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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 XLVI. PART 1,

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THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.

2.-To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research. 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by as of papers read in Lodge.

4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by

ishing, 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 ld. 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations
- whole or part) of foreign works.

7.-To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts. &c.

8.-To form a Masonic Library and Museum.

9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

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

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

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

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. ibers usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially come, 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),

the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

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

The Transactions of the Lodge, Ars Quatuor Coronatorum, contain a summary of the business of the Lodge. full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications,

es and queries, obituary, and other matter.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha, appear at undefined intervals, consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well

rmed on the subjects treated of.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where nbers 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 3000 members, comprising many of the st distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand retaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate

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 meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their endance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the pers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge etings, 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, h as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

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

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 alification. 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

oscription to the following 30th November.

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

It will thus be seen that for only a quarter of the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence rcle 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 bsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the rrent Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of ch publications.

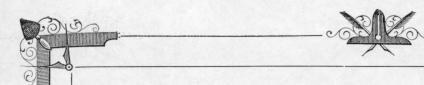
Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by iblishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association th us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each ember annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages an 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

braries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.



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Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

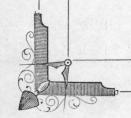
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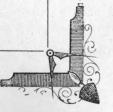


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ERRATUM

P. 112, l. 29. For "father, the ill-fated Duke", read "grand-father, the ill-fated Duke".

CONTRIBUTORS.

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Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,

VOLUME XLVI.

FRIDAY, 6th JANUARY, 1933.



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., as I.P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M., as S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M., as 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.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.D.,

Warwicks., Stew.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., as I.G.; Rev. A. W. Oxford, M.A., M.D., P.G.Ch.; and G. Hook, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Gircle:—Bros. Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., as S.D., R. H. Ford, G. C. Williams, W. T. J. Gun, A. E. Gurney, L. G. Wearing, G. H. Bacon, Jas. Wallis, D. Pryce Jones, Augustus Smith, F. M. Walsh, as J.D., Chas. J. Hobden, Fred. J. Underwood, C. F. Sykes, C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R., A. Thompson, G. D. Hindley, H. F. Whyman, P.A.G.St.B., John I. Moar, A. W. Hare, Lambert Peterson, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, James Fiddes, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., B. Ivanoff, H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., W. Brinkworth, S. S. Huckisson, Rev. G. Freeman Irwin, B.D., M.A., P.A.G.Ch., F. H. H. Thomas, Frank Imrie, H. Johnson, F. W. Davy, P.G.R., H. G. Chapman, Wm. A. Gayner, E. Eyles, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., A. F. Ford, George Young, E. L. Bristol, and Geo. F. Shaw.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. F. W. Burt, P.Dis.G.W., Nigeria; H. F. Berdinner, Pattison Lodge No. 913; W. E. Higgs, Calculus Lodge No. 3575; and T. Cox, Merton Lodge No. 2790.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R. P.M.; G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; I. Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.G.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; B. Telepneff, J.W.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D..

P.G.Ch., S.W.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., J.D.; D. Knoop, S.D.; J. Stokes, M.A., M.D., P.G.D., P.M.; and R. E. Parkinson.

One Library, one Company, and Thirty-one Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Report of the Audit Committee, as follows, was received, adopted, and ordered to be entered upon the Minutes:—

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27. Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, January 6th, 1933.

Present:—Bro. D. Flather, in the Chair, with Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, Cecil Powell, W. J. Songhurst, H. Poole, F. W. Golby, G. P. G. Hills, W. W. Covey-Crump, L. Vibert, Secretary, and G. S. Kerr, representing the Auditors.

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

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1932.

BRETHREN,

It is with deep regret that we have had to record the death on the 15th March of Bro. John Thomas Thorp, Past Grand Deacon, who had been a member of the Lodge for thirty-two years, and was its Master in 1909. The total number of the members of the Lodge is now 25.

We have to report that during the year the membership of the Correspondence Circle was reduced by 150. On the 30th November, 1931, we had a total of 3,471, and 175 names were added during the year; on the other hand, 325 were removed from the list, 81 by death, 156 by resignation, and 88 for the non-payment of subscriptions. Thus the total to carry forward is 3.321. Included among the deaths is that of Bro. Arthur Thewlis, who for many years had very effectively acted as our Local Secretary for Victoria.

The second part of Volume xliii. was issued during the year, and the final part is now being distributed. In the accounts now presented to the Lodge £432 8s. 11d. remains in reserve for the cost of this part; and approximately £1.200 each for Volumes xliv. and xlv. Subscriptions amounting to £521 12s. 4d. are still owing.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to our Local Secretaries who continue to do much good work. Bro. E. Tappenden has kindly undertaken the work in Hertfordshire in succession to Bro. A. S. Baker. Bro. D. Linekar has consented to take over the Pretoria District, filling the vacancy caused by the resignation of Bro. C. P. Matthews, as has Bro. Powers in Bulawayo from Bro. J. Malcolm. Bro.

C. F. Summers, Librarian to his Grand Lodge, is now acting for the Lodge in Victoria. We regret to see that there are many areas in this country and abroad in which we have no Local Secretaries, and we shall be very grateful to Brethren who will volunteer for this service and thus materially add to the broadening of the influence of the Lodge.

For the Committee,

DAVID FLATHER.

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending 30th November, 1932.

Receipts.							Expenditure.				
				£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
To	Cash			55	9	8	By	Lodge	37	14	9
٠,	Lodge			52	10	0	.,	Salaries, Rent, Rates and			
, ,	Joining Fees			90	6	0	l	Taxes	824	17	0
,,	Subscriptions:	1932		1112	()	2	31	Lighting, Heating, Clean-			
		1931		127	3	1		ing, Insurance, Telephone,			
		1930		30	9	0		Carriage and Sundries	146	15	2
		1929		7	17	6	,,	Printing, Stationery, etc.	512	6	2
		1928		1	1	9	,,	Medals	24	6	0
., ,	Cash in advance	е		132	13	4	,,	Binding	10	4	6
٠,٠	Medals	•••		26	12	6	,,	Sundry Publications	91	18	3
-: ,	Binding	•••		40	13	0	.,	Summer Outing	35	18	4
٠,	Sundry Publica	tions		244	15	9	,,	Library	37	17	11
-,,	Interest and D	iscounts		35	5	3	,,	Postages	125	11	4
-1.5	Publication Fu	nd		44	10	9	٠,	Local Expenses	4	13	6
							,,	Cash in Hand	149	4	10
	£2001 7 9						£	2001	7	9	

The Secretary drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS: -

By Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP.

Collar of Office; Oddfellows. Red velvet with a rosette, and badge of the heart in hand.

By Bro. FENTON.

Jewel; Master of Lodge of the Nine Muses. Oval enamel, designed by Bartolozzi; painted by Cipriani.

Medal. Gormogons. Identical with the Rylands specimen figured at A.Q.C., xv., 65.

Jewel. P.M. paste, no inscription.

Jewel; on irradiated ground, the W.T. of the II°, set one above the other in silver. No inscription.

By Bro. WARD RHODES.

Orange apron and sash.

From the Longe Collection.

Oil painting, an unidentified personage, of about the middle of last century in Masonic regalia.

Jewel of the Correspondence Circle of the North Carolina Lodge of Research.

By Bro. DAVID FLATHER.

Set of Certificates of Bro. Henry Freemantle.

- (i.) Master Mason, Lodge 569, Strabane, 19.4.1813 MS, on plain paper with seal on light blue ribbon.
- (ii.) Grand Lodge of Ireland. 23 April 1812.
- (iii.) MS. on plain paper; coloured design of two pillars and arch with keystone, veils, S. and C., with letter G. and the eightpointed star with in centre Garter and red cross, motto; Sit Lux et Lux Fuit. Excellent, Super Excellent and R.A.—having passed the Chair. 25 March 1813.
- (iv.) MS. on plain paper, Strabane K.T. same date. Black ribbon and seal. Given at the Lodge and the Orders of Knights Templars 292 and of Malta 692.
- (v.) MS. on plain paper, Red Cross. Strabane, under the Lodge 569, date again 25 March 1813. Broad red and narrow black ribbons, red wax seal.
- (vi.) MS. on plain paper Strabane Union Band 25 March 1813. Green ribbon and red wax seal. Also a smoke seal, twice.

Presented to the Lodge.

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

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF THE DOWNPATRICK LODGE, No. 367 (I.C.).

BY BRO. R. E. PARKINSON.



HE Union Lodge of St. Patrick, No. 367, Downpatrick, has already been brought to the notice of the Brethren of Quatuor Coronati by the late R.W. Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley, in his Notes on Irish Freemasonry No. VI.: The Wesleys and Irish Freemasonry (A.Q.C., xv., 102 et seq.). Our learned brother was then only concerned in refuting the widespread tradition that John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was received into our Order in that Lodge. Consequently, a more detailed

investigation of the existing records of the Lodge, it is hoped, will prove interesting and instructive.

In passing, it may be remarked, if anything be needed to clinch Dr. Crawley's argument, two further scraps of evidence exist. The name of John Wesley occurs in a list of members who agreed to dine together on St. John's Day in Winter, 1788, and on 5th March, 1792, his signature appears among those of a Committee appointed to try an offender.

The puzzle as to who this John Wesley was, remains unsolved. Dr. Crawley conjectured, because a certificate was issued, that Wesley was a bird of passage. The name of Wesley occurs in County Down, but a careful search through the extant Parish Registers of Down, and the adjacent parishes of Inch and Saul, has failed to find anyone of the name. It is possible, of course, that he was in the Army, as a detachment of Foot was always quartered in Downpatrick at that period.

THE CITY OF DOWN.

Downpatrick derives the latter half of its name from the Patron Saint of Ireland. In a little creek a few miles away, he landed, and made his first convert: near that very spot, at Saul, he died, and in Down he was buried.

The city has a history stretching far back into the mists of antiquity: at the beginning of the Christian Era it is associated with one of the heroes of the Craobh Ruadh, Ulster's ancient chivalry. When the former rulers of Ulster were driven from their capital, Emania, near Armagh, by the conquering Gaedhil, it became the head of the reduced kingdom, and the spade of the archæologist has proved, that the hill, on which stands the cathedral of Down, has been inhabited by man for upwards of two thousand years.

In the Golden Age of the Island of Saints and Scholars, Downpatrick was one of its four great schools: and such was the wealth of its monastery, that on no fewer than eight occasions between 824 and 1111 it was pillaged by marauding Norsemen.

A spell of comparative peace ensued, until the end of January, 1177, when John de Courci made a forced march from Dublin, in four days, with a handful of followers, seized Downpatrick, and proceeded to carve out for himself a semi-independent principality.

Until driven out by de Lacy, who was rewarded by King John with the title of Earl of Ulster, de Courci enjoyed a quarter of a century of peace in his domains. During this period he not only safeguarded his temporal possessions by the erection of numerous castles at strategic points, but, as was the custom in those good old days, sought likewise to lay up treasure in Heaven by the erection of religious houses. So, too, did his successors, the de Lacys, and the de Burghs, from the latter of whom the Earldom of Ulster descended to the British Crown.

Not only as the capital of the Earldom, but as an ecclesiastical centre of some importance, Downpatrick was in mediæval times the headquarters of English power in the north of Ireland.

Of the five monastic establishments known to have existed in Downpatrick itself, not a trace remains except the framework of the present Cathedral of Down, founded by de Courci as an Abbey of Benedictines, whose Abbot was Bishop of Down, and a Peer of Parliament. The original Irish Monks, Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine, were displaced to make room for Benedictines from St. Werburgh's, Chester.

With the decline of Anglo-Norman power in Ireland, Down was to suffer many vicissitudes, but the old city and the surrounding barony of Lecale were ever reckoned part of the Pale, and with the coming of peace under James I. it was even then a 'time immemorial' borough by prescription, returning two members to the Irish Parliament. After the Union, it returned one member to the Imperial Parliament until disfranchised by the Reform Act of 1885.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it continued of some importance as the county town, but to-day it is small and decaying, its trade and manufactures smothered by its upstart neighbour, Belfast.

THE LODGE.

As is well known, Ireland, first among Grand Lodges, issued documents to attest the regularity of subordinate Lodges, the first of the present series of Warrants being issued in February, 1732.

Of the earlier Warrants, in many cases it is now impossible to state with certainty which were issued to erect new Lodges, and which were merely to regularise old 'time immemoral' bodies. The oldest surviving Warrant in Co. Down, and indeed in Ulster, is 77 Newry, issued in 1737. Killyleagh, a small hamlet—though a pocket borough—some five miles from Downpatrick, received No. 180, in 1748. Yet, so far as we are at present aware, no Warrant was issued for the county town until No. 343 was granted to Roger McNeill, Esq., Robert Martin, and James Walsh, on 7th February, 1760; while on 4th June. 1761, No. 367 was issued bearing the names of Hugh Hill, Esq., William McKeevers, and Henry Colt.

At the outset, we are confronted with a perplexing problem: why did the Masons of the county town wait so long before obtaining a Warrant, and why two Lodges in a town of about three thousand inhabitants at most?

It is inconceivable that Masonry was unknown in Downpatrick prior to 1760: as the County town, the seat of the Assizes, and a military station, it was in touch with the outer world. The Deanery of Down was one of the richest preferments of the Irish Church, and was held by many prominent men, including Patrick Delany, the friend of Swift: best known nowadays as the husband of the incomparable Mary Granville, who has left us in her letters many lively pictures of the social life of Down in those days.

There is a close link, too, with Bristol; for in 1703 Edward Southwell, of King's Weston and Kinsale, married the Lady Elizabeth Cromwell, only child of Vere Essex, fourth and last Earl of Ardglass, so obtaining the Downpatrick Estate.

While the Southwells did not reside in Downpatrick, they visited it frequently, and effected many improvements.

It is, of course, possible that one of the early Irish Warrants, whose first place of issue is now unknown, was domiciled in Downpatrick, and the two Lodges were the result of a split, but, though a pure conjecture, it seems probable that the local brethren were loth to abandon their 'time immemorial' status: and that one group, having submitted to the authority of Grand Lodge, obtained No. 343, and the remainder followed suit about a year later.

While the date of the introduction of Masonry to Ireland is at present obscure, it presents a fascinating problem, and one is tempted here to indicate the possibility of a very early period. In spite of the ravages of war, and of successive plantations, some degree of continuity exists. Inevitably, of course, there has been, from the earliest period, an intimate connection between Ireland and Scotland, while recent research is showing how great was the influence of the wandering scholars of Ireland on the learning of the Middle Ages. When England was being slowly welded together out of the warring elements of the Heptarchy, Ireland was in close touch with what centres of learning there were on the Continent; in North Italy, France, and the heart of Germany.

Even before the impact of feudal civilisation upon the older Celtic system, with the Anglo Norman invasion, the wave of church building enthusiasm that swept all Christendom had reached our shores, and a form of architecture, distinctly Irish—Hiberno-Romanesque—was being evolved, of which the most beautiful example surviving is Cormac's Chapel, on the Rock of Cashel, finished about 1134.

The Anglo-Normans were great church builders—whether from policy, genuine piety, or the desire in some way to atone for their destruction in other directions. In Downpatrick alone we have noticed that there were at least five monastic establishments, founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of which not a trace remains but the framework of the present Cathedral.

Masons' marks at Greyabbey have been described by Sir Thomas Drew, and similar marks are to be seen at Inch, near Downpatrick, which was built about the same time.

Around Downpatrick are numerous surnames of both Celtic and Norman origin, as well as those representative of later settlers: while there is at least one case of a lineal descendant of one of de Courci's barons still holding part of the manor won by his ancestor's sword. One or two similar families died out within the last generation.

Thus, remote as it may be, there is a possibility, in an old corporate city like Downpatrick, that the continuity between the operative builders of the twelfth century and the speculative mason of the eighteenth may be unbroken.

Of 343 little is known: we have only the names registered at Grand Lodge, occasional newspaper references, and a few letters. The first Master was Roger McNeill, of Taynish, in Scotland. His mother was Ann Montgomery, of the Mount Alexander family, and through her the McNeills obtained possession of an estate in the neighbourhood of Belfast. Roger had married, in 1743, Elizabeth, elder daughter of Cromwell Price, of Hollymount (about two miles from Downpatrick). The Lodge worked in Downpatrick for a time, but about 1786 removed to Everogue's Bridge, in the townland of Crossgar, five miles away, where, subsequently the present village of Crossgar grew up. This removal was probably due to the Trotter family, who were, in successive generations, agents for the Downpatrick Estate, and who owned Crossgar House. In 1784, a William Trotter was a member of both Lodges.

Lodge 367 also had a prominent personage, and a 'foreigner' for its first master. Hugh Hill, Esq., was a son of Rowly Hill, of Derry, a member of the Lodge that met at the 'Ship behind the Royal Exchange' (Q.C.A., x., p. 16), who was present as Warden at the Lodge held at the 'Yellow Lyon in Warborough's Street,' Dublin, 6th March, 1730/31, which was also attended by the Earl of Ross, G.M. of Ireland, Lord Kingston, late G.M. of England, and other brethren prominent in the Craft in the Irish capital. He was educated at

Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1754 entered at Middle Temple, but shortly afterwards came to Downpatrick as Collector of Customs for the Strangford District. Later, he entered the Irish Parliament as member for Derry City, remaining its representative till his death: he had been created a Baronet in 1768.

Curiously enough, except at the head of the Roll of 367, his name cannot be traced in the Registers of the Grand Lodge of Ireland: nor is it among the vast amount of data collected by the late Bro. Wonnacott. Still, it seems likely that he was connected with the Craft in Dublin or London, or both, and the founders of 367 turned to him to assist them to obtain a Warrant.

At any rate, whatever its ancestry, the Lodge was successfully launched under the rule of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and pursued a career of varying success until the year 1845. Those were lean times in Ireland: the Grent Famine had yet to come, but Downpatrick was already on the down grade. The Lodge had fallen into arrears of dues, and Grand Lodge, after patiently waiting for a time, at last withdrew the Warrant.

The old Lodge, however, was not to die, for in 1855 a new Warrant, bearing the old number, 367, was issued to three surviving members: amongst those present at the installation of the new Warrant were two others who had been brought to light in old 367: and within a few years of the revival Grand Lodge Rolls show that five more of the survivors were enrolled under the new Warrant. The facts were brought to the notice of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which has been pleased to grant a Certificate of Continuous Membership since the year 1761, and this date appears against the Lodge in the official Calendar.

Since 1855 the Lodge has laboured zealously, with fair prosperity, and to-day cherishes the light of Freemasonry with all the care of its old-time members: and while perhaps not as conspicuous as some of its sisters in more favoured localities. 367 bears a reputation second to none, for zeal and orthodoxy in working.

THE RECORDS.

Almost the only relics of the old Lodge that have survived to this day are six volumes of records, which were carefully rebound in the year 1900. The first five cover the period 1764-1814: one or more subsequent volumes are missing, while the sixth, 1836-46, contains entries so meagre that the impending fate of the Lodge only appears in the dearth of candidates and slackness in paying dues.

The earlier books were kept with a lack of system, curious to modern eyes: the accounts would horrify a modern book-keeper—did they not amuse him; indeed, how they were ever balanced is beyond human comprehension!

Still, there they are, the Lodge's dearest treasure, mute but eloquent witnesses of how the old-time members of 367 travelled in search of light. Often have I heard many of our senior brethren relate, when the Lodge was in a less prosperous state than now, how they took it in turn to act as Tyler, and their hours of vigil were passed by dipping into these old books, where they found sometimes amusement, but always instruction, and the urge to emulate the working of their predecessors in less favoured times.

The reluctance with which old-time Irish Masons recorded their doings was due, perhaps, to unfamiliarity with the pen as a working tool, but certainly owing to the strictness with which they interpreted their obligations of secrecy. Consequently, while the volumes under review contain much of interest, they present more problems than they solve. In what follows, therefore, the writer has merely endeavoured to put on record certain facts, in the hope that they will be of interest to Masonic students, and prove a source of discussion which may enlarge our knowledge of the doings of an eighteenth century Irish Lodge.

VOLUME I. 1764-1783.

This is of foolscap size: the first ten leaves are unnumbered: the back of the eleventh is numbered 1, and so to the last page, which is numbered 190. Pp. 44-45 have been torn out, apparently since the rebinding: and the following pages are missing:—56-59, 64-67, 72-95, 100-113, 116-163, 166-169, 172-173, and 176-177. The top inch only of 164-5 survives, and 189 appears twice. The numbering was evidently added after the book was commenced, apparently as late as 1783, as prior to this the numbers are written over the entries, and are all in the same hand and ink.

It is to be feared that much of interest has been lost with the missing leaves, but let us hope not much of importance, and that many were blank, torn out by a harassed Secretary to make notes of the proceedings!

The first page bears the entry: -

The Book of Regulations for the lodge of Free & Accepted Masons No. 367 A List of the members belonging to S^d. Freternity

Hugh Hill, Esq.
Rob^t. Hastings
Thos. Martin
James Smith
William McKeavers

Mast^r.
Deputty Mast^r.
Senr. Warden
Junr. Warden
Sec^{ry}.

The Above Mentioned Members have As Usually Met this 27th being St. Johns 1765 & have Settled the Affairs of the Fraternity as follows:

Twenty-three other names follow, against some of which are sums of money due, and various marks which no doubt conveyed something to Bro. McKeavers, but are now quite unintelligible.

On the third page we find:—

A List of the Masters & Wardens & Members of the Fraternity of free & Accepted Masons of No. 367 Assembled on the 27th Dec. 1765, & by Consent We have Chosen

Samll. Chambers
John Fennan
Charles Bassett
John Williamson
Hugh Gordon
W^m. McKeavers

Master
Senr. Warden
Junr. Peacons
Junr. Deacons
Secry.

and sixteen other members, all of whom appear in the first list. One of the six now missing, however, is Bro. Hugh Hill himself.

Following the names is:-

We the Above Named Persons doe by a joint Council Agree to Observe Our Monthly Meetings as formerly, & We Are to Meet on St. John's Day the 27th of Dec: 1766 at Brother Hugh Gordons in Downpatt.

> John Quail Entred 24 February 1766 John Gordon Entred 27th St. John's 1766 Absent

Apparently all that was recorded of the year's working!

These entries are rather baffling: the Lodge evidently was working from shortly after the date of the Warrant, for in Grand Lodge Rolls three names are registered 24th June, 1762, two on 24th June, 1763, and one on 24th June, 1764, while on the latter date Robert Hastings is registered as Master.

Are we to conclude that there was an earlier volume, now lost, or that the record of the beginning of the Lodge's career was originally contained in the present volume, but lost at some time before the rebinding?

