | 10 | | | | | | |
| | | | Rich. Franceis | 21 | 3 | | | |
| | | | ? Thom. de Leye | 22d. | 21 | | | |
| Rob. del Grene | 2s. 4d. | 10 | Rob. de la Grene | 2s. 1d. | 16 | Rob. de la Grene | 2s. 1d. | 3 |
| | | | Walter de Carlton | 2s. 4d. | 29 | | | |
| | | | Roger de Neth | 2s. 4d. | 28 | Roger de Neth | ? | 1 |
| | | | Wm. Broun | ? 2/- | 1 | Wm. Brown | 2/- | 2 |
| Walter del Grene | 18 | 13 | | | | | | |
| John de Ingham | 2s. 4d. | 3 | John de Ingham | 2s. 1d. | 28 | John de Ingham | 2s. 1d. | 2 |
| John de Serdon | 2s. 2d. | 3 | | | | | | |
| Morris de Ingham | 16 | 3 | | | | | | |
| Ad. de Ecclesale | 2s. 4d. | 13 | | | | | | |
| | | | Ad. de Stone | 2s. 1d. | 14 | | | |
| | | | Wm. de Scaldebek | 2s. 0d. | 7 | | | |
| | | | Hen. de Stake | 2s. 0d. | 28 | | | |
| | | | John de Skeynok | 21d. | 29 | John de Skeynok | 21 | 2 |
| | | | Gilbert de Teruyn | 20d. | 29 | | | |
| | | | John de Acton | 18 | 5 | | | |
| | | | John de Chedd | 16/18 | 29 | John de Chedd | 18 | 1 |
| | | | Rob. de Stoke | 14/15 | 28 | | | |
| | | | Walter de Hope | 2s. 4d. | 13 | | | |
| | | | Rich. de Stuke | T | 1 | | | |
| | | | | | | Thom. de Blaket | 2s. | 2 |
| | | | | | | Galfr. de Carlel | 18 | 3 |
| | | | | | | Madoc ap Jor. | 16 | 3 |
| | | | Simon de Wynde [? sor] | ? 23 | 2 | | | |
| | | | Ad. de Gerston | 15 | 3 | | | |
| | | | John de Hope | 1 | 1 | | | |