Deacons are not mentioned in the first list, while they are in the second, and such officers were regularly elected subsequently.

Again, the name of Bro. Hugh Hill is absent from the second list: altogether it looks as if there was something which Bro. McKeavers thought ought not to be written—but it would be intensely interesting to us to-day!

The office of Deputy Master in the first list is perhaps worth notice: such an officer was occasionally chosen at the annual elections: in the present instance he may have been chosen owing to Bro. Hills' public duties: or, again, Bro. Hill may have been absent, and the Secretary recorded as "Deputy Master," what a present day one would describe as W.M. Acting.

One point where 367 varied from most old Irish Lodges was in electing officers for the full twelve months, on or about 27th December in each year: the usual practice was to elect officers for a term of six months on each of the St. John's Days; 367, till the end of the old Lodge, elected annually, in December.

On the fifth page we find in a beautiful copperplate hand: -

Regulations Agreed to & Strictly to be observed by the Freternity of Free & Accepted Masons of the Lodge held Under Warrant from the Grand L: Earl of Charleville Grand Master.

No. 367, At our Grand Festival on St. John's Day 27th Dec. 1764 at B. Robt. Hastings We Appoint our Festival for 27th Dec. 1765 to be at B: Thos. Martins.

And on the seventh page, in the same handwriting, a code of By-laws: of which some have subsequently been scored out so vigorously as to be well-nigh indecipherable:—

- Regulation 1st. be it Agreed that Every Member Who Asembles at any of our Meetings Especially at our Festivals Must Behave himself Soberly Modestly & Decently or be Subject to the Censure of the Master & Wardens & to be put under a Rest or Excluded till he or they So Agreeing Make aproper Atonement to the Satisfaction of the Brethren.
- Article 2nd. Its farther Agreed that No Brother is to Injure an Other by any Infamo^{us}. Story w^{ch}. he Shall hear till first Privately Aquainting the Injured.
 - 3. No Brother is to Go to law or thro Unessasary Expenses out of his Brother free Masons Pockett till he first Lays the Case before the Body when Assembled & there Advice to pursue.
 - 4. No Brother who is Now Entered Our Lists is to be at the Entering Passing or Raising of any Papist, Basstard or [a word illegible] Person. he knowing him to be so. None Such to be Admitted A Member in this Freternity.

This rule has been scored out with the greatest vigour, and the above is the result of hours with a strong magnifying glass: in the years to come many a "Papist" was to be welcomed in 367, but the idea that a bastard was not free born persisted right down till the opening of the present century. About thirty years ago, one whose parents were not "well come home," to use a local euphemism, sought admission to 367, but the feeling among the old stalwarts was so strong the name was withdrawn before ballot.

5. There is Neither Thief Murderer Whoremonger or Adulterer or A Notorious Common Swearer to Remain A Member of this Freternity but on proof of his or there Committing Any of the Aforesd. Crimes Without Aproper Attonement him or them is Guilty is to be Excluded.

- 6. Its farther Agreed that We are Not to Admitt or Except of Any Brother to Join our Freternity that is an Old Mason With Apropr. Certificate Under 1^s.: 1^d.
- 7. Its farther Agreed that we are not to Accept of any Person to be made A free Mason in this Body under 8^s. 1½^d.
- 8. Its farther Agreed that We are to Meet on the last Monday of Every Month & at Such Meetings to Spend 3^d. & put 1½^d. in the Box.
- 9. Its further Agreed that Every Countrey Brother is not bound to Attend Every Monthly Meeting but pay for Every year at St. Jons Day 1^s. 1^d. at Cristmes.
- 10. Its farther Agreed that We hold Any person Whatever A False Brother Who does Not Carry a Lawful Certificate & Do hold our Selves Unbound Either to Speak to Such pretender or Asw^r. any of his Summons^s.
- 11. Its farther Agreed that by the Consent of the Freternity Met on Jan. 1766 [?] that Any Brother who Gives A Just Reasson for Absence they are Relaised from Any Charge Except three half pence to the box.

This By-Law is in the same hand as the earlier ones, but with a different pen and ink, and presumably at a later date: it has been vigorously scored out, and on the opposite (sixth) page is:—

1766

Artickle August 26. It is further agreed by our Body that Every Absent 12 Brother Shall . . . [illegible] pay for Every Absent Night which is our Monthly Meeting Ye Sum of three pence Ster to the Box.

Subsequently, other Resolutions were adopted from time to time: -

8th. July 1767

At Our Lodge of Emmergency Called this Date for Several Reasons as Nonattendance & Non paym^t. & Not Abiding by the Regular Constitutions We have taken it to our Consideration that any Member Who Absents & does Not Make his Acc^t. Clear Every Quarter & Attend Without A Lawful Reason is to be Excluded.

 $\begin{array}{ll} William \ McKeavers \\ John \ Fennan \\ \end{array} \right) \begin{array}{ll} Sec^{rr}. \\ Wardin \\ Hugh \ Gordon \end{array}$

[1772] Be it further agreed that every member pay at thier yearly meting for ordinary 1^s .: 1^d . each.

Willm. McCullagh Mr. Hugh Gordon

It is further agreed by our Body that Every Absent Member Shall pay for Every Absent night which is our Monthly meeting the Sum of Three pence to the Box.

1773 July 30th. Willm. McCullagh: Mast. the above Rule we agree to this 27th Day of Janary 1777 John Connor Mast^{er}.

March 31, 1777.

It is agreed By the Master and wardens and the Members present that their Should Be a fund for the Relife of a Destresed Brother traveling haveing a proper Certificate from a warented Lodge and Said Certificate Must Be in Deate. Now our Worship has Nominated otherised and a poynted the foling Bretherin to give Relife to any Such as the above

Willm. McCullagh

Sigd. By our Worshipful John Connor Master.

Thos. Sharman Jas. Smith

Samul. Chambers

Artickles Made & a greed uppon by this Body . . . the 26 Day of Jany. 1778

It is agreed that Everey Member of this Body Shall Drink threepence & pay three half pence to the Box Each & Evrey Monthly Night.

It is agreed that Everey Member Indebted to this Body or the Chist Belonging to this Body is to pay Each & Everey Monthly Night the Sum of two Shills. & Eight pence halfpenny Each Monthly Night until their Respective Debts is cleared out of the Book otherwise the Shall have Neither part or Share in our Distribution which will be everey St. Johns at Crismas then Each & Everey Clear Member Receiving a like Bountey Who is in this Body a full year. None Made In ye year 1778 to Receive Aney Bountey till ye year 1779.

It is agreed that Everey Towns Member Absent from their Body or Lodge two Monthly Nights is to pay one Shilling & one peney to the Chist or Box Baring Case of Sickness Exclusive of the three half pence Each Night—And Everey Countrey Member Being Absent three Monthly Nights from their Lodge Baring Case of Sickness is to pay one Shillin and one peney to the Chist Exclusive of the three half pence to the Box.

It is agreed that Everey Candit who Speaks to a Brother to become a Member are to give one Shilling and one peney to Sd. that to go to the Chist when he Aprises the Body with a lowance if he or the [y] Comes in towards his first Step.

It is further agreed that their is a lowance to be Left out to Releive the Distressed.

Signed by Order of our Lodge No. 367

John Connor William McCullagh

Master Sr.

James Crawford Sect^{ry}. William McCullag Samuel Chambers

nuel Chambers Jr

The third, fourth and fifth of these Resolutions of 1778 were re-enacted on 5th July, 1779.

Later, laws regarding absentees were strengthened: the entry is undated, but, from the position in the book, it would appear to be about 1782:—

Resolved in Lodge No. 367 Down.

- 1st. That on account of the Nonattendance and bad Conduct of some of the Members belonging to this Body it is agreed that any Member who is absent three Monthly Nights successively without giving a proper Reason to the Body is to be Excluded and deprived of any Advantage or priviledge.
- 2^d. That each and every Member blonging to this Body is to pay each Monthly Night Two pence Ster. whether present or absent to the good of the Body in order to relieve Indigent Brothers or any Nesessary wanted for the use or good of the Lodge.
- 3d. That any Br. refusing to pay to the Treasurer or Secretary the above Mentioned sum of Two pence Monthly is to be Considered no longer a Member of this Body nor Intitled to a Certificate or any Prevelege

or Advantage belonging to this Lodge unless it can be made appear his Circumstances won't admit of.

On pages 51-55 of the numbered pages appears a fair copy of a set of By-laws, evidently adopted during the year 1783. It is made up as follows:—

Regulations of 27th December, 1764: Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7; No. 8 amended to make the night of meeting the last Tuesday of every month. Then Nos. 9 and 10 of 1764, followed by:—

'Tis further agreed that any Member who Abscents himself and does not make his Accts. Clear Every Quarter, & Does not attend Without A Lawful Reason is to be Excluded, Which excuse must be sent to the Body then meeting.

The second 'Artickle' of 26th January, 1778, follows, amended:-

. . None made in the year 1783 To Receive Any Bounty untill the Year 1784.

Then the third and fourth Artickles of 1778, amended:-

Baring in Case of Sickness or Some Material Buisness.

Then the fifth Artickle of 1778, after which: -

14. Resolved that we the undernamed having a Thorough respect & Veneration for the Antient & Honourable Body of Free Masons Will to the Utmost of our power Strive to prevent any Missunderstanding between the Bretheren As far as in our power lies.

Resolved that for the better Carring the Preceding Resolutions into Effect We will take no notice of Any faults hitherto Committed by any of the Bretheren Belonging to our Lodge but that to prevent any Annimosity and for the Benefit of Which We will admit no person Who we are not fully convinced has a Due Veneration for the Noble institution of which he is a Member.

Resolved that Those Resolutions are not entered into Through motives of pride—Envy—Malice—Hatred or Illwill to Any Man but merely for the purpose of Making Masonry ans. the End for which it was Origionally Instituted NAMELY To Do Justice, Love Mercy and to-Waulk humbly in the Sight of God and Man.

The date of these revised By-laws, as regards the latest limit, is fixed by the following resolution, which is inserted at the foot of the page:—

A Resolution Entered into the 27th Day of Jany. 1784 Lodge in Ample form Viz. that the Hour of Our Meeting from the Above-Date to the first Day of July Shall be presisely at the hour of 7 O'Clock the nonattendance of Said hour by any member the Said Member Shall be lible to the Censure of Said Body.

It is difficult now to say what precisely an old-time Irish Secretary, in a country Lodge especially, meant by such a phrase as "Ample form": possibly simply that the Lodge was opened with full ceremonial. In Rathfirland, Co. Down, which, even in the eighteenth century, was a vigorous Masonic centre, the phrase "Due form" is used to-day when the Lodge is opened by the ruling Master in person: if a "fit & proper substitute" acts for him, the Lodge is said to be opened "in form."

The first Cash Account, commencing with September, 1765, gives some entries relating to expenditure on equipment:—

A List of What Cash is Now Levy'd for the Use of this Freternity

		£	s.	\mathbf{d} .
Sepr. Meeting	In the Hands of Br. Thos. Martin	1.	0.	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	In the Hands of Brother Robt. Hasstings			-
	Which have been Expended for this Book		2.	7
	With Brother Sam Chambers in Cash		15.	8
	for the Amplim ^{ts} . Made by Brother Williamson			
	Paid by Brother Sam Chambers		11.	$4\frac{1}{2}$
	Mo. in Cash With B: Sam Chambers		2.	81
	Mo. in Cash With Do.		3.	3
Octobr. 28th	Recd in Cash		3.	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Nomber 25	Recd in Cash		1.	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Dec: 27	Recd in Do.		6.	$2\frac{1}{2}$
		_		
	· .	3.	6.	5
	Do.			6
			<u> </u>	11
			6.	900 1000
		Ι.	13.	$11\frac{1}{2}$
		1	10	111
	Paid for this Book	1.	2.	$\frac{11\frac{1}{2}}{7}$
	A D ROSE N BOOK AND WASSELEND		11.	
	to Br. Williamson for the Amplimts to Br. Martin for the Chest & locks & Hinges	1	0.	42
	to Dr. Maroin for the Chest & focks & Hinges	1.	O.	- 10 <u> 1</u>
		1	13	111
	1: + 34 1 4 1 To 1 4 10 1 1 1 1		40.	1 - 3

A Complim^t. Made of the Poles & Truncheons to the Freternity Grattis by B∴ Thos. Martin for Wch. we Return Thanks.

The use of the familiar three dots at such an early date is startling: such do not appear to be used elsewhere in the Records, and this solitary instance may have been pure inadvertance on the part of the Secretary.

Entries of sums received, or paid, down to November, 1767, occur on this and the following page, but without any clue as to their purpose, except three sums of $2/8\frac{1}{2}$ paid by John Quail, on 24th February, 31st March, and 28th April, 1766: evidently for each of his three steps.

Fairly regular accounts of money received were kept, but of expenditure hardly any have survived, except on pp. 187-188: the missing pages may have contained accounts from which many interesting items might have been drawn:—

Dishursements for Lodge No. 267 June 1911 26th 1776			•
Disbursements for Lodge No. 367 Jany. [?] 26th 1776	١،٦		
Jany. 26th. Paid for Locks to Mrs. Meclinche	$\mathfrak{L}0.$	2.	9
Paid for puting on the Locks and			
the Boy for Removeing the Chist	0.	1.	1
Spent in Br. Bassetts at the Moveing the Chist	0.	0.	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Spent at the Delivering the Chist	0.	1.	1
to Nails for putting on the Locks	0.	0.	1
	-		
	0.	5.	7
Augt. 30 Laid out for Wax and Paper			2
Oct. 26 Given to help to Bury Thos. Caghey		3.	3
Feby. 1 1777 [?] Paid for 3 Rods		1.	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Nov. 15 1776 paid for Sailing wax	0.	0.	3
paid for a Bible	0.	2.	2
June 26 1777 paid for Cross pens, to John Robson		0.	10
July 28 paid for two Locks		2.	2
? 1777 for Gloves to Revd. John Dickson		1.	1
To Black Ribbins			$6\frac{1}{2}$

Locks figured fairly frequently, and apparently, at times, a forcible 'audit' was carried out, for we find an entry:—

Janry. 30 By Cash in the Chist when broke open

1. 6. 61

The three rods purchased in February, 1777 (the exact year is difficult to make out) are rather a conundrum: we find in the first Cash Account that Poles—presumably for the Deacons,—and Truncheons—for the Wardens,—were presented by Br. Martin. We also find three rods mentioned on other occasions:—

1786

Febry. 28 By 3 roods 1786 Feby. 28 By painting 3 Rods 1. $7\frac{1}{2}$ $6\frac{1}{2}$

In a little pamphlet by the late R.W. Bro. F. C. Crosslé "Local Evidence on the Connection between Craft Masonry and the Higher Degrees" to which my attention was drawn by Bro. Jenkinson, of Armagh, we find, referring to Lodge 888 (Armagh Militia, 1800-1845): "Amongst the relics of this Lodge . . . three wands, coloured respectively blue, red and black." The date, 1777, however, is some twenty years before the earliest entry referring to the Royal Arch degree, and while the "Black Ribbins" may have been for Templar demits, they are just as likely to have been for mourning.

Even early in the Lodge's career there appears to have been trouble over money matters, as is evidenced by the resolutions adopted from time to time concerning members in arrears. Trouble arose early with Grand Lodge over dues: the following copy of a letter is entered on page 190 (upside down):—

A Copy a Letter Sent to Mr. Calders 11th July 1767

Dr. Sr. We Yor. Humble & honest Brothers Belonging to No. 367 Held in Downpatrick Wrote to you Some time Since but had not the favour of any Answr. We have Since Reasoned it was our fault for not paying the Postage as was Advertised. We Ever have & Intends Behaveing as a Regular Body of free & Accepted Massons & hopes to Abide by that Constitution. Yor. Correspondence kept with us wou'd be a Great Satisfaction to us. What Dues are Due by us you may Expect Will be honourably paid Since we had the favour of Seeing you. In turn Samll, Chambers is Now Master. I Dr. S. Remain Secry, as you ordered & hopes Ever to Copy the Noble Principals you Abide by Whilst I am &c. &c.

Bro. John Calder was elected Grand Secretary in 1757, and in 1764 visited Lodges in the North of Ireland, to collect dues, and assert the authority of Grand Lodge in distant localities. John Jones was elected Grand Secretary in 1767, and appointed Calder as his Deputy. Calder's services had not proved altogether satisfactory, and the failure to reply mentioned by the brethren of 367, may have been an instance.

Bro. Thomas Corker was appointed Deputy Grand Secretary in February, 1768, by Bro. Charles Vallancey, G.S., and the following year he made a similar journey to the north and also visited 367. On the back of the tenth leaf of this volume, in Bro. Corker's own handwriting, we find:—

Recd. from Br. James Smith Mr. of No. 367 Fourteen Shillings and Seven Pence half Penny in full for Grand Lodge Dues to the 27th December last, also recd. Five Shill^{gs}, and five pence for the registry

of Bro. John Quail, Hugh Gordon, George Bassett, John Graham, and St. John Harvey. Dn. patrick the 6th day of June 1769 Nine.

£0:14: $7\frac{1}{2}$ Thos. Corker. D.G.Sec^r.

1. 0. $0\frac{1}{2}$

Bro. Corker's visit was productive of good, for at least some hazy attempt at system is evident in the keeping of the Lodge records for some time after this date. The back of the eleventh leaf is numbered 1, and the paging then runs throughout the book. The officers and members are set out on one page, and on the following an account of monies received, as dues and initiation fees.

Page 12 contains a list of members for 1772, with twelve monthly columns showing dues paid: in the case of new members Ent^d., Past, Raisd.—or Joined, in the case of affiliates. By 1779, however, the scribe had wearied, and page 21 contains a list of members, notes of degrees, and on whom conferred, jotted down in a most 'throughother' fashion!

From the membership of twenty-eight on St. John's Day, 1765, the numbers had dropped to twelve in 1770; three of whom were 'entd' on 27th December of that year: the remaining nine being the five brethren registered by Corker in June, 1769, with Samuel Chambers, James Smith, Robert Linton and John Rea: the latter four all recorded as being present on 27th December, 1765.

The following year the numbers are still twelve, Bro. Linton having dropped out, and Bro. Vernon McCallum having affiliated: Lodge not stated. Bro. Linton's name re-appears in 1772: a couple of initiates in January, and during the year three more candidates came forward, and two brethren affiliated.

Progress was thenceforward steady, the numbers on the roll being as follows:—1773, 25; 1774, 18: 1775, 20: 1777, 23; 1778, 28; 1779, 27: 1780, 20 members present at November meeting, 1781, 38, and 1782, 39.

The jump in numbers about 1780 is probably due to the enthusiasm engendered by the Volunteer movement, of which, however, not a hint appears in the records of the Lodge.

About 1777, too, we begin to find names that are distinctly Papist, in spite of By-Law No. 4, of 1764: it is only fair to add that this By-Law was subsequently scored out by some brother, who realised how un-Masonic it was, with such vigour, as to render it well-nigh undecipherable. At any rate, from this date on, we find names like Murphy, Darby, Dorrian, McCann, McCartan, McNamara, Raffety, and so on, which are characteristically Roman Catholic. That this admission was more than a mere gesture is shown by such members attaining to office: John Connor was W.M. in 1777, '78, and '79: and in 1784 both Wardens and the Senior Deacon bore typical Catholic surnames.

Officers were elected annually about New Year: sometimes at the St. John's Day festival in December, sometimes at the January meeting: but one or two entries show that the brethren did not hesitate to lay down the law to their officers, not excepting the all powerful Master himself:—

On Monday the 26th day of Novr. 1781 being Lodge nigh of the Body of No. 367 It was unanimously agreed that Mr. Wm. Sloane of Downpatrick be appointed Master in the place of Mr. Wm. Miller superseded that Archbd. Eager [sic] be appointed Senr. Warden & George Robinson be appointed Junr. Warden that Hugh Taylor by his own Consent is thought worthy to be continued as Secratary Luke Murphy Senr. Decon & James Lemon Junior Decon Signed by the prest then Worshipful Master & Members present & Samuel Chambers Treasurer as the only person Qualified to Act in that office

[No signatures] Master
Wardens
Treasurer
Members.

Again: -

- At A Meeting of The Master & Wardens of Lodge No. 367 Lodge in Ample form on the 27th Day of January 1784 the following Resolutions Were Entred into Unanimously
- 1st. Resolved unanimously that Brother Aiger ¹ Shall Act as Master for Said Body for Said Year 84.
- 2. Resolved unanimously that Brs. Donnan & Carrol Shall act as Wardens for Said Body During the Space of one year from this Said Date being the 27th January 1784.
- 3. Resolved that Bro. Luke Murphy & John Robinson [sic] Shall act as Deakens for Said Body During the Space of One Year from the Date above being the 27th Day of January 1784.
- 4. Resolved that Br. Jas. Richardson Shall act as Sectry. for Said Body During one year from the Date above being the 27th Day of January 1784.
- 5. Resolved that if any of the Above Officers Shall act Impropperly or Contrary to the Rules of S^d . Body Shall be Lible to the Censure of Sd. Body.

Naturally, not a hint of esoteric matters is to be found, but it is evident that the expression "made a Freemason" meant in those days, three distinct steps. The first candidate whose name occurs is:—

John Quail Entred 24 February 1766

and in the first cash account we find John Quail paid three sums of $2/8\frac{1}{2}$ each, on 24th February, 31st March, and 28th April respectively. As there were evidently "Monthly Nights," it is a fair inference that Bro. Quail paid half-acrown for each step as he got it, the full fee, as laid down in By-Law No. 7 of 1764 being $8/1\frac{1}{2}$ (or 7/6 British coinage).

From Bro. Quail's initiation to the end of the book, the names of seventy-six candidates occur; incidentally, it may be remarked that, of these, only ten were registered in the Rolls of Grand Lodge. Two others, in 1776, are recorded as having paid 1/1 each for registry, but the Secretary evidently failed to forward the names

It is difficult to trace exactly how each candidate progressed through the various grades of the Order, but a careful examination of this volume gives the following facts:—

30 cases: the dates of three ceremonies are given, termed "Entered," "Passed," "Raised."

¹Bro. Archibald Eager was the writer's great-grandfather, on both father's and mother's side, his grandmothers having been full cousins: he was initiated in Lodge 367 in the year 1779, and continued his connection therewith till his death in 1838. He served as Worshipful Master on no fewer than seven occasions, and frequently held office in the subordinate stations. His brother John was also a member, as were at least four of his sons. In the next generation, however. Orangeism had become strong, and through it no more Edgars, as the name now is, were made in 367. It was a family tradition that their ancestor came from Holland in the train of William III., hence, possibly, their attraction towards the Order which holds his name in hallowed memory. At any rate, when a direct descendant joined our Order, he went to another Lodge, much to the disgust of those who knew the family's connection with 367. However, another Archibald is now running about, with as yet no idea that such a thing as the Craft exists, and when he desires to join our Order, care will be taken that his steps are guided in the right path.

Other connections of the writer, both by marriage and blood, are to be found on

Other connections of the writer, both by marriage and blood, are to be found on the Roll of 367: nor is this exceptional, many another case of successive generations in the one Lodge can be traced. In fact, in a neighbouring district, no fewer than seven generations of one family in direct line have been traced, though, owing to Lodges

dying out, they were not all made in the one Lodge.

16 cases: a similar progress may be inferred from the fact that each candidate paid the sum of 2/8½ on each of three occasions, commonly at monthly intervals: or where recorded in tabular form, three columns are ruled, headed respectively E. P. and R.: and payments entered under each heading.

Of the remaining candidates: for eight the date of Entry alone is recorded, and three, Entered and Passed only. These records are probably incomplete, as from the data available it does not necessarily follow that these candidates stopped short in their careers.

Three cases only vary from the general rule: one brother is recorded as being Entered, Passed and Raised on one date: another Entered and Passed on one, and Raised at a subsequent meeting: the third, Entered at one, Passed and Raised at another.

The remaining sixteen cases are mere names, and it is impossible to say how or when the degrees were conferred.

Thus it is evident that, during the period covered by the first volume, the rule in 367 was to confer three distinct steps, and that to be "made a Mason" entailed all three.

What exactly these ceremonies comprised it is impossible to say from the evidence of the records, but in the second volume a distinct change in practice occurs: so sudden and definite that, coupled with other circumstances, it points to a complete reform in working.

VOLUME II.

is of narrow oblong shape, the pages now being $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by 16 inches deep, without any rulings.

The back of the first leaf bears:-

LODGE

No. 367 crudely printed, and a number of vague scribblings, e.g.

James McFadden

is a good boy and hee is wise

but foolish when he gets a drop

Drink.

1st Dec. 1788.

Money makes
Cloth Shapes
the Man as well as
hee Can Marry.

Divide 20°. between 4 Men Give the first Man the 1/2 the Second 1/3 & the third 1/4 & the fourth 1/5. What is Each Mans Share in preportion

first Mans Share	7.	9	$\frac{156}{308}$
Second Mans Share	5.	2	$\frac{104}{308}$
Third Mans Share	3.	10	$\frac{232}{308}$
Fourth Mans Share	3.	1	$\frac{124}{308}$

Evidently the old-time members did not neglect the fourth of the Liberal Arts and Sciences!

On the opposite page, front of second leaf, is: -

A Book Containing the Regulations of Lodge No. 367 from the Last Tuesday of March 1784.

The front of the third leaf contains:-

A list of the Members Belonging to L. No. 367

running from No. 1 to No. 44, followed (in different ink) by 79: the numbers corresponding with the numbers of the pages following, one page being allotted to each member.

Nos. 1 to 37 were evidently all written at the same time, and all occur in the first volume. Nos. 37-41 are in a similar but not identical hand, and while there is no record of their initiation or affiliation in Volume II., I have been unable to trace them in Volume I.

Nos. 42, 43, and 44 in this Index do not occur in the Records at all, but on page 42 we find:—

42 45 John Speer 43 44 All belongs to Kilmore but we put 45 & 46 in their place.

The last name, W^m. Cleland, numbered 79, occurs on Folio 56. The numbering of the pages is not regular: the back of the third leaf is numbered 1, and the sequence holds to 23, followed by 27; 42, as above, is re-numbered 45, and beginning with page 55 the book is numbered by folios, and opened D^r. & C^r.: as a rule one name to each folio. A number of pages are missing, as indicated by Folio 79 (L) followed by 80 (R)

88 (L) 90 (R), while Folios 98 and 120 each occur twice.

This volume was evidently intended to contain a record of each member's career: typical entries are:—

	55.						
1784							
Sept. 21	Thos. Blear	\mathbf{D}^r .	1784	Contra	Cr	•	
1	Enterd	2. $8\frac{1}{2}$	Sept. 21	for Cash	Rec.	2.	$8\frac{1}{2}$
	Past	2. $8\frac{1}{2}$		for Cash	Re^{d} .	2.	81
	Raised	2. $8\frac{1}{2}$		for Cash	$\mathrm{Rec}^{\mathfrak{d}}$.	2.	81
		£ 8. 1	$\frac{1}{2}$		_		
		s. d	•		£0.	8.	1 1/2
To Sun	dries Settd. acc	et. 5. 8					
	81			81.			
1786	James McFae	den		Contra	$\mathbf{Cr}.$	2.	81
Octr. 2	Reported by		1786				-
- C - C - C - C - C - C - C - C - C - C		l Deposited	Nov. 6	By Cash		5.	5
	the Sum o			, and the second	_		
		s. d				8.	$1\frac{1}{2}$
11	Entr ^d . s	s. d.			_		
	& Passd.						
Nov. 6	Raised 2.		1/2				
1789	Due for his I	N-0					
1789	Due for his I	N-0					

1. 4

Janry. 5 Dec. 25/88

When a brother took over the duties of Treasurer, he kept his accounts—such as they were—on his own page and folio in this book, except when he held office so long that one folio was not big enough.

A few notes of trials occur, and a new Code of By-Laws. These were quite different from those adopted in 1783, and immediately following we read:—

The foregoing Resolutions after being read were unanimously agreed to by the undersigned Members this 25th Day of January 1785 (it being the Monthly Meeting).

Fifty-one signatures follow: some are of members who appear to have been initiated after the above date, so that evidently it was the rule even then for a member, at some stage of his career, to signify his assent to the By-Laws by signing a copy of them in the Lodge Book.

The Laws were altered from time to time, but in the main this 1785 Code remained in force right up to the end of the period covered by Volume V., and presumably some time after: how long, owing to the loss of subsequent volumes, it is impossible to say.

The following is, as accurately as can be ascertained, the original version of these Laws:—

Bye Laws for Down Lodge No. 367

1st. That Every Person propos'd as a candidate for Admission Shall Deposit the sum of 2s. 8½d. the Monthly Night whereon he is proposed, and if found acceptable to the Master wardens & Brethren, he shall be Admitted the Monthly Night following, or if he chooses to call a Night of Imergency in the Intermediate time to be at his own Expence, he paying for admission the sum of 16.3 of which sd half crown formerly deposited Shall stand as part payment.

[The deposit money was subsequently altered to 5/5, the last clause scored out, and the following substituted:—"£1. 2. 9 Exclusive of the Crown originally deposited."]

 2^{nd} . That every Member attend at the Lodge room every Monthly Night precisely at the hour appointed by the Master in decent apparel & perfectly sober that the business of the Lodge may commence and be Ended at a seasonable time and any member absenting himself on said Nights shall forfeit the sum of $6\frac{1}{2}^d$. for each Night and if he Neglect to pay sd. Fine every three months at Least he shall be considered as self Excluded & treated accordingly.

[Altered by inserting "without a satisfactory reason" before "shall forfeit . . . ": last clause deleted and "he shall be reported to the Committee by the Sectry." substituted.]

- 3. That when the Lodge is opened every Member must observe due Silence properly respecting the chair and not Move from place to place without permission obtained [the remainder, four and a half lines, scores out so as to be quite illegible, and "from the Master or his Deputy" inserted].
- 4. That any Member appearing drunk at the opening of the Lodge will not be admitted that Night & Shall pay the sum of 1°. 1°. for said offence & if found to continue the practise to be expelled as an Improper Member of such society, and the person who shall so far insult the Meeting as to raise Disputes subversive of Decency and good order shall first be fined 1°. 1°. & if he shall Murmur or show dissatisfaction or refuse to pay Said fine that he shall be Imediately expelled said society and his Name and the Nature of his offence reported to the Grand Lodge there to be in record against him for Ever.

5thly. That any Member who shall swear or blaspheme while the Lodge is open shall for the first Oath forfeit 1^d. for the second 2^d. for the third the remainder of the British sixpence.

["& for every Succeeding Oath one British Sixpence" added]

6. That whatever Grievance or Dispute may arise shall be reported to a Committee [. . . blotted out . . .] & Whoever refuses to comply with the Decisions of sd. Committee shall be considered as a disturber of the Harmony that ought to submit amongst Brothers and expelled accordingly.

["expelled" deleted, and "treated" substituted]

7. That the Master Give orders to the Secretary to have all the members summoned to the Lodge Room the Monthly Night before the two St. John's Days, then & there to consider & fix upon Matters for Dining together or any other business proper for the occasion and any Member who will not pay due attention to his Summons shall be Expelled with every circumstance of disgrace.

[last line deleted, and "Subject to the decision of sd Committee" inserted]

- 8. That the Master if desired shall give the Lodge a Satisfactory Account Every Quarter of all the Money received and paid out for the Lodge. Every new admitted Brother to pay the Secry. one British shilling & Every Brother who shall draw or Lodge a Certificate one British Shilling.
- (N.B. the Secret, is to purchase out of sd payment paper Ribbons and Wax—for Certificates)
- 9. That any Member who shall be found so mean as to disclose any Transaction of the Lodge (Even to an absent brother) shall be held unworthy of such Society and censured as a Committee shall think Proper.

[No. 9 struck out]

- 10. That the Tyler is to receive from Every New-admited Brother 1^s. 1^d. Every Night of Imergency D^o. & Every Monthly Night 1^s. 1^d. from the Body at Large.
- 11. That the Sect^{ry}, is to read these Regulations every Monthly Night Imediately after the Lodge is open.

The members' signatures follow, and on the next page appears:—

Resolution Attend And Agreed by the Committee undersigned that the Books is to be Regulated Every Monthly night & the Money Lodged in the Chest & that All the Money that is Due the Book be Paid before

[Three lines follow which have been struck out, and instead we have:—

the first Monday in February, & that the Sectry is here by Impowered and authorised to Summons Every man who is in arrear for the Purpose of Discharging sd. Acc.

Thos. Ranson Sectry.

Don at Our Lodge this 4th Day of Jany. 1790.

It seems somewhat remarkable that a little over a year after the 1764 By-Laws, and subsequent additions had been codified as in Volume I., an entire new version should have been adopted.

The "admission money" is now doubled, though, so far as records are preserved, the law was first enforced 22nd December, 1785, when one Jacob White, "Shipp Master," was Entered, Passed and Raised. 5th January, 1786, "Edwd. Isaac of 9 Regt. foot" was "Enterd Passd," and paid 10/10. The fee then reverted to 8/1½ until 5th January, 1789, when James Forbes 61st Regt. was "Entd. Pasd." and paid 11/4½. From this date to the end of the period covered by Volume II. the fee was 16/3, usually allocated 10/10 for "Entered & Passed," and 5/5 for "Raised": though when the candidates were unable to pay the whole fee at once it was paid in all sorts of odd sums.

Bye-Laws 2 and 4 refer to a failing of the times: it must also be remembered that the shores of Strangford Lough and Dundrum Bay, within easy reach of Down, were inhabited by a race of enthusiastic 'Free Traders.' Many a cargo of French brandy and Dutch gin was run under the very noses of Hugh Hill, Esq., and his successors: not a few of whom were members of old 367.

The wording of By-Law 3 calls for more consideration: why "Master or his Deputy"? If the Deputy were simply a brother appointed to take the Master's place in his unavoidable absence, why mention both? Or can we infer that each had a specific duty, both being present, and that part of the work was under the supervision of the Master, and part under that of the Deputy? A remarkable omission in the new code is the second "Artickle" of 1778, providing for the division of accumulated funds amongst the brethren of the Lodge.

No. 7, providing for the observance of the two St. John's Days, is new: and it may be remarked, in passing, that, though the practice has long ago died out, provision is still made for it in our By-Laws of to-day.

From the well-thumbed state of the pages, it is obvious that By-Law 11 was strictly observed, and the By-Laws of the Lodge read every monthly night.

Turning to the method of imparting the degrees, we find the period covered by Volume II. was largely one of transition.

At first, three distinct ceremonies, termed respectively Entered, Passed and Raised, each at a separate meeting, are recorded, just as in the previous volume. About June, 1784, we find a number of curious entries, which appear to mean that the order was Entered, Raised and Passed! There are five in all, and all of the same dates:—Entered 28th June, Raised 8th July, Passed 14th July. It was probably a slip on the part of the Secretary.

We then revert to the old practice of Entered, Passed and Raised, until in March, 1785, the rule quite suddenly changes to "Entered and Passed," at one meeting, and "Raised" at a subsequent one. Out of fifty-two candidates between March, 1785, and November, 1790, thirty-eight received the degrees in this manner. Of the remainder, a few are soldiers, and exceptional cases, such as "Thomas Bowan of Strangford, Esq.," who was Entered, Passed and Raised on 11th July, 1789.

On 2nd October, 1786, we find James McFadden "Reported": he was Entered and Passed on the 11th of the same month, and Raised on 6th November. From this on, the date of the Report, or proposal, is usually given, becoming the regular practice from 1788.

No entry in Volume II. is found relating to the Royal Arch: and the following are the only references to degrees other than the Craft:—

[Cash Accounts, 1784] Mar. 29 By Cash pd. J. Speer on acct. of N. Tepler

Possibly a fee paid to a brother coming some distance to confer the degrees.

A list of these Members that mean to be Made Night Templers against 10 June 1789

Thos. Ranson Chas. Edmondson

Robt. Jordan

[signatures]

The Rolls of the Grand Lodge of Ireland show that from the 2nd April, 1776, to 18th October, 1788, not a member was registered by 367: on the latter date two members were registered, and on 18th November, 1788, a batch of twenty-two: twenty-one of these appear in the Records as:—

A List of Registry dated 12 November 1788.

The Lodge had apparently ignored Grand Lodge for years, and the Warrant was evidently in peril! Only a few entries in the records shed a fitful gleam of light on this phase of the Lodge's history:—

[1788 Jany. 20] Recd. from Archy Aiger on account of Reviving the Warrant 1. 2. 9

Brother Darby for Ye Revivel of Ye Warnt. ye First & £ s. d.

a Honest Brother this 5 Day of Feb. 1787 0. 1. 1

The Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, under date 17th April, 1788, record:—

Read a Petn. of the Mr. & Ws. of No. 367 praying the Gd. Lodge to receive three guineas in lieu of their Arrears—Ordered that the sd. sum be recd. on Act. & that the rest be paid by Instalments.

In the Lodge's Cash Accounts for the same year, 1788, we find:—
May 26 To Expences the day we went to Lord Glerawley's 0. 6. 1

Francis Charles (Annesley) 2nd Viscount Glerawley, who resided, when not in Dublin, at Mountpanther, near Clough, Co. Down, about five or six miles from Downpatrick, was Grand Master of Ireland in 1787 and 1788.

Altogether, one would wish that the worthy Secretaries during the period had not been quite so careful to observe the traditional Irish Masonic caution in what they committed to writing. One would like to know more about the sudden change in the manner of conferring the degrees, the new By-Laws, the tardy recognition of their allegiance to Grand Lodge, and their interview with the Grand Master.

From the scanty nature of the Records, it is perilous to theorise: but it seems fairly evident that the years 1785-88 saw a reform in the Lodge's way of working, probably an effort to make it correspond with Metropolitan usage. Very possibly this was due to the Grand Master himself: he had intimate connections with Downpatrick, not only as a Territorial magnate on the Grand Jury, but he had represented the Borough in the Irish House of Commons from 1761 till he succeeded to the Viscounty in 1770. And Down was one of the only two 'pot walloping' boroughs in Ireland, so that to secure the support of the free and independent electors bespeaks some degree of connection with the old city, in spite of the high degree of skill attained by electioneering agents of those days!

One or two items of general interest occur in this volume. In olden times the Master of an Irish Lodge, to be properly clothed as the representative of King Solomon, was arrayed in a scarlet cloak, and a top hat; some old Lodges still have their cloaks, and a few are carefully preserved as relics, but most have gone the way of all things. In the year 1790, one Peter Hodges, who was evidently a tailor, sought admission to 367, and in the account of his fees we find:—

By Stuff for a Cloak £0. 17. 0

In the accounts for the same year:-

Dec. 16 By Paid for Making the Cloak 3. 3

June 24 To Paid for Armon for the Cloak 1. 7½

¹ Prior to 1796, any male inhabitant who paid the taxes known as "scot & lot" and "boiled a pot," i.e., had a cooking place of his own—hence "potwalloper"—was entitled to vote at Parliamentary elections for the representation of the borough.

This word "Armon" puzzled me for a long time, but I have come to the conclusion that it was a gallant attempt on the part of the Secretary to spell "ermine" as locally pronounced!

This is a sidelight showing how Irish brethren of olden days regarded their Charter: it was always framed, or kept in a case with a sliding lid, and displayed in a conspicuous place while the Lodge was at labour. And, it may be added, at a certain stage in the ceremonies, the phrase "under the Warrant of his Lodge," is to this day in 367 no mere figure of speech.

It is to be feared, whatever use was made of the Warrant in those days, it suffered in the process, for the "Expence of Glazing the Warrant" recurred with suspicious frequency!

One would infer that, on the public festival of the previous day, the Brother entrusted with the care of ensuring the Brethren kept the right step had fulfilled his duties with more vigour than discretion!

The custom of attiring the candidate in a suitable costume persisted in many Irish country Lodges till about twenty or thirty years ago.

At some time the Secretary has noted down for future use a form of Demit:—

A slight variation from the form put forward in G.L. Report, 1775 (see Lepper & Crosslé, p. 261).

Also a form of Summons: -

Lodge No. 367

You are hereby required personally to attend At Your Lodge Room in Downpatrick on Tuesday the 28 Ins^t. at the hour of 7 O'Clock in the Evening on business of Importance herein fail Not.

Signed by order John Nisbitt Secry.

At times the Lodge rose to a printed form:

It is uncertain at what period the printing press was first set up in Downpatrick. A writer in the local paper, the *Down Recorder*, during 1856, giving his reminiscences of sixty to seventy years earlier, states that during contested elections temporary presses were set up for the production of broadsheets and other electioneering literature: a couple of specimens relating to the election of 1755 are in the British Museum.

VOLUME III.

This is similar in size to the preceding, but is ruled throughout with cash columns.

The first entry is dated 10th February, 1791.

Bro. John Nesbitt [Ent. 27 Jan. past 24 Feb. Raised 28 April 1783, served as Master, 1788] was elected Secretary for the year 1791, and held the office, combined with that of Treasurer, till his death in 1796. The Lodge met in his premises from some time before St. John's Day, 24th June, 1790, and for some years after his death continued to do so, as we find references to meeting 'at the Widow Nesbit's.'

The volume is numbered by folios, commencing on the back of the third leaf, and running up to folio 108, after which are fifty-nine leaves un-numbered. A blank page un-numbered occurs between fol. 51 (L.) and (R.), which probably slipped in when the books were rebound in the year 1900. The following folios are missing:—54-60, 71-74, 86.

No names are carried forward from Volume II. Folio 1 contains two entries, where William O'Carrol and John Crolly each "Declared off and got his Certificate and paid all arrears." Folio 2 commences the record of members initiated in, or joining the Lodge from March, 1791. Folio 10 contains the general Cash Account for the Lodge for 1791.

The By-Laws commence on fol. 90 (R.):-

1791 March 15th.—

Names of the Committee of Lodge No. 367

Jas. Richardson C:M.
Chas. Edmondson
Jas. Lennon
John Cumine

Um. Smith

And any five of the above to be a QUORUM.

Presumably a Committee to revise the By-Laws, but possibly it may have been the Standing Committee of the Lodge for that year, to which all minor Masonic offences and disputes were referred for trial.

The By-Laws as amended follow the 1785 Code practically word for word, with the following exceptions:—

Law 1. The deposit on proposal of a candidate 5/5: the full fee for initiation being an additional £1. 2. 9.

This was enforced from the beginning, the first candidate being:

1791	W ^m . Porter reported by					
July 4th	Br. John Quail & forfited		pd.	£	5.	5
Augt. 1st	To Entred & Passed		pd.		15.	2
Sep. 5	To Raised		pd.		7.	7
	Recd .	in full	J.N.	1.	8.	2

Law 2. Fine for non-attendance 61d.

Law 3. As amended in 1785 Code.

Laws 4, 5, 6, 7. As in 1785.

Law 8. That Every new admitted Brother to pay the Sectry. One British Shilling & Every Brother who shall Lodge a certificate One British half crown of which the Sectry is to receive one shilling of it & the remainder to be deposited in the Box. N.B. The Secry is to purchase paper Ribbons & wex out of Sd. payments for Certificates.

Law 9 [10 of 1785 Code] That the Tyler is to receive from Every New admitted Brother 1s. 1d. Every Night of Imergency & Every Munthly Night from the Body at Large.

By-Law 11 of the old Code, laying down that the By-Laws were to be read each monthly night, drops out.

Law 10. That all reports of what kind soever are first to be handed to the Master in writing then to the Sectry. (if thought proper by the Master) to be read & afterwards to the Committee if Necessary to be Considered by them.

Law 11 is No. 9 of the old Code relating to brethren divulging the proceedings of the Lodge.

Law 12. That while the Members Tile Indiscriminately the Money Subject to the Tiler Shall gow to the publick Stock ———

A number of resolutions adopted at various dates subsequently:-

1792 Janry. 2. Resolved

That Every Absent Member on the Monthly Nights Appointed shall forfeit the sum of 6½d. Absent or Present for two Monthly nights Successively. If absent three Months to pay the sum of 9. 4½. For 6 Months Double the Sd Sum and for Every three Successive Months the Sd. Sum of 9^s. 4½d. for every said Successive three Months Absence.

This rule is a testimony to the strictness with which our old-time brethren regarded their duty of attending Lodge. The fine for three months' absence, however, seems unduly heavy, having regard to the value of money a hundred and forty years ago. Moreover, while all the sums are given in Irish currency (1/1 Irish=1/- British), $9/4\frac{1}{2}$ does not correspond with any even sum in British currency. Still, there it is: the sum is repeated in the last line but one, without any possibility of doubt:—

1795 May 4. Ressolved that Every Person who belongs to the Armey or Sea shall be admitted on an Emergency. Provided he or the or any of them are well recommended by a true Honest Brother

Morgan Scott
James Brett
John Nixon

Mast^r.
S.W.
J.W.

Signed by order

John Nisbitt · Sectry.

Signs of the times! Downpatrick had always been a military station, but trouble was brewing in Ireland in those days. United Irishmen were flourishing: the Orange Order was soon to be born, virtually in a sectarian riot in the neighbouring county of Armagh. Government, nervous of the effect of the French Revolution, was suppressing disaffection with a ruthless hand, and ere long the Insurrection of '98 was to burst out when both Down and Antrim men were found willing to stake their all for their ideals of human freedom.

The entry is of somewhat more than passing interest. I have been unable to trace the name of Bro. Morgan Scott, who was Surveyor of Excise for the Strangford District from about 1788, as initiated in, or affiliated to 367, either in the Lodge's records, or Grand Lodge Rolls. Bro. John Nixon served as J.W. in 1794, and was elected S.W. 5th June, 1795. Bro. James Brett was initiated in 1788, and so far as the records show, did not hold office until 1796, when he was elected Secretary. Bro. Scott, however, was evidently a brother of some repute, as he presided, 7th April, 1794, over a Committee to try certain members indebted to the Lodge, and signed their decision in a fine flowing hand.

March the 4th 1799

Resolved that Every Town Member absent 30 Minutes after the time appointed by the Master or his depety shall pay the sum of 3d. Every Country Member absent 60 Minutes shall pay the Sum of 3d. the Master absenting himself 30 shal pay the sum of 1^s. 1^d. any of the Wardens absent 30 Minets shal pay the sum of $6\frac{1}{2}^d$. all paying fines befor admitted in an open Lodge The Members belonging to the Army Excepted.

M. Jno. McNeill S. Warden John West Junr. Hugh Woods

James Brett secretary.

The officers were those elected for the year.

1800 Febr. the 3^d.

Resolved by the Members of Lodge No. 367 That no Maison will get lave to Visit here More than wanst in the Course of twelve Months without Lodging his Certificate . . . and any Man maid a Maison within twelve Miles of Downpatrick Shall pay the Sum of 8^s. 1½^d. for Lodging his Certificate.

N.B. Brethren Belonging to the Army or Sea to be admitted on the ould rule.

Arch^d. Eager Mr.
Thos. Ferguson S.W.
Patrick Cunningham J.W.

James Brett Secretary.

This resolution reminds us of the time when refreshment was an essential part of labour—to perpetrate an Irishism! So long as Lodges sat in taverns, as the only premises where rooms suitable for meetings could be found, refreshment was a sore temptation to the thirsty souls of those days. Furthermore, quite a number of members of 367 hailed from distances of over twelve miles, and travelling to Lodge meetings meant for them walking over very indifferent roads. Thus a visitor would be made welcome to the Lodge's hospitality once, but at a subsequent visit was expected to pay his share, and this law laid it down he was to become an affiliated member.

The increased fee for Masons made within twelve miles of Downpatrick is rather interesting: is it the germ of the doctrine of Exclusive Jurisdiction of private Lodges?

Thirty-nine candidates are recorded as having been admitted during the period covered by this volume: in thirty cases the ceremonies were in two steps, Entered and Passed at one meeting and Raised at another: in four cases the dates are doubtful, but the indications are that the same thing took place. In two cases the dates of proposal alone, and in the remaining three the dates of "Entered and Passed" alone are given. In twenty-nine cases the date of "Report," i.e., proposal, is also recorded.

The rule was evidently monthy intervals, e.g.:

1794 Joseph Robinson
April 7 Reported
May 5 To Entred & Passed

June 2 To Raised On 8th August, 1786, it was

Agreed unanimously that the Nights of Meeting is to be upon the First Monday of Every Month.

so that the dates in Bro. Robinson's case were evidently Stated Communications.

The ceremonies could be performed at shorter intervals: John Ranaghan was Reported 5th December 1796, Entered and Passed 7th December, and Raised 20th December: evidently he wanted to be a fully fledged brother before the St. John's Day festival.

Rather more information as to candidates is noted in this volume: the brethren did not hesitate to reject unworthy petitioners:—

```
1792 Charles McNail Reported.
Dec. 3 Refused for Want of Character.
```

All the same, an occasional black sheep crept in:-

```
1792 Hugh McAntosh
Dec. 3rd Entred & Passed

1793
Jany. 6th To Raised

Neither paid for admition
nor got a certificate
nor Did he Deserve it.

John Nisbitt Sect*.
```

Occasionally we find candidates proposed by brethren of other Lodges: -

```
1798 Thomas Hunter Reported by
Octr. 1 Brother Pledge of Lodge No. 447
The same time pd. £0 5. 5

Augt. the 5 John Smith of the
[1799] North Loland fencieables
Reported by Br. Magnus Vidder
of Lodge No. 401 on the Register
of Ireland pd. same time 0. 5. 5
```

An effort was made to pay up all arrears of dues to Grand Lodge: -

```
1793 Jany. 6 By cash for Lodge dues to the Grand Lodge by the Hands of Br. Holliday
```

March 9 Recd. by James Brett out of the Chest to defray the Lodge dues in Dublin by order of the Worl. Master Joh. Robinson and Wardens

Present £7. 19. 3

Witness present

Jas. Murray S.W.
Michael Woods J.W.
Thos. Irven S.D.

Bro. Brett presumably discharged his duty without delay, for eight days later we find:—

March 17 1798	Grand Lodge dues To one Heman Reason		$\frac{2}{3}$.	
1100	To getting the Naims of the Registered Members of Lodg No. 367 that was not paid			81
		5.	8.	101

£5. 2. 11 would be nine and a half years' dues at 10/10 per annum. This would carry us back to the latter half of 1788, when, as we saw in the previous volume, the Lodge was coming to terms with Grand Lodge after ignoring it for twelve years.

In the next volume, we find, among debts carried forward from this one:-

1793	Samuel Halliday Recd. from the Lodge			
January	to pay Grand Lodge dues he denies the	3.	8.	3
the 23	Money and Never Paid the same			

Now this sum does not represent any multiple of 10/10—the annual dues—but does represent the price of a new Warrant at the time, and there is therefore a possibility that the Warrant was revived at this date.

As there is no hint of this in the records, and the sum paid by Bro. Brett carries us back to 1788, it seems more likely that this is merely a coincidence and that the Lodge was simply forwarding the largest round sum they could afford at the time.

I have been unable to trace how the brethren dealt with Halliday, who was initiated in 1789, declared off 30th May, 1791, and was registered in Grand Lodge 4th June following.

The "Heman Reason" was one of the many editions of Dermott's work—pirated or otherwise—which served Irish Lodges in default of an official publication of their own. Spratt's "New Book of Constitutions," published by order of the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1751 was never re-issued: and although alterations and amendments were published in the Rules, Orders and Regulations of 1768, it was not until 1804 that the title Ahiman Rezon was adopted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland for the Constitutions published by Bro. Charles Downes.

The use of Dermott's book, in the meantime, was natural enough, as it was based on Spratt's version.

March the 9th 1800.

Pd. the Grand Lodge	1. 10.	0
Pd. Backstanding Regestry		
Money to the Grand	1. 7.	5

Although on 3rd December, 1795, Grand Lodge had

Ordered

That all lodges in this kingdom do register their members within three-months after their being raised to the degree of a master mason, underthe penalty of £1. 2. 9 each

all the names of the candidates made in 367 do not appear in Grand Lodge Rolls. Bro. Corker, the D.G.S., was getting old, and past his work, and may have omitted to register names sent up. Registration was fairly regular up till October, 1792: one name appears in 1795, and in 1800, one on 26th February, seventeen on 15th March, and two on 3rd April. This rather looks like another-sudden realization of its duties to Grand Lodge on the part of 367.

The most striking innovation in Volume III. is the appearance of something approaching regular Minutes. On 5th May, 1794, Bro. James Brett "lodged his. Grand Certificates," and on 7th March. 1796, was unanimously appointed Secretary, in the room of "our late worthy Bro. John Nesbitt": he took his new duties seriously, and beginning with the date of his appointment we find the proceedings recorded somewhat as follows, at least one page being kept for each. meeting:—

7th March 1796.

Lodge 367 Met pursuant to order Worshipfull J. Robinson, Master Members present

[Eleven names]

1796 April 4th.

Lodge Met in form worshipful Robinson in the Chare. Broather-McKey Entred and pased
Visiting Broathers william hill of Lodge No. 222 [Dundalk 1763-1821]
Broather daly of Lodge No. 343 [Everogues Bridge Crossgar 1761-1851]

and on the opposite page the names of nineteen brethren present.

May 2d. 1796.

Lodge Opned in due forem worshipful Broather Robinson in the Chare Brother Mckeay Raised to the Shublime degree of Master Mason Brother Irwen Raised to the degree of Master Masone [Names of twenty-three brethren present follow]

These Minutes continue throughout the period covered by this volume, the only gap being between 4th June and 3rd September, 1798. This was the period during which Down was under martial law, owing to the insurrection of 1798.

Almost the only hint of the disturbed state of the country contained in the Lodge records is:—

1797 July 3d.

Lodge in form & assembled at 6 O'Clock Joseph Robinson Master.

Resolved that an advertisement shall be prepared expressive of our strong attachment and invariable support of to the Constitution under its Original and uncontaminated principles. Our affection to his Majesty and our dissaffection & unanimous Opposition to foreign invasion

That the same shall be prepared by Jas. Richardson on or before the 6th Day of July Inst.

ROYAL ARCH AND KNIGHT TEMPLAR.

Thanks to Bro. Brett, we begin to get a little more information about these degrees. His predecessors had evidently been scrupulous to refrain from mentioning them. It is unlikely that separate books were kept to record matters appertaining to these degrees: certainly none such have survived.

On fol. 101 (R.) we find the following: -

A Copy of A Royal Arch Super Excellant Mason

And the Light Shineth in Darkness & the Darkness Comprehended it not.

We the High Priest &c. &c. &c. of the Royal Arch Super Excellan Masons & Also Knights of Our Roy Encampm^t. of Knights held under the Sanction of the Grand Lodge Dublin in Ireland do here by Attest & Declare that the Bearer hereof Brother was by us Raised to that Sublime degree of Royal Arch Super excellant & Knight Templar he having with Due Honour Skill & fortitude passed the Holy Arch & Arived at the Sublime of A Knight Templar

& as Such we Recommend him to All Worthy Brothers Royal Arch Super Excellan & Knight Templars Masons Round the Globe

H.P. R.A.C. 1st. G.M. 2 G.M. 3 G.M.

Given under our Hands & Seal of our Lodge & Royal Encampm^t. at Downpatrick this

Day of 179—

This form of demit is remarkable for the expression "held under the sanction of the Grand Lodge." A few demits of much later date have come down to us, where the more usual form "... held under sanction of Lodge No. 367 on the roll of the Grand Lodge ..." is used.

[1799] January the 20 Lodge opned in Due form Br. John McNail in the Chare

Lodge Closed in due form all parted in good harmony half past seven O'Clock.

Br. James McIlroy Raised to the degree of Royal-arch super Excelent and knight templer By Brother hodges of lisburn he lectured on the foundation of Maisonry

Brothers knight templers present

[Twelve members and two visitors]

This was an emergency meeting: Bro. Hodges also visited the Lodge at the following monthly night, 4th February, and on 26th April we find:—

Brother hodges Lectureing on the first second and Third degree of Maisonry

also on the Degree of Royal arch Meson Super Excelent.

Nineteen members of the Lodge were present, and seven visitors, including "Br. Saires of Lodge No. 13 on the Regester of Scotland."

Were it not for the two entries relating to Knights Templar in Volume II., and the fact that so many members had already received the degrees, it would almost appear that the introduction of the R.A. and K.T. to 367 was due to Bro. Hodges, who was evidently a ritualist of some repute. Lisburn is distant some twenty-one miles from Downpatrick, and unless he had business in the county town at the time, it was a longish journey in those days. It is also worth remarking that the mention of the Templar degree is at a considerably earlier date than that of the Royal Arch.

There is no indication of the Royal Arch legend in vogue: such demits as the writer has seen indicate the year A.L. 2600 [B.C. 1400] as the Annus Ordinis—but our old-time brethren's ideas of chronology were often vague in the extreme.

During this period a considerable number of brethren affiliated for longer or shorter periods, e.g.:—

- 1794 June 2nd. John Johnston of Lodge 134 [Lurgan, 1743 to date] Lodged his Certificate in Our Box & did not pay his half Crown.
- 1791 Decr. 5. Daniel Merron of Lodge 485 [Portglenone 1770-1789] Lodged his certificate Black & Red & Lives in Portiferry.

Portaferry is situate near the southern extremity of the Ards peninsula, and in order to attend 367 Bro. Merron would have to cover the mile-wide strait at the mouth of Strangford Lough, where the current runs up to five knots at certain states of the tide, and face a journey of seven miles by road, so one wonders what brought him to 367.

Five brethren lodged certificates in November and December, 1798: as one is described as Sergeant, they were presumably soldiers quartered in Downpatrick after the 'troubles.'

VOLUME IV.

9 March 1800 by Cash for Lodge Book Bought same time 10. 8. 4

A folio volume, ruled cash columns: the pages were evidently first numbered by folios: and by a later hand by pages up to 153: remainder left with original numbering.

The following pages are missing:—11, 12, 27-32, 41, 42, 47-50, 53, 54, 57-60, 63, 64, 79-86, 91-96, 126, 127, 144, 145; 109 appears twice. After page 153, folio 78 (R.) follows immediately: and the following are missing:—79 (R.)-84 (L.), 89 (R.)-91 (L.), 92 (R.)-99 (L.); 99 (R.) is numbered on reverse side 101: 105 followed by 110, 127 by 136, 138 by 140; 142 to end—eight leaves—un-numbered.

In this volume, the records are kept on a different plan: the Index facing page 1 reads:—

	rage
Outstanding Debts	9
Brothers Reported	14 page 25
Committees	33
Brothers admitted	43
Charities	51
Certificates Lodged	55
Certificates Drawn	61
Cash Acct.	66-74, 101, 141
Officers	87-89
Bye Laws	97
Tylers Acct.	103
Members Attendance	107-102
Visiting Members	120
Opening of the Lodge	130

Different hands have added subsequently:-

Acct. of Cash in the Chest	137
Entry of Bro. Names for Colours to the Lodge	140
Quartly Nights	152
Nights of Immergencty Meeting	146
The meeting of St. John's Day	118-87
Members in Due Time	No. 91
Report against Taylor By Br. Carroll	99
an acci. of the Paul money	142
Knights Templars page 152 to 153	

On the opposite page is an index in the handwriting of Bro. Brett, referring to the earlier (folio) pagination.

Though we find an entry in the previous volume: -

James Brett Resines as being Secretary September the 2d (1799)

he evidently continued to discharge the duties for some months longer: but was succeeded by Bro. Peter Daly, who, with two others, "lodged his certificate" from No. 343 on 3rd February, 1800. This Lodge, though described in Grand Lodge Rolls as Downpatrick, sat at Everogues Bridge, the local name for the village of Crossgar, about five miles away.

Poor Bro. Brett was evidently in failing health, for dated 7th January, 1805, we find:—

the Members Names that Subscribe towards the Benefit of Br. Jas. Brett Whd has been Lying on his Bed these three years.

Twenty-seven members subscribed $6\frac{1}{2}d$. or 1/1 each: $2/8\frac{1}{2}$ was added from the Lodge funds: a total of £1. 0. 7.

Bro. John Olphert (initiated in 1801) was elected Secretary for 1806, and though several entries in the present volume are by his hand, he evidently inaugurated his year of office by commencing a new volume. He wrote a most beautiful hand, free from the flourishes beloved of old-time penmen, a sheer pleasure to read: would that all old-time Secretaries had been as skilful with the quill!

The "Bye Laws To be Obseaved by the Members belonging to No. 367" commence on page 97, and except for slight variations in spelling, follow the 1785 Code closely:—

- 1. Admission fee 5/5 for Report, and £1. 2. 9-£1. 8. 2 in all.
- 2. Members in arrear of fines for absence over three months to be reported to the Committee.
- 3-12 as in previous Volume III.

The Resolutions of 2nd January, 1792, imposing a fine of $9/4\frac{1}{2}$ for three months' absence, of 4th May, 1795, permitting military or seafaring candidates to be admitted on an Emergency, and of 4th March, 1799, imposing fines for late attendance, are repeated, and the original dates of their adoption given.

The Resolution of 3rd February, 1800, laying down that after one visit a Brother was expected to affiliate, follows, but has been struck out.

Tucked in at the foot of the page we find: -

June 3 1811

Resolved by the Members of this Lodge No. 367 that No Br. Can Report a man Knowing Him to be Concerned in any other Society.

This was aimed at societies of a political nature: Ribbonmen in particular were anathema to good Ulster Masons!

On the following page: -

Resolved that after the 4th of April 1803 every Person proposed as a Candidate for admittance are to pay the Sum of Two Guineas exclusive of the Crown which is to be deposited when proposed as a Candidate for admission

1804 Feby. 5th. The Above Rule is hereby Annulled by the Consent of the following Members Viz.

1.	Worshipful Archd. Aiger	5.	5	&	1.	2.	9
2.	Br. Lawless Sr. Warden	5 .	5		1.	2.	9
3.	Br. Ferguson Jun. Warden	5.	5		2.	5.	6
4.	Br. Barry Sen. Deacon				1.	2.	9
5 .	Br. Pat. Burns Junr. Deacon				1.	2.	9
6.	Br. Richardson Sect ^y .				1.	2.	9
	Br. Robinson				1.	2.	9
8.	Br. Jas. Burns D. Master				1.	2.	9

Eight other brethren declared for £1. 2. 9, and No. 16, a true Irishman:—

Br. John West Refuses & says that he considers £1. 14. $1\frac{1}{2}$ a regular Charge

and in conclusion: -

It appears from the above statement that the Sum of £1. 2. 9 is the legal and appointed Charge with 5. 5 deposit.

Note also that the name of a Deputy Master, Bro. James Byrne, appears immediately after Bro. Robinson, who was certainly Treasurer the previous year. Bro. Byrne was Master of the Lodge the following year, 1805.

From the manner in which the Reports and Admissions of Candidates are entered separately, it is not always easy to trace each brother's career: but the rule is clearly as before. Report, Entered and Passed, and Raised, at separate monthly meetings: sometimes, however, it would appear that the 'Report' and 'Entering and passing' were on the same night:

1799 September 2 October 7th	George Stafford Reported To Entred and Passed To Reased	$\bigg\}$	1.	8.	2
1800 febre ^{ry} . 3d. March 3d. April 7th	Peter Murrey Reported To Entred and Passed To Raised	$\left\{ \right.$	0. 1.	5. 8.	5 2

Under the heading "Opening of the Lodge" appears page after page of entries such as: -

April the 7th (1800)

The Lodg Opned in due form half past six Worshipful Br. Eager in

Lodge Cloased in due form all parted in Good harmony.

Amid a host of such, an occasional one is worth more than passing notice:— November 3d. 1800.

Lodge opened at a quarter past seven in Due form Br. Thos. Farguson in the Chair

Lodge Closed in form at Nine o'Clock all Parted in good harmony.

The Master for 1800 was Archibald Eager, and Thomas Ferguson was Senior Warden. Previous to 1800, Ferguson (who was reported in 367, 2nd May, Entered and passed 6th June. Raised 4th July, 1796) had not served as Master of the Lodge. Nevertheless, having been installed in the Senior Warden's chair as such, pursuant to an old Masonic law (Bk. of Constitutions, 1751. Rule II., New Regulations), he, in the absence of the Master, had the right to preside over the Lodge.

This at once raises the question, what were the functions of the Deputy Master, whom we have seen occasionally elected with the other officers, and present in the Lodge at the same time as the Master?

At times, harmony did not prevail, and however painful the cause, one regrets the Secretary did not give a little more information than: -

August 2d. [1802] Lodge opened in Due form at half past Eight o'Clock

the W.Br. Jas. Waddell in the Chair Lodge Closed in Due form. Discontent.

Beginning with 7th December, 1804, the Secretary becomes more explicit: -

1. 2. 9 1. 2.

received

Br. John Murphy Entered Apprentice & past Br. Patrick Henry Entered & past paid Lodge Opened at seven. Closed at Nine O'Clock All in Harmony Members Present

Worshipful Bro. Eager, and twelve others, including Bro. McDonough No. 775]

Emergency meetings are sometimes given in fuller detail, and kept separately:—

November 4th 1802.	
Br. Worshipful Jas. Waddell in the	Br. Henery 510
Chair	Br. Headon 212
Br. Senior Warden John West	Br. Gahan 501
Br. Junior Do. Pat. Lawless	Br. Richey 501
Br. Nicholas Welsh	Br. Jas. Ryan Headon Intered
Br. Pak. Cunningham	and past a fellow Craft
Br. Jas. Murray	pd. 11. 4\frac{1}{3}
Br. Peter Daly	Br. W ^m . Pa ^k . Smyth Intered
	and past a fellow Craft
	pad. 11. 4 1

Degrees other than those of the Craft, are now worked on "Quarterly Nights," and a separate record kept:—

1802	Feby. 18th Quarterly Meetin	g in due form		
	Brother Jno. Olphert Dubbed	a Knight	7.	7 pd.
	Br. Andw. Williamson	Same	7.	7
	Br. Jas. Burns	Same pd. 6 ⁸ . 6 ^d .	7.	7 pd.
	Br. Patt. Sloan	Same	7.	7 pd.
	Pd. Br. Gageghan	£: 11: 41		•

A fee was occasionally paid the brother who conferred the degrees, and as Br. "Gageghan" is elsewhere described as a visitor it is probable the brethren had enlisted the aid of a skilled ritualist from some other Lodge: in this case, probably the "Michl. Gahagan" registered by 343 in G.L., 1st October, 1799, and who subsequently affiliated to 367.

1804 Mar. 5th

Resolved that a Quarterly meeting of the Sir Night Templars are to be held at this Lodge Room on the 15th Inst. for the purpose of regulating such matters relative to them as are unadjusted & for the further purpose of Admitting Such Brothers as choose to be further initiated in Masonry Houre of Meeting 12 O'Clock Noon.

Signed by Order

Jas. Richardsson Sectry

Eight names for admission follow, and the "Costs of the Night" are given as:-

1	Quart o	of Whiskey	2.	8
$\frac{1}{2}$	Gallon	Beer		6

Labour was not necessarily confined to the 'Higher' degrees on these occasions for we find a list of members present 16th May, 1804, at an "Incampment Held in due form," where the second name, Bro. Toner, is struck out, with the note "Not a Templar, but in Master Masons' Lodge."

The only surviving reference to the Royal Arch is:-

1804 May 16 Br. Robert McComb Raised Royal Arch & Knight Templar ,, By Cash recd, from him A Note offered but not recd.

VOLUME V.

A folio volume: pages 53, 54, 57, 58, 65, 66, missing: after page 73 follow seven un-numbered, followed by 81, eight un-numbered followed by 96 and 97: then seventeen un-numbered to the end of the book.

The volume was commenced by Br. John Olphert, who was elected Secretary for the year 1806, and who arranged his records under the following headings:—

Brethren, Alphabetical List &

Admission date of
Entering et cetera of New
Expelled
Extra Contributions of
Monthly ditto of
Suspended

Bye Laws Candidates Report of Cash Account

Another hand has added: -

Visiting

Money Putt in the Chest
Master and officers for the Insueing
six months
Members Names for Dining

Certificates,

to whom & when granted
by whom & when lodged
by whom & when withdrawn
Charity Accounts
Complaints, Decisions on
Fines Accounts
Lodge, Monthly & Emergent
Opening of the
Officers Annual

Quarterly Nights
Pall, Accounting for it
For Monthly dues

The Alphabetical List of Members shows a roll of eighty-six, and the Monthly Dues account an average attendance of between twenty and thirty. There was a serious falling off in the years 1808 and 1809, the attendance, at times, falling as low as four or five.

This was the era of the Seton trouble: in the Cash Accounts for 1806 we find:—

April 7 Expenses by W.p.ful Br. Carlton at Dromore
Meeting on Summons

1. 2. 9

This doubtless was the meeting of the previous 18th February, when thirty Lodges from County Down met to protest against the proposed control by Grand Lodge over the Royal Arch and Templar degrees, to object to the appointment of a D.G. Treasurer, and to insist upon the restoration of Bro. G. D. Irvine to the office of Grand Secretary.

It is perhaps worthy of note that the Master for 1806 had affiliated to the Lodge in 1804, and the Wardens in 1804 and 1805: the two Deacons were admitted in 1804 and 1805: so let us hope that the good brethren were led astray by this new blood. Unfortunately, it is not recorded from what Lodges these three brethren affiliated.

On 6th July, 1807, £1. 1. 8 was paid for Grand Lodge Dues to December, 1805 (two years at 10/10). The official G.L. Circulars show that on 25th May, 1804, the Lodge had paid up dues to December, 1803.

Seton had been removed from office in 1806, but refused to hand over the records, etc., of Grand Lodge, and, in fact, till 1808 remained in Dublin acting as Deputy Grand Secretary in opposition to the legitimate Grand Lodge. In the Seton Circular, December 1806—December 1807, payment of two years dues by 367 to December, 1805, is recorded.

The Lodge records show the payment, on 16th February, 1810, of £2. 3. 4, four years dues to December, 1809, so that by the latter date, at all events, 367 had returned to its lawful allegiance.

On page 7 the Secretary had begun to set out a revised Code of By-Laws, but only completed that page, the six following being left blank. The Laws are:—

- 1st. Each Candidate proposing for Admission shall Deposit the Sum of five shillings British. If the Candidate or Candidates be duly found Accepted by this Lodge the Admission to be on the Monthly Night next following Or if the Candidate or Candidates require an Intermediate Lodge of Emergency the same to be at Candidates Cost and each Candidate on Admission to pay to this Lodge the further Sum of One Guinea.
- 2nd. The Members of this Lodge to Attend Monthly in their Lodge Room at the Time appointed by the Worshipful Master in Decent Apparel and duly Sober. A Town Member absent Minutes after the time appointed by the Worshipful or his Deputy shall be fined the Sum of threepence, allowance of time to a Country or Distant Member half an hour extra. The Worshipful or Deputy's fine a British sixpence. Each Member to be further fined in proportion for further time Absent. A Member so fined to pay before admited to Open Lodge.
- 3rd. A Masonic Deportment shall be preserved by the Members in our Lodge Room after Closing Lodge of which the Chairman is to take the Charge and Report infringement persisted in to the Committee at next Meeting.
- 4th. Each Member to pay the Sum of Six pence British for each Monthly Night. absence three Monthly Nights successively subjects a Member to Decision of Committee.

Candidates throughout (1806-1815) all received the degrees in two stages: the pages allotted for such entries are provided with two columns, headed respectively F.C. and M.M.

There are only three entries relating to the 'higher' degrees: two in 1809, and one in 1811: the earliest is:—

Cannadates for the Sublime Orders in Masonry

Feby. 20th 1809	Br. Saml. Dixson Br. Ed ^w . Reily	paid paid		7. 7.	7 7
	Br. Robt. Eager Br. Bern. Smyth	do. paid	£0.	7. 7.	7 7
			<u></u> -	10	

Pass Master Excellent super Excellent Royal Arch Mason & Sir Knight Tempellars.

This Encampment Closed half past Ten O'Clock, all in good Harmoney and to a great satisfactision to the Brothers Present.

This is the first reference to a degree of Past Master, and the series is the usual one, culminating in the Knight Templar.

From the scanty records it would almost seem that the Royal Arch and Templar degrees were wrought in a very half-hearted fashion in 367, except that where the names of the brethren present are recorded, there are usually about twenty members of the Lodge. It is possible, of course, that the degrees were only worked when a competent ritualist was available, but it seems more probable that a full record has not come down to us. Compared with the records of other eighteenth century Lodges, even in country districts, those under review are scanty in the extreme: in fact, they present quite as many probems as they elucidate.

No reference occurs to the degree of Knight of Malta, nor to the Red Cross: but in the list of members with which this volume opens, somebody has jotted down:—

Bernard McCulham High Order which may mean anything!

EQUIPMENT.

Of all the equipment acquired from time to time not a vestige remains, except three smoke seals, Craft, Arch, and Templar, which were certainly in use in 1813, as appears by extant demits. The ten years' cessation of working will perhaps account for much, but, bearing in mind that the Master for 1844, the year the Warrant was withdrawn, was also Master in 1855, when the Lodge was revived, one cannot but regret that he was not more careful of the relics of the old body.

By skimming through the Cash Accounts, it is possible to ascertain pretty well what apparatus was used by our old-time brethren: some items have already been noticed in the preceding pages.

The Chest was indispensable: serving, one imagines, in many rôles, strong-box and store when labour was over, altar when the Lodge was open. The Lodge still possesses an old one with three locks.

April 3d. 1809 Lodge opened in due form at Nine o'Clock on account of the Senior Warden being late and the Members wanting the Key of the Chest.

Evidently, the S.W. was then responsible for the chest, or more likely, as was the case in many other Lodges, one key was retained by each of the three principal officers.

What the original Chair was like, we know not, but in July, 1795, Bro. George Pettit worked out his admission fees by

Painting for the Chair and floor Cloth.

Again, one would like very much to see this old floor cloth: perchance light would be thrown on the esoteric working of those days. Lectures are referred to occasionally, in which doubtless the floor cloth was made use of.

March 2nd 1807. Lodge opened in due form at 9 O'Clock the Worshipfull Master Br. Jos. Robinson in the Chair.

The Studdy of this Night was lecturing from an Enter Aprintice to a fellow Craft from that to the Master Mason.

Lodge Closed at 12 O'Clock all in good Harmony.

Thus the names of the three degrees were retained, although at this period they were conferred in two ceremonies only.

A Flag was acquired in 1800, for which a total sum of £5. 4. 6½ was paid: a number of brethren, whose names are noted separately, subscribed 1/1 each towards the cost. After this date, a "Warrant Bearer" and a "Colour Bearer" were annually elected with the other officers.

The cost of the Jewels does not appear, but:-

1785 Dec. 27 By Cash pd. Mrs. Sharman for Mounting Jewels 12. 7
By do. for Breast Ribbon 9
1799 Paid for a Maddel for the secretory 0. 4. 101

Whether this last was a jewel is hard to say, for in 1785 there is an entry:-

June 25 To paid John Williamson for Cross Pens 2. 2

It was possibly a medal of the engraved type, bearing emblems of various degrees, and bestowed in recognition of the onerous duties of the office, as such entries occur fairly frequently.

Clothing was also purchased by the Lodge, but as the entries are only for one or two articles, it was probably provided for ceremonial purposes alone.

1784	Dec.	By Cash Hana Saul for Sash	4.	8
1791	Nov. 7	By Cash paid Mrs. Massey for		
		2 Aprons & One sash	2.	81
1768	Dec. 27	By Cash paid for Gloves for John Quail	1	1

This is the only mention of gloves, and is not clear: Bro. John Quail was 'Entred' 24th February, 1766.

THE PALL.

This was purchased by the Lodge before 1781:-

Septr. 24 1781

it is agreed by the Members of this Lodge No. 367 that the Pall Purchased by sd. Lodge is to be Let out to all People at 2^s. 8½^d. Except a Member of the Lodge his father & Mother wife and children is to have it Gratis.

and if it should Please god to call any two of them at one time they that apply first is to have it, and the other is to have a Pall hired & Paid out of the fund belonging to this Lodge that is to say, if he is a Member of this Lodge.

The Vestry of the Parish of Down had two palls, one of velvet and one of cloth: in June, 1723, the Vestry fixed the rates of hire as follows:—

for ye velvet pall in ye Town of Down	16.	3
for ye same in ye country	18.	6
for ye cloath pall in Town	2.	81
in ye country	3.	6^{-}

There is no record of what the Lodge paid for their pall, but in 1796 a new one was purchased by the Vestry for the sum of £6. 9. $7\frac{1}{2}$.

Some time in the year 1781 the following payments were made: -

By cash Given to John Dougherty for 2 Bazel skins	4. 10 1
to Gilbert Brew for making a bag	0. $6\frac{1}{2}$

and:-

30 Oct. 1790 Paid to gilbert Brew for making the Pall Bag 0. 61 To Paid John Quail for two Basel Skins for the Pall 4. 4

A basil skin is a sheepskin tanned with bark: and the bag was to protect the pall when not in use.

In January, 1790, it was agreed by the Lodge: -

That every person who calls for the Pall except a brother, shall apply to the Secretary, and ye Secretary is to send a note to whom soever keeps ye Pall and receive 2*. 8½^d, and whoever keeps it is to fetch there notes on every Monthly night and Settle with the Members of 367.

At a subsequent meeting it was resolved that

Brothers Olphert, Ellis and Reilly is appointed to take care of the Pall for the ensuing year, and to make a monthly return.

Separate accounts were kept of money received for the hire of the Pall, and we find it hired, amongst others, by Rev. Wm. Nevin, Presbyterian minister, and "Priest McCartan"—probably Rev. Patrick McCartan, Roman Catholic parish priest of Loughinisland, about seven miles from Down.

The Pall at one time was evidently impounded for some reason or another:—

1786 Augt. 1 By Cash pd. Wat Hodgess by Geo. Sharrock for Releasing the Pall 5.

OFFICERS.

Throughout, the rule appears to have been to elect the officers on or about St. John's Day in Winter, and for the succeeding twelve months: there are, however, exceptions:—

1795	June 1st.	Joseph Robinson	\mathbf{Master}
		John Nixson	S.W.
		James Lennin	J.W.
		William Miller	D.Master
		John Nisbitt	Sectry.

Yet earlier in the year we find Morgan Scott presiding as Master: it almost looks as if an attempt was made to introduce the common Irish practice of electing officers half-yearly, to be installed on each of the St. John's Days.

The usual officers elected were Master, Wardens, Deacons and Secretary. A Treasurer was elected for 1802, but at other times the duties were undertaken by the Secretary, or by the Master, or sometimes by both, leading to endless confusion in the accounts.

We have one instance of the Master and Senior Warden each choosing a Deacon:—

December the first 1800

Joseph Robinson Chosen by Consent of the Body at Large Master of Lodge No. 367 for the year of our lord 1801 James Waddle Chosen Senior Warden by Consent of the Body at Large Hamilton Waddle Junior Warden by the Consent of the Body at Large James Lemon Senior Deacon, Chosen by the Worshipful Master Own Kelly Junior Deacon Chosen by the Senior Warden John West Warrent Bearer Patrick Cunnihan Colour Bearer.

In 1807, a novel method of choosing officers is recorded:-

By the following Committee for the Choosing a W:p:ful Master & Officers for Lodge No. 367 for the year 1807—this 5th January 1807—

Committee

Brs.	Archd. Aiger	President
	John West	
	Peter Daly	
	Arthur Lundy	
	John Miller	

Br. Joseph Robinson to be W:p:ful Master

Br. Robt. McComb
Br. James Ellis
Br. Michl. Smyth
Br. James Waddell
Br. James Waddell

Senior
Junior
Wardens
Colour Bearer
Warrant Bearer.

Nowhere is the office of Inner Guard mentioned.

THE TYLER.

This personage, though not an officer in Ireland, is none the less andispensable. He is first mentioned in the 1785 Code of By-Laws: Rule 10 providing for a payment of 1/1 each Monthly night and 1/1 from Every New admitted Brother Every Night of Emergency." The wording is somewhat ambiguous, but I think it means that if a brother were in a hurry to receive a degree, and an emergency was held for the purpose, the candidate was to defray the Tyler's fee.

He was provided with a proper implement of office: -

1792	June 26	By Cash Gave Jas. Richardson for Sword	$\pounds 2$.	5 .	6
1793	Jan. 6	By Cash pd. for a Sword to the Chist	2.	5.	6
1793	Nov. 4	To Cash for Sword P. McCowen	2	5	6

I confess I am unable to explain these three entries: why the Lodge should require three swords within eighteen months, each at the very considerable sum—for those days—of two guineas.

Entries of payments to the Tyler occur regularly:—

1784	Dec.	By Cash paid D. Martin for Tile	4.	4
1785	May	By Cash for Serving Sums.	1.	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Augt. 30	By Do. to Sharman Tyler	1.	1

On 4th April, 1791, a committee sat to "Determine whether John Crolly is a proper person to Act as Tiler to No. 367," and gave it as their opinion that he was not: nevertheless, we find him acting later in the same year:—

1 Nov.	Paid John Croly for Tyling	1.	1
1 Nov.	By Paid to John Crolly for Serving		
	Summonses for Dec. 1790	3.	91

He was presumably a scion of the Anglo Norman family of Swords, descended from one of de Courci's barons, who adopted the name Crolly.

It was part of the Tyler's duty to summon the members: and if he had to call upon them all personally, he was not underpaid, for 367 not infrequently was over fifty strong, and those scattered over a radius of ten or twelve miles from Down!

Indeed, in 1803 the Lodge bought Bro. Carrol, their Tyler, a pair of shoes, price 7/10—and stopped his monthly payment till they were paid for!

Another who ministered to the well-being of the Lodge was never forgotten:—

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[1799] Nov. 11. To the Gerrel for Cleaning the Room 1. 1
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THE COMMITTEE.

Nothing is more remarkable than the strict manner in which old Irish Lodges, remote from any governing body—Dublin was three days' journey from Downpatrick—enforced discipline upon their members. All defaulters were tried by a Committee of the Lodge, either appointed for the purpose, or, as it would seem at times, a Standing Committee elected annually.

Provision is made for referring disputes to a Committee in Law 6 of the 1785 Code, and in an entry dated 6th December, 1790, referring to the election of officers for the ensuing year, following the names of the officers elected, we find:—

the Comity Apointed by the Masters

0.22	c conney inpointed	by the madear						
1	James Richardson	Chairman						
2	Br. Edmondson)	\mathbf{It}	is	hereb	y ag	reed	that
3	James Lennen		the	anı	nex ^d .	name	s for	Sd .
4	John Cumin	}	Com	mitt	tee &	their	Respe	ective
5	James Muray	į.			sha			
6	James Cochrane	1	bepr	resen	\mathbf{t} on	Each	Succe	eding
7	W ^m . Smith							

Monthly Night the neglect of the sd Compliance by any Individual shall be Subject to the payment of the Sum of $6\frac{1}{2}^d$. & that any three of the Above Shall be a Quorum.

The seventh name, Wm. Smith, has evidently been squeezed in as an after-thought: an odd number of members on the Committee was the rule, presumably in order that a majority vote could always be had, without the necessity of the Chairman giving a casting vote.

One of the commonest 'crimes' was failure to attend when summoned:-

John Linten

Thomas Ransom Sect^{ry}.

by Order of The Body.

David Martin

Dec. 3 Expelled for Ever for not attending his Summons.

June 17 A list of the Committee on David Martin's trial, an imergency called by himself.

- 1 Jas. Richardson
- 2 Wm. Carrol
- 3 Dunkin Levingston
- 4 Jas. Smith
- 5 Geo. Robinson
- 6 Jas. Cochran
- 7 Danl. Watterson

We the Above members Appointed for the investigation of the Cause above ment^d. Do give it as our unbiased oppinion That the Said David Martin on a Strict Examination and an unequivocal engagement on his part for the rectitude of his Conduct to this antient and Respectable Body And his also agreeing to pay whatever charge the Secretary of Sd. Body may legally bring against him for his dues to the same providing nevertheless and always reserving a full power to discard and expell the sd. David Martin if not strictly adhering to the engagements he this night entered into & he is hereby admitted into the full power benefits & Enjoyments of the privileges of said Body By Begging their pardons and the other necessary Concessions.

Signed by order Jas. Richardson.

The following case sheds some light on the rather peculiar expression "proper" or "lawful certificate" which occurs in a number of the early Bye-Laws:—

Oct. 4 1785 At a Meeting of No. 367 Convened by summons particularly to try whether John Magee's certificate was Regularly or warrantably Granted or not ———

the Question Put ————
Archd. Eager Examined Against the Certificate Not obtd. by Consent of the Body: that sd. Magee Attemptd. to Defraud Examt: that sd.

of the Body: that sd. Magee Attemptd. to Defraud Examt: that sd. Magee Attempted to take away said Examt's may pole by the Assistanst of others and endeavoured to seduce them to it.

Mr. May.

K. Newe sd. Magee Expelled & never knew him admitted ———
For the Certificate

Mr. Blare Examined

Says that he as one of the persons concerned in Granting the Certific^t. knew nothing of these allegations before the Certificite was granted & that it had formerly been allowed that the Master & Wardens was possessed with full power and Authority to Grant Certificates providing they knew Nothing whereby he or any other Might be Refused.

that sd Magee was never regularly Expelled but that there was an allegation brought agt. sd Magee that there had been a triall between sd Magee & one McMullan whereon sd McMullan was Expelled for a Certain time.

the Circumstances were that

one Matt Flinn appeared agt. sd. Magee & sd. Magee chacked ¹ sd Flinn for gowring ² agt. him before sd Flinn's wife.

Fredk. Hodges Exam^d.

saith that he knew sd Magee Expelled but Not By the Consent of the Body

& that he saw sd. Magee reinstated by the consent of the Body.

it is the opinion of the Present Committee

iz. George Sharrock
John Eager
Stepen Reilly
John Nesbit
Jas. Richardson

appointed for deciding the present Dispute that the Certificate obtained by John Magee from the Master & Wardens of No. 367 is Legal

& Justly obtained & that the sd. Master & Wardens is not Lyable to Censure on sd. Acct.

But that sd Magee from Just appearances to them, seems to be a troublesome Member, and would not wish for the future to be troubled with his Company as this has not been the first of his Disturbance and hopes for the future that he will absent himself from sd. Body.

[The signatures of the Committee follow]

Another turbulent customer was arraigned as follows:-

Jno. Nixson Sd. that he Did not Care if he had his Money the Masons were all in hell & that the are all a set of Roges

Jas. Richardson Michl. Fleming Jas. Coughern

[Cochrane]

Jas. McFadden W^m. Nisbitt

Jas. Lennon

Fredk. Hodgess.

The above is the Persons appointed to sit as a Comittee on B. Nickson for his saying that he detested Masonry & also in some measure Divulged Secrets of the Body which he ought not to have done held in James Quails on Wedensday the 14th Inst. 1788 June.

We the above do give it as our opinion that from Nickson's own confession he spake disrespectfully of the Institution and having also recd. the Strongest proofs of his having recd. a Secret from Brothers and that Secret on his obligation he who violated his Obligation.

And it also appears that the troubles that have Lately arrisen have in general proceeded from the Violation of his Obligation (Viz. that he was the Very person who informed Mawhir that Br. Flemming was his

Anglice reproved.
2 The word in original is hard to make out, but "gowring," or "gowling," means violent vituperation.

accuser). From the above Facts and in order to preserve that purity and Brotherly affection that should at all times subsist between us and deter others from being Guilty of the Like Errors We do adjudge from Br. Nickson's apparent Contrition and Sorrow for the Same that Twelve Months dismission from this date is a sufficient Caution and we Sincerely hope that it may be a warning to him for the future & that admission Shall be from his Conduct from this untill that period (that is the expiration of Said 12 Months).

William Smith John Nisbitt Junr. W. Master

At times the Committee deliberated on the suitability of candidates:-

[4th April, 1791] The sd. Committee also determine that no man that is not uniformly well behaved Cannot be admitted as a Member of this Lodge.

That it has appeared to us that James Laverty purposed by Br. Starckey on this night is not uniformly well behaved & that we cannot receive him as a Member.

That the above be entered in the Books of this Lodge by the Sectry. Laverty was not to be rebuffed, however, and addressed the following eloquent appeal to the Lodge:—

A Copy of a Petition Sent to us by James Laverty the the 2d. day of May 1791

Gentlemen,

Having long Sincerely wished to become a Member of Your Ancient & Honourable Society, & Haveing once before been rejected I trust a Second Application may not be Constered into impertinence—no—be well-Assured no sircumstance in life would give me greater pleasure than being one of You—I intreat that the Rash Action of an unguarded hour may not be constered into a uniform bad Conduct—the cause of that action on which I was Rejected may be variously accounted for—However, that and every cause relative thereto I have long forgot and am determined for the future never to give cause for the like Complaints—If a thorough resolution of amendment—I Cannot say from the worst of crimes but from all I know bad in myself—can have any weight or be any inducement for You to admit a Member I hope I may be found worthy of Your Choice.

Signed Jas. Laverty.

It is the Opinion of the Committee that there is some necessary informations wanting therefore postpone giving a definitive answer until that information is produced which we hope will be on the first Monday of June 1791.

Unfortunately, no record of the proceedings on the latter date has survived, but evidently the suppliant's eloquence was of some avail, for we find James Laverty was Entered and Passed on the 4th July, and Raised 1st August following.

Decisions of the Committee were sometimes countersigned by the Master, Wardens, and Secretary, as approved by the Lodge:—

Feby. 5th 1798.

Br. John Ranaghan tried by the Under Naimed Commatee, by order of the Worshipful Master for offending the Lodge on the first of the last Month, it is the opinion of sd. Com^e. that Br. Ranaghan is to pay 1^s. 1^d. and to beg Gode's pardon, also Br. Jas. Murrey and also the Larges he with pleashure sub^d. to the above.

[Signed by the Committee, five members; countersigned by the Master, Wardens, and Secretary|

A Committee was appointed on 5th February, 1804, "for the Purpose of Settleing all difference of oppenion and other Controversies of whatever description soever": and the following note is added to the record:—

N.B. It is also agreed that should any difficulty arise, so that they cannot determine descisively on the subject of Matter before them, they shall have liberty to call from the Body at Large for such advice and such opinion As they may think necessary.

This Committee met on the 16th April following to hear a charge, and held that nothing was brought forward "that appears practicable for us to intermeddle-with," and made the following recommendation:—

But we do say that any Member bringing any Charge agt. a Brother hereafter, which may appear frivolous to us, he or they so agressing shall be fined equal to the Vexatiousness of the Offence.

A page is headed: -

John Taylor Octr. the 22d 1801

The Testimony of Br. Carroll against John Taylor for Reading the Book Called the three Distinct knocks for his father.

Most unfortunately the 'Testimony' was not recorded, as the rest of the page is blank, and I have been unable to trace any John Taylor among the members of 367.

1802 June 7. A Committee held that: -

Br. John Martin instead of appologising for past Misconduct has behaved in a very ridiculous & unwarrentable Manner & therefore cannot be admitted into this Lodge, untill he makes such reparation as the Body at large may adjudge ————

July 5th, 1802, a brother was tried for "absenting himself these Two years and half past": fined "Eight shillings and three halfpence Ster."

The Master himself was not exempt from the jurisdiction of a Committee:—
1792 March 5. We the undersigned Members of Lodge No. 367 give this our opinion that the Present Master Jas. Richardson is Guilty of a breach of his obligation. & that he is not to sit as Master in this Lodge untill he is Tried by Master Masons.

Sixteen signatures follow, including that of John Wesley.1

It is perhaps worth remarking that Br. Richardson was to be tried by Master Masons: except from 1806 on, where it occurs as one of the 'Higher' degrees, the rank of Past Master is never mentioned in the Records.

More serious matters, or causes affecting members of more than one Lodgewere dealt with by a Committee drawn from a number of neighbouring Lodges. One such case occurs in 367 records, when a Committee of eleven, consisting of the Masters and Wardens of 343 Crossgar, 367, and 815 Strangford, met at the request of Bro. Cunningham, a member of 815, "to investigate relative to a letter sent to 367 prejudicial to Br. Cunningham's Character as a Mason." The Committee met, and "Lodge was opened at ½ past 2 o'clock all in good order on Sunday, Oct." 28th" [1804]: the chair being taken by Bro. Samuel Lewis, Master of No. 343, the Senior Lodge, and also neutral in the dispute.

¹ This entry effectually disposes of any attempt at identification of this John-Wesley with the great preacher, who died in London in 1791, and who always signed his name J. Wesley. The signature of this John Wesley, of which a photograph will be found at A.Q.C., xv., 102, is here reproduced.—L.V.

John Wesley

This would appear to be contrary to the Regulation of Grand Lodge, of 6th September, 1779, forbidding brethren to meet on Sunday as a Lodge, under pain of exclusion.

The Committee decided:-

It is the opinion of the undersigned members of the above Lodges that their is No Grounds for any Censure on Br. Cunningham's Conduct as a Mason, & that if such letter was wrote it must have been done by some Columniator.

ST. JOHN'S DAYS.

From the scanty nature of the Records, it is unsafe to generalise, but it would appear that during the first few years of the Lodge's career, the festival of St. John's Day in Winter alone was observed: a usual expression being:—

At our Grand Festival on St. John's Day, 27th Decr. 1764 at Br. Robt. Hassings We Appoint our Festival for 27 Dec. 1765 to be at Br. Thos. Martin's.

According to G.L. Rolls, Bro. Hastings was returned as Worshipful Master in June, 1764; and on 27th December, 1765, he appears in the Lodge records as Deputy Master, under Hugh Hill, our first W.M.

Two entries are unfortunately not dated: --

A List of the Members who Intends to go to Church on St. John's Day ——— or be liable to pay the following fines:

	s.	d.
Master	5.	5
Wardens Each	3.	3
Secr.	3.	3
Each Member	2.	81

The list includes Worshipful Mr. Swan, who was W.M. in 1782 and 1783.

We the under Named persons do Agree to Dine in the Lodge Room in Jno. Fisher's on St. John's Day Next, the Expence of Dinner is 16d. & to Drink our pleasure.

Up till 1784 the only festival mentioned in the records is 27th December, yet in the Belfast Newsletter of 27th June, 1784, we find:—

Lodge No. 367. On Thursday the 24th inst. being the Anniversary of St. John, the Master Wardens and Brethren of Lodge No. 367 Downpatrick assembled and walked in Procession, preceded by the Hon. Edward Ward's band of Music to the Meeting House, where a most excellent Sermon, well adapted to the occasion, was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Tagart. They afterwards dined together and spent the Evening in that innocent festivity for which the Order is so remarkable.

[Crosslé: Masonic Notes, ix., 268] 1

The "Meeting House" was the Presbyterian Church.

In the cash account for 1784 we find: -

Dec.	27	to the Ch. Band	1.	2.	9
Dec.	28	to Mending the Drum		4.	6

¹ This and the following quotation from the *Belfast Newsletter* are from the voluminous notes on Masonic matters collected by the late R.W. Bro. F. C. Crosslé, P.D.G.M.. of Down, now preserved by the Lodge of Research, Dublin.

From this on, casual references in the cash accounts would go to show that 24th June was regularly celebrated as well:—

[1785] June 24 To Musick's Diner 3. 3

On this occasion the brethren doubtless had to content themselves with a simple drum and fife: as was often the case. Downpatrick, however, as a military station, had often a regimental band available:—

Yesterday the brethren of Lodge No. 367 (Downpatrick) in order to celebrate in the most becoming manner the Anniversary of St. John, walked in procession to church, preceded by the band of music belonging to the 9th Regiment, where a most elegant pathetic Sermon, well adapted to the occasion was delivered by their Rev. and worthy brother Mr. Hall.

[B.N.L., 3rd January, 1706. Crossle's M.N., ix., 421]

It was quite common for a number of Lodges to join together to celebrate the festival: in the *Belfast Newsletter* of 18th June, 1790, 367 advertised as follows:—

Downpatrick.—The Master, Wardens and Brethren of Lodge No. 367 intend going in procession to the Inch Church next St. John's Day to hear a sermon preached on that occasion by their Brother the Rev. W^m. Hall: they request such bodies in the neighbourhood as mean to join them to meet at their Lodge room at Nesbitts at 10 o.c. on the morning of that day.

Signed by order

Thomas Ranson Secretary.

Downpatrick 24th June 1790.

Now, marching in the heat of a summer's day is arduous work: in this case, Inch Church was distant about three miles from Down by road: and the brethren were not unmindful of the creature comfort of the musicians:—

To Paid for Drink at the Inch Church for the Band 4. 4

In 1796 we find the following:-

Resolved that the following brethren meet at the Widow Nesbitt's on Dec. 27th to Dine there. They are to meet at 10 of the Clock for the purpose of walking in procession to Saul Church, and hear Divine Service there. Dinner to be on the table at 3 of the Clock such of the Members as do not attend to pay a forfit of $2/8\frac{1}{2}$.

 $\pounds 2.$ 5. 6 was paid "To the Band of Musick that did us the honour to be with us on that occasion."

The services of the preacher were also rewarded:-

Sent by Alex'. Smith to M'. Williamson one Pound of Tea with the Preasent of a hat for his preaching to us on St. John's Day 25 Dec. 1788.

The festival in December was called St. John's Day, whether held on the 27th or not. Indeed, many old Lodges to this day call their installation festival St. John's Night: though by Irish law, officers may be installed at any time after High Noon on 27th December, the ceremony usually takes place on the next stated communication.

The pound of tea cost 5/5, but no record appears of the price of the hat:—

27 Dec. 1799. By Cash to William Hall for preaching 11. 4\frac{1}{2}

There was always a great furbishing up of clothing and insignia prior to the festivals:—

[1799] December 10	By Cash paid for Ribbands and Searge to			
	Repair the Collours belonging to the Lodge	0.	13.	9
27	by Cash to Andrew Williamson for			
	Macking a Meddel for the Secretary	0.	11.	11.
1800	by Cash to fife and Drum on Said day	0.	11.	$4\frac{1}{2}$
January the 12	by Cash pd. for Ribbands			_
•	by Cash for Roads and painting Do.	0.	14.	10
	by Cash to Br. Veadder for Repairing			
	Collers	0.	5 .	5
	by Cash to John Smith for Cleaning the			
	Juels Belonging to the Lodge	0.	2.	$8\frac{1}{2}$
	by Cash to James Brett for Boards			
	lock and Hinges Macking			
	Glass Cace for Warrent Nails and			
	Glue included in Do.	1.	5.	10

The sum 14/10 "for Roads & painting Do." seems a lot of money for three rods and painting them: could they have been something like sceptres, such as are now used in R.A. Chapters?

The Warrant was borne before the Master in the procession to church, but, alas! it and the case have disappeared with practically every other relic of the old Lodge.

Our old-time brethren were not afraid of a long walk: the following relates to an assembly at Killinchy, about fifteen miles away:—

1805 June 24. Lodge opened Morning 7—Closed at Nine in full harmony. The Worshipful James Burns in the Chair

Out of the Chest vizt.			
Paid Ribands for Jewels		8.	11/2
Paid for Cleaning the Jewels		2.	2^{-}
Paid Drum and Fife		7.	7
Paid for Advertising this days			
Meeting at Killinchy		1.	1
	-		
	£	18	111

1809 June 24. Walked to Crossgar Lodge by Invitation and Returned in Good Order.

These processions are now a thing of the distant past: it is now well-nigh a century since Grand Lodge, for many reasons, suppressed public processions altogether.

Still, it was a kindly old custom: we can picture our old-time brethren assembling at an early hour on a fine summer morning: winding up the half-year's business, and then setting out "in due Order": each in his Sunday best, with apron embroidered by loving hands at home: marching to join with each other in paying homage to the Great Architect of All: and then spending the rest of the day in social enjoyment, to return home as evening falls "in Good Order."

While observing all the duties, the Lodge did not neglect the social virtues:—

[1806]	Jan. 20	Emergent Lodge (& for Dance in Br. Robinsons at 6 O'Clock The Worshipful Depy. Br. Carlto Chair Lodge closed at ½ past 7 O'clock all in F	n in	the
[1807]	July 6	paid Br. Lawless a Balance of Dance at	16.	0
		Br. Robinsons	10.	U
[1812]	March 2	For Ball Due Mrs. Nesbit	2.	3

At times, too, they patronised the Drama: on 6th October, 1794, we find:-

By cash expended at the Play 7. 73

This would be a travelling company: probably converting the Assembly Room in the old Market House into a theatre.

CHARITY.

Some time ago, the writer was asked, by a candidate whom he had just exalted to the degree of Royal Arch, "What good is Masonry? Setting aside our organised charities, what good does it do that is not equally well done by other organisations?" To answer in a few words was not easy: I told him it is the only society where all are truly on the level: where charity, in its widest sense, in word and thought and deed, is inculcated at every step: that in a fallible, material world it is at least a genuine attempt to carry into effect the precept of the Apostle, "though I . . . understand all mysteries . . . and have not brotherly love, I am nothing."

Nothing emerges more clearly from the old records than that this ideal was ever present in the minds of our predecessors in 367. We have seen in 1777, the establishment of a Charity Committee: and by far the most frequent item of expenditure is the relief of brethren in distress:—

1786 July 6	By Cash gave a blind Man Who was a Brother & Charity	0. 1.	. 1
Sep. 14	By Cash Gave John Harrigan who projused a grand Certificate	0. 2	. 2
1787 9th June	By Cash to 2 poor Brothers pr. order of the Master	0. 2	. 2
1791 March 10	By Cash to a distressed Brother who wanted a hand & had good Certificates	0. 2.	. 2
1792 May 8	To Sundries Gave to M ^r . Andw. Cowan a Prisoner now in Jail for Debt	11	. 41/2
1794 Jany. 27	By Cash Gave a Brother who had his Sone in Goal	12	. 8 1
June 24	By Cash Lent James Crawford to Release him out of Goal	2. 16	. 10 1

Bro. Crawford was remiss in paying off his debts, and on 2nd June, 1800, a Committee sat to consider his case: the decision was that he was to pay the full amount in monthly instalments of 7/7, and "he is to be restored to the freedom of being a Member of Said Lodge" on his paying the first instalment. Subsequently the payment of four instalments is recorded, but whether the Secretary was careless, or the debt never fully discharged, does not appear.

Imprisoned debtors were very often relieved:

1804	Feby. 5	Cash pd. Thos. Toy a Prisoner in the Jail	
		of This Town unable to provide for	
		himself	5. $11\frac{1}{2}$
1804	March 5	Paid Thos. Tiegh a Prisoner in Jail for	- -
		his Support in Prison	5. 5

Loans from the 'Box' were fairly frequent, and the borrowers signed a promise to repay in the Lodge book:—

Three Months after Date I promise to pay This Body £2. 9^8 . $4\frac{1}{2}^4$ for Value recd. this 27 day of December 1771

Hugh Gordon

Three Months after date I promise to pay the Present Master of Lodge No. 367 Archabald Egar or Order four Pounds Eleven Shills. Sterl. for Value Received. Witness my Hand this first day of July 1793 three.

Witness Present

John Nisbitt

William Smith.

1788 January 20 Michael Crean Wallace Admited as a Member on Being Tried And found Worthy.

May 17 Got and Recd £1, 7^s, 1^d. And Left his Watch in my hands till Paid.

Thomas Ranson, Sectry.

Sometimes an unexpected twist of phrasing gives an entry a genuine Hibernian flavour:—

Saturday Towards the support of our Brother Feby. 22d. W^m. Carrol whom is now Deceased for his funeral Expences paid out of the Chest

2. 00. 0

Nor was the widow forgotten:-

1805 Dec. 2 from Chest to Sister W^m. Carral 1797 Dec. 4 Paid Isabella Wood a Brs. Wife

11. 41

Some entries again convey a world of pathos: none more heartrendering than:-

1801 July 6 Cash paid Br. Daly for a Coffin for the Child of Br. Carril, Tyler

2. 2

FUNERALS.

When brotherly love could do no more, the Masons of old loved to bear the empty shell of their departed brother to its last resting place, with all the pomp and ceremonial in their power: esoteric ceremonies were practised at the grave side, which, indeed, have only been abandoned within comparatively recent years. In this connection it is worth noting that on 17th May, 1804, among members "Summoned to Attend the Funeral of Br. McQuillin of Seaford." was "Br. Jno. Miller, fellow Craft."

Not only was ceremonial practised, but the procession was accompanied by music:—

[1803] July 9 To Money for attendance at the funeral of Br. Hugh Quail to fife and drum 5. 5

Various entries in the Cash Accounts show that the Brethren were wont to seek solace for their grief:—

[1791] Nov. 29 By Drink at Intering Dr. Hill 0. 12 4

Failure to attend a funeral when summoned was considered a serious breach of Masonic duty:—

1804 April 16th.

A Committee Appointed for to enquire into the Absentees at the Funeral of Br. William Shanks preferred by Br. Fernon Agt. them.

Br. West, Br. Starkey, Br. Robinson, Br. McComb. Br. James Waddle, Br. Lunday, Br. Richardson Sectry.

Br. West Excused on the merits of his Objection

Br. Lunday Do. Do. Br. Waddle Do. Do.

Br. Starkey

for improper language in presence of the Committee & for his disrespect in not walking in procession we fine him One British Shilling

Br. McComb

excused on Merits of His Objection

Br. Robinson

Same Same Same

Br. Richardson

 \mathbf{Same}

[Signed by the Committee of five, and Br. Richardson, Secretary]

THE MEMBERS.

Thus far we have been able to glance at the doings of an old Irish Lodge in the first fifty years of its career, as revealed in the records of 367. Unfortunately, very seldom do we find a note of the professions or occupations of the members: and with the destruction of the Record Office in Dublin, it is well-nigh hopeless to identify a mere name of a hundred and fifty years or so ago.

In 1785 one Jacob White, "Shipp master," was admitted, and in 1801

Joseph Bruff, Coal Captain.

Quite a number of soldiers: in 1785, Stephen Reilly, Thomas Wilkinson, William Kiddley, and Edward Isaac, of the "9th Regt. of futt." Francis Maguire, Sergt. 58th Foot, admitted visiting member 8 Aug. 1786. 1789, James Forbes of the 61st Regt. was initiated, and James Roberts of the same corps "Lcdgd his Sertificate." Christopher Woods, Sergt. [Corps not mentioned] lodged his certificate in 1798.

Between August 1799, and January 1800, John Smith, Thomas Williamson, and William Petterson, of the North Lowland Fencibles, were initiated, and in 1801. Edward Martin, of the 46th Regt. of Foot.

In 1800 we find two soldiers of the 23rd Light Dragoons, Alexander Stuart and Gerard Howard. The Secretary, by the way, had trouble with the latter's Christian name, his usual effort being "Jarrard."

The Grand Lodge of Ireland, at its meeting on 7th November, 1799, had ordered a Warrant, No. 873, to be granted to Peter Edwards, Joseph Philips, and James Hamilton, of the 23rd Regt. of Light Dragoons.

From an early date it has been a G.L. law that no civilian Lodge may initiate a military man, if a Lodge is working in his unit: so it would appear either that these men were made in 367 (Ent. and passed 12th Jan., raised 3rd Feb. 1800) before the Warrant had reached the Regiment, or else it was never really taken out. On submitting the facts to Bro. Heron Lepper, he inclined to the latter view.

A list of voters in the Borough election of 1797—the first held after the potwalloping qualification was abolished and the franchise limited to those holding property of a £5 annual valuation—which was reprinted in the local paper, the Down Recorder, about 1850, gives us a few more names: they include a weaver, poundkeeper, baker, woollendraper, carman and publican. Bro. Thomas Parkinson, admitted 1780, was possibly the merchant of that name whose advertisements in the Belfast Newsletter give a bewildering list of commodities from Dantzig timber to "teas by the chest of his own importation." Bro. Thomas Ranson, Boot & Shoemaker, in the same organ calls the attention of the first people in Downpatrick and the surrounding neighbourhood to his "extensive assortment of Stained Skins of various colours, Calf and Seal Skins with Veal, Seal and Cor de van Boot Legs . . ."

A few names of some prominence are fairly easily identified: -

"Surgeon Hill," whose name occurs a few times in the earlier years, was a retired army surgeon.

Joseph Robinson, Jailer, was initiated in 1794.

William Trotter, Esq., initiated before 1785, was Seneschal of the Manor of Down.

His nephew, Edward Southwell Ruthven, was the eldest son of Edward Trotter, by his wife Mary, dau. of the Very Rev. James Dickson, Dean of Down: in 1801 he proved his descent from the family of Ruthven, Earls of Gowrie, and assumed that surname, his ancestor being one Alexander, who fled to England on the ruin of his house by the slaying of the Earl of Gowrie, its head, He took refuge in Durham, where he married, assuming his wife's name, Alexander's grandson crossed to Ireland, where his family prospered. Trotter. Bro. E. S. Ruthven unsuccessfully contested the Borough in the election of 1797, with his brother John Bernard, afterwards private secretary to Chas. James Fox, against Clotworthy Rowley and Josias Rowley, who were elected through the influence of the landlord, Lord de Clifford. He was elected a member of the Imperial Parliament for Downpatrick in 1803, and 1830 and '31: in the interim he had represented the City of Dublin. In 1806, however, he lost the seat to John Wilson Croker: one account of the election has it that Croker was nominated solely to keep the election open pending the arrival of one of the candidates, Croker received only three votes, but the other delayed by an accident. candidates being both disqualified for bribery, he claimed the seat, "refusing to betray the confidence reposed in him by his constituents."

Bro. Ruthven's admission into the Order savours somewhat of electioneering, as does also the admission at the same time of Charles Steele Hawthorne, and his brother Robert. All three were "admited E.A. & F.C." on 26th July, 1802, and while Ruthven was not Raised until 6th November, 1806, when an emergency was summoned for the purpose, the two Hawthornes completed their initiation in the Craft on 13th December, 1802.

Charles Steel Hawthorne, who resided at Ringhaddy, on the shores of Strangford Lough, was elected member for the borough in 1802, and also in 1812. He was appointed one of the Commissioners of Excise in Ireland in 1815, resigning his seat, and was succeeded by "William Richard Annesley, commonly called Lord Viscount Glerawley," a connexion of our Grand Master in 1788.

Thus, if only a few of the many names recorded in the old books of 367 who travelled this way before us, can be identified now, our departed Brethren, plain, unpretentious farmers and tradesmen, have left to us mute but eloquent witness of the spirit that animated them. And may we, their successors in the workaday world, as around the altar of old 367, so labour, "ever keeping the Ancient Landmarks in view" as to make "Masonry answer the end for which it was originally instituted, namely, to do Justice, love Mercy, and walk humbly in the sight of God and Man."

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Parkinson for his interesting paper, and to Bro. Heron Lepper for reading it on his behalf, on the proposition of Bro. Flather seconded by Bro. de Lafontaine, comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, L. Sykes, and Sam. Leighton.

Bro. DAVID FLATHER said :-

I have much pleasure in proposing "that the grateful thanks for the Lodge be conveyed to Bro. R. E. Parkinson, for the most interesting and instructive paper to which we have all listened with great interest and appreciation," and I wish to add to this our very sincere thanks to Bro. Heron Lepper for the care and illuminating skill he has bestowed in his reading of the Paper.

While we all regret that it was not possible for Bro. Parkinson to be with us to-night, we must all agree that, as read by Bro. Lepper, all the most interesting points in the paper have been vividly and accurately brought before us.

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Bro. Parkinson has not only given us a carefully selected record of the work of this old Irish Lodge, but he has succeeded in putting before us a living picture of the Masonic Life as it was lived in an Irish County Town 170 years ago; in fact, he has shown that, to a very large extent, the life in that town was very largely influenced by the Masonic atmosphere.

After all, while the rare and difficult problems of Masonry are very necessary subjects for Masonic research, the actual life and works of our elder Brethren from month to month and from year to year bring home to us all the reality and seriousness of the Masonic life of those early days.

I have been very interested to find many similarities between the records of the Downpatrick Lodge and those of our oldest Lodges in Sheffield, which were contemporary. With regard to the absence of records of the earliest years, I find the same blanks in Sheffield, where there is strong evidence that for the first five years no regular Minutes of the working of the Lodge were kept. Such records as exist were those of special or vital decisions, of which we find record in the Cash Book or books of By-Laws.

In Sheffield, at least as regards the first regularly formed Lodge, the By-Laws (as shown in my own paper) were written by Laurence Dermott and supplied as a complete and official code. The Downpatrick rules, on the contrary, appear to have been gradually evolved, after discussion from time to time, and thus "invented" to meet the various needs as they arose.

In Sheffield from 1768 to about 1790, it was customary for the Minutes to be written up the same evening as the Lodge was held and signed by the Master, or by the Brother who presided at that meeting. Whether these Minutes were read aloud for the approval of the Brethren, I do not know.

When visiting a number of Lodges in the United States twenty-five years ago, I found several Lodges that followed this practice.

Royal Arch. The earliest reference to the Royal Arch is on the 18th October, 1764:—

. "Bro. King being made Royal Arch 10/6"

In June, 1788, a Brother "was initiated into the Degree of a Royal Arch Super Excellent Mason".

Mark Masonry. On 17th December, 1809, 3 Brethren were made Mark Masons.

Committee. A Committee to deal with the affairs of the Lodge is most interesting, for while to-day it is a general custom for the Master to invite his Past Masters to confer with him, yet they have not the authority that a Committee appointed by the Lodge would have.

Installation of Wardens. In Sheffield, for several years, the Wardens were elected by Ballot, and we have several records of their being "examined and found worthy" before being Installed. We also have records of the Deacons being selected by the Wardens.

Processions. We in Sheffield also had the custom of going in Procession to Church on St. John's Day in summer and the engagement of "some Reverend Brother" to preach a sermon.

Bro. C. F. Sykes said: -

Bro. Parkinson's paper is one which will appeal to the ordinary Mason as well as to the Masonic student, and I join sincerely in the vote of thanks to him.

The extracts from pages 1 and 3 of the vol. i. are correctly described by the writer as baffling. The entries give the same date to two meetings, viz.,

"27th being St. Johns 1765", and "27th Dec. 1765", but membership is 28 at the first quoted meeting and 22 at the second.

The entries for 1766 show John Gordon as: "Entered on 27th. St. John's 1766 Absent". The meeting on 27th December, 1766, would be the last meeting of that year, and he could not have entered and been absent at the same meeting. I suggest that the Secretary on the first page and with reference to John Gordon made the same error, and that 27th St. John's Day may have been 24th St. John's Day. We could then understand the variation of membership in the first two extracts and the absence of John Gordon in the 1766 entries. Meetings were held on 24th June, for members were registered in Grand Lodge Rolls on that date in 1762-3-4.

In Regulation I. of the 1st Code of By-Laws it is somewhat surprising to read that offenders against good conduct could be placed under arrest. It is evident from Article 2 of the Code agreed upon on 26th January, 1778, that the Lodge was used as a Loan Society and Slate Club.

The term 'ordinary' used in the 1772 quotation I assume to allude to a meal. The word has been used to indicate a repast for all comers, certainly since Shakespeare's time. The price noted for the meal, 1/1, indicates that the brethren were not extravagant with regard to their refreshment, and that this was the practice may be gathered from the fact that seventeen years later the cost of dinner on St. John's day was only 1/4. Certainly the dining fee did not advance in the same degree as that for 'making'. The latter is noted in the 1st Code of By-Laws as $8/1\frac{1}{2}$. In 1791 this had increased to £1, 8, 2. This amount seems to indicate that the original fee had been multiplied by three, plus the 1/1 and $2/8\frac{1}{2}$ provided for by Law 8 of the 1791 Code.

The times of two meetings appeal to me as uncommon. That of March 2nd, 1807, when Lodge opened at 9 o'clock and closed at 12 o'clock. It was an evening meeting, for "The Studdy of this Night" is mentioned. It is to be hoped that only town members were present, for a hundred and twenty-five years ago transport was primitive.

Then on June 24, 1805, when the Brethren met at Killinchy, fifteen miles away, "Lodge opened Morning 7". This was a St. John's Day celebration, and considering the distance the brethren had to travel to the meeting place it probably entailed an overnight journey to Killinchy. As 24th June, 1805, occurred on a Monday it may well have been that opportunity was taken to make a real week-end summer outing of the occasion. The meeting was advertised and a drum and fife band engaged. The celebration in 1809 occurring on a Saturday was a much less pretentious affair. The little arithmetical problem among the vague scribblings at commencement of vol. ii. intrigued me. Its statement is puzzlingly brief. What is meant is: Give the first man ½ more than the second, the second ½ more than the third, the third ¼ more than the fourth 1-5th less than the third. The preceding scribbling appears to be just a jumble of words to be unravelled. The best I can make of them is: "Cloth makes as well as shapes the man. He can marry money".

The volumes under review may create as many problems as they unravel, but I venture to think that they do enable us to get closer to our old-time brethren, to understand a little more of their aspirations and increase our pride in our heritage.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:-

It has been a very great pleasure to hear a paper by my friend Brother R. E. Parkinson delivered in this Lodge, the more so as its subject is very dear to my heart, one of those unadvertised Lodges in the provinces of Ireland that

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have been keeping the Craft alive there for well over a century and a half since their establishment.

May I say first of all a word of high praise for the way in which it has been written. The author has been content to present us with the available facts, and has left us to draw our own conclusions from them; but one conclusion we all shall be forced to draw, that our Brother Parkinson has performed a hard and lengthy task admirably well. It is pleasant to reflect that the gratitude of every Masonic student will be his reward.

Now about the documents at his disposal. It will have struck us all that the Minutes of the Lodge proceedings are particularly bald, even for the period when they were written. I doubt if anything definite of a ritual nature can be gathered from them.

In this respect two points suggest themselves for discussion: the altered custom of the Lodge in usually conferring the first and second degrees on the same evening from 1785 onwards; and the occasional mention of a Deputy Master.

As for the first: not till the year 1858 did a month's interval between any two degrees become obligatory in Ireland; so perhaps it would be rash (in default of more exact evidence) to attribute too much importance to a Lodge's sudden change of custom in this respect; for it might have risen from a cause that had nothing whatever to do with ritual, the convenience of a degree-giver, an influx of new members wishing to obtain the three Craft degrees as soon as possible, the personal crotchet of a Master. The thing to bear in mind is that there was nothing in the Irish code preventing a Lodge from conferring all three degrees on one evening if it considered such a course desirable; and such a course was often adopted.

As for the appearance of a Deputy Master among the Lodge officers on occasions: I should be inclined to attribute that to Scots influence. Many Scottish Masons undoubtedly visited the Downpatrick Lodge, probably many more than those whose names are recorded. They would talk, as is the laudable custom of their tribe, about how things were done in Scotland, and thus the Irish may have heard of the Master Depute and translated the word into their own idiom and the office into their own ceremonies.

All of which is a very pretty piece of theorising, but not, I am afraid, of much value to our enquiry.

Before passing from this important question of possible ritual changes in Ireland round about 1785 (for whether we believe in it or whether we don't it is a tangible possibility to be discussed), the question at once arises: who decreed the change? If there was a change, it was certainly not enforced from Dublin. The northern Lodges at this date paid scant attention and even more scanty dues to the Grand Lodge in the capital; means of communication were difficult; the country Lodges jogged on according to their own lights, and I fancy did not particularly welcome a message from the supreme Masonic authority in Ireland, since such missive usually contained a demand for money. From what I know of the northern Mason I think that a communication from such a source ordering a change in the established ritual would have been even less welcome and even more willingly disregarded. Nor have I been able to discover in the Grand Lodge Minutes any entry to suggest that a ukase about ritual matters was ever issued to the Lodges from 1780 till the end of the century.

Granted these premises: if there was a change of ritual in Downpatrick round about 1785, who introduced it?

As Brother Parkinson has truly remarked: the Minutes raise more problems than they solve.

I join in his regret that the passages referring to the Higher Degrees are so unsatisfying. Here I offer, by way of illustration and in the hope of making

some humble return for the pleasure his paper has given me, the Minute recording the conferring of the Royal Arch degree in the neighbouring town of Comber on the 17th February, 1798, in Temple of Fame Lodge No. 822 (now No. 46):—

"Lodge in Due form the W'p'l High Prest in the S'T'M' Snt Or'um (Sanctum Sanctorum) (fourteen names)

ALL pass'd the Chair, and received the Degrees of an Exclant Super Exelant Royal Arch Mason and afterwards Dubd knights and in Order paid there Contrabution to the high Priest in the H'l'y of H'l'ys'.'

Whatever ritual this Minute may indicate, we may perhaps assume that the one in vogue in Downpatrick must have been something similar.

I shall touch on only one other matter, the Lodge's unfortunate connection with the Seton Secession. We know that those who were preparing the schism in Dublin did their utmost by circular and otherwise to bring in all the northern Lodges on their side. I find a note that on the 7th April, 1806, Brother Richard Sankey of Lodge No. 155 Dublin visited the Downpatrick Lodge. From the care with which his name and Lodge have been recorded, one is tempted to regard him as an envoy from the camp of the malcontents. Whether actually so or not, I have no doubt he had plenty to tell about the recent and approaching ructions in Grand Lodge.

Nothing now further remains but to tender my thanks and congratulations to my good friend Brother Parkinson for having devoted his talents to such good purpose. His Lodge and his province are proud of him. I too am proud that my Mother Constitution has sent us such a splendid piece of research work by the pen of a friend and Brother.

Bro. SAM. LEIGHTON writes:-

I regret I cannot be with you to-morrow evening, and will ask you to kindly apologise for me.

I have perused every line of Bro. Parkinson's paper with the greatest interest, and congratulate him most sincerely upon his transcript of the old Minute Books of the old Downpatrick Lodge, which gives us a most vivid picture of the manners and costumes of the old Irish brethren. It was a labour of love to him, I know, and I am glad we are to have it in the Ars.

Bro. W. Jenkinson writes: -

Gould, on the subject of the history of the Order in Ireland, complains "Neither are there histories published of particular Lodges, as in England, Scotland and America, so that not only the Irish Craft, but also the brethren of other jurisdictions, have, except in a few solitary instances, to put up with the entire absence of those details of Masonic life and activity which would throw a strong light on the Freemasonry of the Sister Kingdom". (History of Freemasonry, iii., 41.) Nearly fifty years have elapsed since this stricture was penned, and yet the words are as true almost to-day as when written. Members of the Irish Constitution will, therefore, welcome the appearance of the present valuable contribution to our history, and the more so because not only does the paper present an admirable summary of the work of an Irish country Lodge of the eighteenth century, but also because it supplies a solid mass of those very details of which the great Masonic historian bewailed the scarcity.

 $^{\rm 1}$ By the fraternal kindness of Brother John Robinson I was enabled some years back to make a transcript of this Minute Book.

Discussion. 57

It is generally admitted that a purely historical paper, such as that before us, is largely devoid of controversial points; nevertheless, the following notes gathered from other Irish records may help in the discussion of one or two points dealt with in Bro. Parkinson's contribution.

The annual election of officers as observed by the brethren of No. 367 is an instance of complete divergence from the more common practice of Irish Lodges, in which the officers were elected half-yearly down to 1875 when the yearly period became law. Just why the Downpatrick brethren adopted the yearly system is not clear, and no great help is to be found from an examination of the early Irish Constitutions, of which Art. XXII. contains the sole reference to the date for election of officers, and even then this Article deals primarily with the election of Grand officers:—

"XXII. The Brethren of all the Lodges in and about Dublin, shall meet at an annual Communication, and Feast, in some convenient Place, on St. JOHN the Baptist's Day . . .

the Grand Lodge must meet in some convenient Place, annually on St. JOHN's Day; or if it be Sunday, then on the next Day, in order every Year to chuse a new Grand Master, Deputy and Wardens'.

-Pennell. 1730.

Smith amends the above to read thus: -

"XXII. The Brethren of all the Lodges in and about the City of Dublin, shall meet at an annual Communication and Feast, in some convenient Place, on St. John Baptist's Day, or else on St. John Evangelist's Day, as the Grand Lodge shall think fit . . . "

—Smith. 1735.

The first hint of a half-yearly meeting of the subordinate Lodges is found in the following:—

"XXII. The Brethren of all the Lodges in and near the City of Dublin shall meet in some convenient Place on every St. John's Day, and when Business is over they may repair to their Festival Dinners

The Grand Lodge must meet in some convenient Place on St. John the Evangelist's Day on every year; in order to chuse or recognize a new Grand Master, Deputy, and Grand Wardens'.

-Spratt. O.R. 1744.

Spratt repeats the above in his 1751 edition, with a minor alteration in the last sentence, "in order to proclaim the new, or Recognize the old Grand Master".

The Irish Regulations of 1768 enact:-

"XX. All the Lodges in Dublin shall for the future elect their Officers sometime in the Months of April and October . . . and the Country Lodges are to return the Names of their Officers, and a List of their Members to the Grand Secretary, on or before St. JOHN's Day in June every Year'.

This is the first enactment dealing with the election of officers by country Lodges, and we find it repeated in Rule XXIV., Section IV., Downes Ahiman Rezon 1817, with this amendment:—

"Country Lodges are also to return their Officers whether elected or continued, and a list of all their Members (post paid) to the Grand Secretary, on or before each St. John's Day, and any Lodge not complying with the above shall be fined 5s. 5d."

The Irish Warrant of the eighteenth century conferred very extensive rights to the grantees, the clause bearing on the present point reading:—

"And We do hereby give and grant unto the said . . . and their Successors, full Power and lawful Authority from time to time, to proceed to Election of a new Master and Wardens, to make such Laws, Rules and Orders, as they, from time to time shall think proper and convenient for the well-being and ordering of said Lodge";

Presumably Lodge 367 acted on the terms of its Warrant and held its elections as local circumstances dictated. In this connection it may be noted that the By-Laws of No. 1 Cork, dated 1769, provided for the election of a W.M. annually on the Lodge Day Preceding the Festival of St. John the Baptist. (Trans., Lodge of Research, No. 200 Dublin, 1926, p. 92.) The Minutes of Lodge No. 328 Richhill record half-yearly election of officers from 1759 till 1765, then after a gap of ten years in the records we have yearly elections from 1775-1845. In all the Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Armagh Co. Committee during the period 1790-1799 elections took place annually in October and the officers were installed in the December following.

Of the minor matters referred to in the paper, I think Art. 9 of the 1764/5 By-Laws indicates an attempt to collect the annual Grand Lodge dues of 1/1d. per member, payable up to 1768 by the subordinate Lodges, but superseded in that year by the levy of 10/10d. on each Lodge. (Art. XVI. Regulations 1768.)

The "Truncheons" presented in 1765 by Bro. Martin were for the use of the Wardens, and took the place of our present day gavel when the Lodge was at labour, as well as being carried by the Wardens when the Lodge "walked" on St. John's Days. The use of the truncheons in Lodge is demonstrated by the following extract:—

"17th that there is to be a silence at the first chap! of the Master's hamer, and Likeways at the first Stroke of each Trenchen struck by the Sen", and Jun". Wardens"

-By-Laws No. 315, Tanderagee (1759-1813).

With reference to the "poles" and two sets of 3 rods, it is suggested that the former were for the Lodge Flag, of which practically every Ulster Lodge possessed a more or less elaborate specimen. The "rods" appear to have been used in the Lodge ceremonies. Thus the records of No. 783, Dunmurry, Co. Antrim, show that the Master, Senior and Junior Deacon carried each a Black rod in his hand while the Lodge was at labour. (Trans., Lodge No. 200, 1924, p. 190, n.) The purchase of a second set of rods in No. 367 is not without a parallel. In his Notes on the Dunboyne Lodge, No. 60 Ennis, Bro. Molony quotes the purchase of a "sett rods & Truncheons" in 1791, and again in 1807 "Paid for 3 Rods" (Trans., No. 200, 1924, p. 190.)

By-Law 4 of No. 367 (vol. ii.) reminds us that although refreshment always was in evidence after labour, nevertheless our ancient brethren were mindful of the need of due decorum in Lodge. A rather amusing variant of the customary rule dealing with sobriety is contained in the following:—

"7th that no person be admitted into the Lodge that is in Liquer or the Least Drunk with Liquers if he Getts in he is to be assk^d, if he is Drunk by the Sen^r. Warden if he replys that he is not & at the same time is, he is to be put out by the Master and Deacons".

-By-Laws No. 315, Tanderagee (1759-1813).

^{1 &}quot;Chap", Ulster dialect for "blow".

Discussion. 59

Bro. Parkinson raises an interesting question of the doctrine of Exclusive Jurisdiction as shown in the fee charged candidates for affiliation with No. 367 who had been made within twelve miles of Downpatrick. I have noted a somewhat similar practice in a Co. Armagh Lodge. The incident is dated ten years later, and may add a link to the chain of evidence:—

"No Brother to be admitted a Member of this Lodge that was Entered passed and Raised for a less Sum that £1. 2. 9 within Twenty Miles of Lurgan, otherwise make up the sum to this Lodge".

-By-Laws No. 134, Lurgan (1810).

By far the most interesting point arising out of consideration of the paper is the change in the method of conferring the Craft degrees, which appears to have taken place in No. 367 about the year 1785.

Pennell's Constitutions 1730 show that the Irish Rite at that time consisted of three degrees, Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason, and in the opinion of Bro. Chetwode Crawley the ceremony of Installation as Master of a Lodge included the essentials of what afterwards became our Irish Royal Arch Degree. (Caem. Hib. Fasc. I.) In research work regarding the manner in which the Craft degrees were conferred in the early days by our Irish Lodges the student is sadly hampered by the scarcity of subordinate Lodge records, and until every available scrap of evidence has been collated it is unsafe to venture more than a tentative opinion. Sufficient evidence is available to indicate that variations did occur in the method of conferring these degrees, but at such divergent dates as to render it difficult to reduce to demonstration both the period and the cause.\(^1\) The following extracts will illustrate the difficulty:—

The first record in order of date is:-

"Wm: Gallway Esq".: and Ensigne John Cooke were made & rece'd Enterprentices and did then and there pay ye Treasur'r their Enter prentice Subscription to ye Stock being for each Brother $2/8\frac{1}{2}$ ".

-Mins. G.L. Munster, 13/3/1728 (Trans., Lodge No. 200, 1923, p. 97.)

No Minute of a subsequent degree being conferred on either of these brethren is extant.

Our next evidence is D'Assigny, who says of the members of the Irish Jurisdiction in 1744 "we have contented ourselves with three material steps to approach our Summum Bonum, the Immortal God" (Serious Enquiry, p. 32), thus agreeing with Pennell's three degrees, Apprentice, Fellow Craft, Master (Constitutions 1730, p. 44). D'Assigny's statement is borne out by the earliest extant Minutes of a Dublin City Lodge, No. 207, which record three degrees given on separate nights from 1763 till 1780, viz., entered, crafted, and finished, or, "raised to the degree of a Master Mason", as it is sometimes minuted. From 1780 till 1784 the practice varied, some candidates receiving the E.A. and F.C. on the same night, whilst in others the conferring of the E.A. and F.C. on separate nights was the rule. From 1784 onwards these degrees were given on the same night with an odd exception up to 1815, when the Lodge Minutes cease.

In Lodge No. 27, Cork, we find "two candidates were received and passed the degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft" on the 19th February, 1749, and on the 1st March these two brethren were "received into a Master's Degree." (Trans., Lodge 200, 1926, p. 84.)

¹ For a detailed study of this subject from the Irish standpoint the student is referred to *The Differences between English and Irish Masonic Rituals treated Historically*, by Bro. J. Heron Lepper, published by the Lodge of Research, No. 200, Dublin, 1920, and *The Irish Rite*, by Bro. Philip Crosslé (*Trans.*, Lodge No. 200, Dublin, 1923, p. 155 et seq.).

The Minutes of No. 1 Cork testify that the procedure of conferring the E.A. and F.C. on the same night was observed in 1769. (*Ibid*, pp. 96-97.)

Coming to the North of Ireland we have in Vernon Lodge, No. 123, Coleraine, Co. Derry, the general practice from 1753 till 1759 of "entered" on one night, followed by the F.C. and M.M. degrees together on a subsequent night. Then for the period 1760-1780 the general rule became E.A. and F.C. on one night, followed by the M.M. degree at a later date. (*Ibid*, pp. 143-144.)

Lodge No. 134 Lurgan, Co. Armagh, from 1750 till 1788 conferred three degrees, mostly at monthly intervals, described as "first step, second step, third step". From 1788 onwards we find occasional instances of a "first step" on one night, followed by the "second and third steps" given together at a subsequent meeting, but the more constant practice was to confer the E.A. and F.C. together under the title "entered and crafted", with the M.M. degree on a later night. (Mins., No. 134, Lurgan.)

Thus far all my extracts have been drawn from Irish sources as properly befits a criticism of a paper dealing with the history of a Lodge of that Jurisdiction. One instance taken from the records of a Lodge belonging to the English Constitution, however, may be allowed as bearing on the subject of the method of conferring degrees in the period under review.

On the 14th August, 1752, the English Lodge of St. John of Eustatius, in the Province of the Leeward Islands, gave a confirmatory Charter to certain brethren of the Lodge Perfect Harmony, New Orleans, and the letter accompanying the Charter contains the following pregnant paragraph:—

"Particularly we do strictly recommend to our Brethren of the Parfait Harmony to Continue in the Use of giving the two Degrees of Entered Apprentice and fellow Craft Imeditly the One After the Other without any Delay as is the Practice of Most of the Best Lodges, and as we do Ourselves for severall Reasons that Cannot be Exprest here has convinced of the Necessity of this the which we have Communicated to our Brethren Fooks and Caresse".

-A.Q.C., xl., 107.

Here we have a procedure similar to that observed by No. 27 Cork in 1749, and one stated to be "the Practice of Most of the Best Lodges" of the English Constitution.

Could it be possible that in this extract from the records of a long-forgotten Lodge we have a key to the puzzle why the E.A. and F.C. degrees commenced to be conferred at an early date on the same night? Dare we assume that when the Brethren of the English Premier Jurisdiction adopted certain innovations they also provided means whereby the initiate could have explained to him, at the earliest possible moment after becoming a Mason, the difference between the two systems which later became known as Modern and Antient? Granted this, then prima facie those Lodges which were of the Antient faith would be compelled to adopt a similar course, thereby ensuring a like knowledge on the part of their adherents.

In Ireland, the home of the Antients, news of the innovations, and of the method adopted to counteract them, would spread but slowly owing to difficulties in communication, so that variations in the system of conferring degrees in the Irish Lodges is not altogether surprising.

The year 1780, when the change appears to have been provisionally adopted in No. 207 Dublin is peculiar, when compared with the records of No. 27 Cork, but it must be remembered that the latter Lodge was in close touch with Bristol Masonry all through its existence, and may thus have receeived early information of the changes which had taken place.

Discussion. 61

The acceptance of the change by No. 207 Dublin in 1784, and evidence that the new procedure had become general all over Ireland about the last mentioned date, show, however, that in all probability sound reasons existed for its adoption by other Irish Lodges at an earlier period such as we have seen in the case of No. 27 Cork.

It is submitted that the view expressed here is worth consideration inasumch as it presents a simple explanation to an otherwise knotty problem, and further it possesses the merit of providing a possible solution which avoids any controversy regarding the evolution of Degrees, for whatever form of ritual the various Lodge records may have intended to convey by the terms E.A. and F.C., nothing more is postulated than that two degrees, described as E.A. and F.C., were conferred on the same night.

This idea may prove worthy of further investigation, and is accordingly offered here with a view to having its value tested. Should it prove tenable, the credit for the suggestion is due to Bro. J. Heron Lepper, who drew my attention to the latent possibilities of the Minute of the Lodge St. John of Eustatius which I had submitted to him.

Bro. Parkinson is to be heartily congratulated on his able paper, and its publication should evoke a mass of well informed criticism from the members of Q.C.

Bro. Parkinson, in reply, writes:-

Before replying to points raised in the discussion of this paper, I should like to place on record my deep sense of gratitude to three Brethren in particular. To Bro. Heron Lepper, who not only at short notice presented the paper to the Lodge on my behalf, but who during its preparation was ever ready to give advice and criticism,—criticism so gently worded as to sound more like a compliment! Bro. Philip Crosslé, too, devoted much time to reading the paper in draft, and supplied much with which to clothe the bare bones of the original. Bro. Wm. Jenkinson verified many references, and from his wide knowledge of Irish Masonry has supplied many illuminating comments.

The records are in many respects so vague that on many points one could only suggest possible explanations, but now that they are placed on record it is to be hoped they may be useful for comparison, and shed some light on similar occurrences elsewhere.

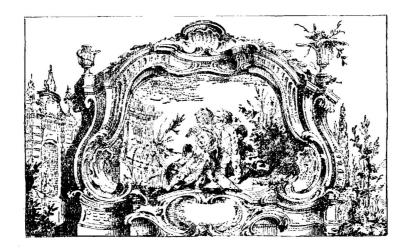
Bro. Heron Lepper very ably discusses the problem of the change in the manner of conferring the degrees in or about 1785. I must confess I am attracted by the theory advanced by Bro. Philip Crosslé in his Irish Rite (Trans., Lodge No. 200, Dublin, 1923), and I am prepared to go far in his company. In its essence it is but a development of the theory set forth by Bro. Heron Lepper in his Differences between the English and Irish Masonic Rituals, namely, that the development of the Royal Arch as a separate degree was accomplished, so far as Ireland is concerned, in Dublin, and that the change spread gradually from place to place as opportunity offered. It will require the careful collation of all available records before we can prove or disprove the theory, but it appears to offer at least a useful working hypothesis.

I cannot agree with Bro. Lepper that in the case of 367 it was any trivial circumstance that caused the change. Occurring as it did, when the Lodge was setting its home in order and discharging its obligations to Grand Lodge, it seems to me that it was due to some outside influence, in this case possibly that of the Grand Master himself, Lord Glerawly. By this I do not by any means suggest that it was decreed by Grand Lodge, but that the practice was carried from Dublin by influential brethren to the country Lodges.

Bro. Jenkinson has furnished many interesting comments, but I shall only touch on two. His quotation of Regulation XX. of the Irish Regulations to 1768 shows why members and officers were registered in Grand Lodge books on 24th June, 1762-3-4, as pointed out by Bro. Sykes, and would go to support the theory that these Regulations consisted of resolutions adopted from time to time by Grand Lodge prior to their date of publication.

His quotation from A.Q.C., xl., p. 107, of the letter from the Lodge of St. John of Eustatius, accompanying their confirmatory charter to certain brethren of the Lodge of Perfect Harmony at New Orleans, shows that conferring the degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft at one meeting was the "Practice of Most of the Best Lodges" of the Moderns in 1752, but when he attempts to suggest a reason for the practice, his use of such phrases as "Could it be possible" and "Dare we assume" go to show that his faith in his own suggestion is but meagre.

In conclusion, may I express my own gratification that the rambling notes I have culled from the records of my Mother Lodge have been enshrined in the pages of A.Q.C., and my hope that the pleasure I have had in their preparation may also be accompanied by profit to the students who peruse them?



NAYMUS GRECUS: A NEW IDENTIFICATION.

BY DOUGLAS HAMER.

. . . Sallomon confirmed both Chardges and the manners that his flathor had given to Masons[.] And thus was that woorthy Crafte of Massonrey Confirmed in the Countrey of Jerusalem And in many other Kyngdomes. Curious Craftes men walked aboute full wyde in Dyners Countries soome to Learne more Crafte and conning & some to teache them that had but litle conning and so yt be fell that their was one Curious Masson that height Naymus grecus that had byn at the making of Sallomons Temple & he came into ffraunce and there he taught the Science of massonrey to men of ffraunce. And there was one of the Regall lyne of ffraunce that height Charles Martell[.] And he was A man that Loved well suche A Crafte and Drewe to this Naylmus grecus and Learned of him the Crafte And to [?tocke] vppon him the Chardges & ye manners.

Grand Lodge No. 1 MS. [1583].



HEN Mr. E. H. Dring was trying to identify Naymus Grecus as the great English ecclesiastic and scholar Alcuin [735-804 A.D.] he quoted 2 five lines from one of the latter's Latin poems:—

Perpetuum valeat Thyrsis simul atque Menalca, Ipse Menalca coquos nigra castiget in aula, Ut calidos habeat Flaccus per fercula pultes. Et Nemias Greco infundat sua pocula Baccho Qui secum tunnam semper portare suescit.³

These lines appear at the end of a poem addressed to Charlemagne in which Alcuin recalls and jokes about his former companions at the school attached to the emperor's court. They appear under assumed names. "Let Thyrsis", says Alcuin, "always be esteemed at the same time as Menalca. Let that same Menalca whip the cooks in the blackened kitchen, so that Flaccus 4 may have his soup hot in the bowl. And let Nemias, who is wont to carry his cask with him, fill his wine-cups with Greek wine".

As Mr. Dring says, "at first sight this marvellous combination of Nemias and Greco would appear to solve the problem, but unfortunately it proves nothing satisfactorily. Nemias was only an obscure cellarer who might have been the prototype of Simon the cellarer. It is, however, quite possible that this passage, which is the nearest approach to Naimus Grecus that has yet been found in the

 $^{^{1}}$ A.Q.C., xviii. (1935), 179-195; xix. (1906). 45-62. I do not accept Dring's identification because no early reader would confuse ci, even when touching, with a, which in his text, as shown in all the illustrations offered by Mr. Dring, appeared only in the form which we are now accustomed to use it in Roman type, not in the form now used in italic type and in modern handwriting. 2 A.Q.C., xlviii. 183.

³ Alcuin. Carmen cexxviii., in Opera, Patrologia Latina. vol. ci., cols. 781-2. The text there reads in error Nemias Groco. but see the quotation of lines 4-5 of the above extract in Du Cange, Glossarium, under "Tunna".

⁴ Alcuin himself.

whole range of mediæval literature, may have influenced the editor or copier of the MS. in which Naimus Grecus first appeared ". Much as we can sympathise with Mr. Dring in his obvious disappointment, the conjunction of the two words Nemias and Greco does indeed prove nothing, for although they appear side by side in the verse they are separated in sense by a verb and object, so that we are still left with the problem of how this "obscure cellarer" at Charlemagne's court was connected with one of King Solomon's assistants at Jerusalem eighteen hundred years earlier. At the same time it is possible, not that Alcuin's Nemias is Naymus Grecus, but that we have an important clue in Nemias.

For where did Alcuin borrow the name of Nemias from? Why choose that particular name for the "obscure cellarer"? The poem conceals the names of real persons under classical and biblical names: some of Alcuin's friends appear under the classical names of Homer, Virgil (Maro), Flaceus, Sulpicius, Hippocrates, Thyrsis, and Menalca: others appear under the biblical names of David, Jesse, Zacheus, and Nemias. Though we do not readily recognise the latter as a biblical name it is really one of the Latinised forms of the name of Nehemiah, and a little probing into the writings of Alcuin's successors in the hierarchy of the church will show at once the story to which Alcuin referred.

Archbishop Ado of Vienna [?800-874] wrote an excellent synchronistic history of the world, his Chronicon, and in his description of the reign of the Persian monarch Artaxerxes Longimanus [B.C. 465-425] says, "Ejusdem [Artaxerxes Longimanus] anno vicesimo, Neemias pincerno de Susis castro adveniens, murum Jerusalem quinquaginta duobus diebus restituit . . . Et quidem Africanus in quinto Temporum volumine, hujus temporis ita meminit; mansit itaque imperfectum opus usque ad Neemiam, et vigesimum quintum annum Artaxerxis. Quo tempore regni Persarum, centum et quindecim, anni fuerunt evoluti. Captivitatis autem Jerusalem centesimus quinquagesimus et quintus erat; et tunc primum Artaxerxes jussit muros extrui Jerusalem: operi præfuit Neemias, et ædificata est platea, et muri circumdati; et ex illo tempore si numerare velis, septuaginta annorum hebdomadas usque ad Christum poteris invenire".1

Alcuin therefore borrowed the name for his "obscure cellarer" from the In the book of the Bible which bears his name, Nehemiah, the cupbearer of Artaxerxes,2 tells how, while he was in the palace at Shushan, he enquired of Hanani and other Jews concerning Jerusalem, and of the state of those who had escaped the captivity. Their report of destruction and desolation saddened him. When he next took wine to the king, Artaxerxes asked the reason of his sadness. Nehemiah then talked of the desolation of Jerusalem, and asked if he might be sent there to rebuild the city walls. Permission was granted, and, armed with letters to governors whose territories lay on the way, and to Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest, to provide timber for the gates and walls, Nehemiah set forth, and after a three days' journey arrived at Jerusalem. The work of rebuilding the city was divided among the tribes and their rulers.3 enemies, the Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites, became threatening, Nehemiah put half his men on guard while the other half, themselves armed, laboured at Some economic distress among the Jews threatened to cause internal disorders, but it was quelled by Nehemiah, now the governor of Judæa.4 In the midst of all these trials the wall was rebuilt in fifty-two days,5 and was dedicated with great ceremonial.6

¹ S. Adonis Archiepisc. Viennensis Chronicon, in Patrologia Latina, vol. exxiii., col. 52.

² "For I was the king's cupbearer," Nehemiah i., 11.

³ Nehemiah iii. ⁴ Nehemiah v., 14.

⁵ Nehemiah vi., 15. ⁶ Nehemiah xii., 27-47.

Nehemiah thus stands out in Old Testament story as the rebuilder of Jerusalem, to the Jews, and indeed to history, a work of national re-foundation. He himself was "Master of the Works", a man to be honoured among the Jews as the restorer of their nation and holy city. In mediæval religious works, universal histories, and encyclopædias, he appears as the restorer of both the Temple and the city, and his name is sometimes linked with Ezra's. Isidore, for example, records his work thus: -- "Nam et templum Domini iidem reædificaverunt [Nehemiah and Ezra], et murorum ac turrium opus ipsi restauraverunt ".1 The Temple, according to The Book of Ezra, 2 had actually been restored about eighty years earlier, under successive mandates from Cyrus and Darius, while some thirteen years before Nehemiah left Shushan for Jerusalem, Artaxerxes had sent Ezra the high priest back to the Holy City with the Jews whom he was releasing from captivity.³ Nehemiah, however, did much to restore the orderly administration of temple affairs and services. The Jewish chroniclers state that Ezra and Nehemiah travelled together to Jerusalem, "and built the temple of God and his altar". 4 So that there was obviously a tendency in early times to accord to Nehemiah a greater achievement than he seems actually to have performed, and there is nothing against our also attributing to him at all events a share in the rebuilding of the Temple.

Now the statements concerning Naymus Grecus in the Masonic documents are as follows:—

- (1) His name, which gives no ready clue to his identity.
- (2) He was a builder.
- (3) He worked at Jerusalem.
- (4) He was "at the making of Solomon's Temple".
- (5) He journeyed to France and taught architecture to Charlemagne.

Nehemiah was not a contemporary of Solomon, but he was a builder who worked at Jerusalem on the city walls, and also, according to Jewish sources, on the Temple. He did not, so far as we know, journey to France. The ambiguity in chronology, that of apparently making him contemporary with Solomon, is not of vital importance, since the Masonic manuscripts also err in making Euclid a contemporary of Abraham, so that no one can insist on accurate chronology here. The journey to France from the Holy Land, by whomever undertaken, must also be held as suspicious as those journeys to France which St. Lazarus, St. Martha, St. Mary, and other Palestinian members of the Church are supposed to have made, and as suspicious as St. Joseph of Arimathæa's journey to Glastonbury. In other words one suspects that the inventive genius of a French ecclesiastic, bent on linking his native country directly with the Holy Land, is here at work. The Compagnonnages have the not dissimilar tradition of Maitre Soubise, who, also a builder under Solomon, travelled from the Holy Land to France. So that we are left with the name Naymus, and the fact that he has worked at the Temple, as still not subject to suspicion. These facts also suit Nehemiah.

A study of the forms of the word Nehemiah may help us to understand how it could become Naymus. We may assume that the form in the English translations of the Bible, Nehemiah, is a fairly accurate transliteration of the Hebrew or Aramaic form. The Septuagint, written in Greek, had to modify the spelling, since there is no written h in Greek. Thus came into being the forms Neemias, Neemias, and Neémios, the first four letters representing the two syllables [Nay-em]. From the Septuagint forms descended one of the Latin

¹ Etymologiarum, VII., viii., 23.

² Ezra i.-vi.

 ³ Ezra vii.-x.
 4 The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, trans. M. Gaster, Oriental Translations Fund,
 New Series, vol. iv. (1899), Royal Asiatic Society.

forms, Neemias, as in the extract from Ado, while from the Hebrew or Aramaic came the other and more common Latin form, Nehemias, which is still used in the Vulgate. The change of final h to s is explained by the fact that Latin words cannot end in h. Biblical parallels may be seen in the changes (in the Latin Bible) of Jonah to Jonas, Jeremiah to Jeremias, Isaiah to Isaias, etc. In Latin there are therefore the two forms, Neemias from the Greek, and Nehemias from Hebrew, and both are used indiscriminately by mediæval theologians and historians, the Neem- and Nehem- being both dissyllabic.

How then did Alcuin come to use the form Nemias, in which Nemias monosyllabic? The prosody of his verse required the word to be dissyllabic [Nēm-yas], instead of quadrisyllabic [Ne-(h)em-i-as]. He therefore reduced the word by lengthening the quantity of the first syllable, and treated the -i- of -ias as a semi-vowel, -y-, according to the rules of classical prosody, and thus it fitted into his verse in the form Nemias:

Et Nēm | iās Grēc | (o) înfûnd | āt sǔă | pōcǔlǎ | Bācchō.

He did a similar thing in another poem, using, however, the form Nehmias, in which Nehm- is a single long syllable:—

Hinc Ez | ræ, Nöhm | iæ, Jū | dith, Hest | erque li | belli.1

Another parallel is afforded by the native name of the famous mediæval writer Abraham Nehemias of Lisbon, Abraham ibn Nahmī'as.

I do not, however, intend to imply that Alcuin is ultimately responsible for the form Naymus. I only wish to indicate the existence of forms of the word Nehemiah, or rather, since we are dealing with mediæval writings, Nehemias, which approximate to the Masonic form Naymus, to show that the latter may be a corrupt form of the name of the rebuilder of Jerusalem. Such corruption would certainly come about through the copying and recopying of Masonic documents by semi-literate men who did not recognise the correct form.

A fascinating parallel between the full form, Naymus Grecus, is afforded by St. Jerome, who calls Nehemiah Neemias Hebraus.2 But could "Nehemiah the Jew" become "Nehemiah the Greek"? Here there is no certain answer, and the paths of guesswork can lead far. Of one thing we can be quite certain, that absolute faith cannot be placed in the Masonic manuscripts. It is so clear that the historical material forming the "Legend" has been subjected, from our modern point of view, to deliberate editing, in order to make simple the main outlines of the history of the craft of masonry, without regard for absolute Whether Neemias Hebraus became Naymus Greeus to reduce the marvel of Nehemiah journeying to France, through an attempt to award a momentary recognition of the fame of Greek architecture, or through the inability of an early transcriber, perhaps reading a difficult manuscript, to decipher the word Hebraus, or Ebraus, a form quite admissible in mediæval MSS., is quite The latter may be an element, since in certain hands of the impossible to say. thirteenth century it might be possible to misread E as G, but this does not explain away the b, which could not be confused with any other letter. only possibility is that it had been accidentally omitted from one manuscript, and that the next scribe converted the resulting Eraus into Gracus. There is yet another possibility. The term may have come through a misreading of some such phrase as "Nehemiah, quem Nemias [or Neemias] Græci vocant". This was a common mediæval formula, and one which was very liable to abuse, because "vocant" would always be written "vocat", and might be misread "vocat", with a wrong interpretation "is called". It is not uncommon in mediæval manuscripts to find two names, originally quite distinct, becoming fused into one.

¹ Alcuin, Carmen vi., in Opera, Pat. Lat., vol. ci., col. 734.

² Interpretatio Chronica Eusebii Pamphlili, in Pat. Lat., vol. xxvii., cols. 454-55.

Despite the difficulties surrounding the adjective Grecus I suggest the identification of Naymus Greeus with the Nehemiah of the Bible, the greatest builder, or "mason" mentioned in the Bible after Solomon, and taking his place as third in the line of great biblical builders mentioned by the Masonic MSS., The mediæval world had implicit faith in following Nimrod and Solomon. In religious, but non-theological works, however, they had no biblical history. hesitation in altering details in order to achieve a more satisfactory story. in one widely-read poem describing the siege of Jerusalem the Emperors Vespasian and Titus had to be converted to Christianity for the sake of a doubt whether God would allow a pagan to fulfil the "prophecy" of Christ that Jerusalem should be destroyed, we need not be surprised at Nehemiah being made a builder under Solomon, and being made to travel to France as an instructor of masonry. The writer's difficulty was obviously to explain how the knowledge of the craft travelled from Palestine to Western Europe. The mediæval world tried to be logical, and if a link in history was missing after all known sources had been rifled one was invented.

An interesting use of Nehemiah's connection with masonry is afforded by Geoffrey Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes and other decises, printed in quarto in the House of C. Plantyn, by F. Raphelengius, at Leyden, in 1586. As usual in emblem-writing a cryptic pictorial illustration is explained in a short poem below the block. In this case the block illustrates two forearms rising from a The left hand holds a sword, the right a mason's trowel. The verses are as follows:-

> TO IOHN PAYTON ESQUIER. In vtrumque paratus,2

2 Esd.3 cap 4. When SANABAL Hierusalem distrest, With sharpe assaultes, in Nehemias tyme, To warre, and worke, the Iewes them selues addrest, And did repaire theire walles, with stone, and lime:

One hande the sworde, against the foe did shake, The other hande, the trowel vp did take.4 Of valiant mindes, loe here, a worthic parte, That quailed not, with ruine of their wall: But Captaines boulde, did prooue the masons arte, Which doth inferre, this lesson vnto all:

That to defende, our countrie deare from harme, For warre, or worke, wee eyther hand should arme.

It had been used before by Claude The pictorial illustration was not new. Plantin, Canon of Beauvieu, in Les Devises Heroiques, Antwerp, Plantin, 1557. Whitney used the 1562 edition of this work, making translations from it. block was again used by Nicholas Reusner (1545-1602) in Emblemata, edited by his brother and published at Frankfort by John Feyerabend in 1581.⁵ Plantin's work was translated into English in 1591 as Heroicall Devises. What, so far as we know is a purely non-Masonic source, of Continental origin, thus also links Nehemiah with the craft of masonry.

¹ For summaries of the development of this legend see either *The Siege of Jerusalem*, ed. E. Kölbing and Mabel Day, E.E.T.S., Old Series, vol. 188 (1932), or *The Works of Sir David Lindsay*, vol. iii., ed. D. Hamer, Scottish Text Society, Third

Series, vol. vi. (1933), pp. 394-97.

2" Prepared for either work [war or masonry]", Virgil, Aeneid, ii. 61 [located by Prof. J. D. Craig, The University of Sheffield].

3 Nehemiah in the Vulgate and older Bible, is called 2 Esdras, i.e., 2 Ezra.

4 Cf. Vulgate 2 Esdras, A.V. Nehemiah ii., 10, 19; iv., 1, 7; vi., 1-14.

5 A facsimile edition of Whitney's Choice of Emblems, ed. H. Green, was published by Reeve, London, in 1866. From this edition some of these notes have been taken. I over the reference to my colleague, Mr. G. P. Janes, of the University been taken. I owe the reference to my colleague, Mr. G. P. Jones, of the University of Sheffield.

FRIDAY, 3rd MARCH, 1933.



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros.
W. J. Williams, P.M., as W.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D.,
P.M., as I.P.M.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., S.W.;
W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C.,
P.M., Secretary; Douglas Knoop, M.A., S.D.; G. Elkington,
P.A.G.Sup.W., J.D.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C.; and W. Ivor

Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. John I. Moar, A. G. Harper, W. Barrett, Edward M. Phillips, C. F. Sykes, A. E. Gurney, Major Cecil Adams, P.G.D., H. F. Mawbey, W. W. Woodman, R. G. Cooper, H. C. Booth, A. W. Hare, H. W. Coe, A. Stuart Brown, D. Pryce Jones, L. G. Wearing, T. H. Carter, H. C. Knowles, P.A.G.Reg., A. E. Wheal, Col. Cecil Powney, P.G.D., as J.W., C. J. Pocock, Arthur Saywell, P.A.G.St.B., C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., G. C. Williams, Lambert Peterson, T. Lidstone Found, R. W. Strickland, F. M. Walsh, H. S. Bell, C. H. Boag, S. A. Sillem, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.Purs., F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., J. F. H. Gilbard, J. C. Harvey, H. W. Sayers, Ismay Drage, H. Johnson, Geo, F. Shaw, A. F. Ford, J. J. Nolan, P.G.St.B., as T.G., F. Fighiera, P.G.D., R. P. Meins, and E. W. Caswell.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. F. J. Knowles, Meridian Lodge No. 4106; Val. Bonella, Doric Lodge No. 5019; A. S. Mathews, Northern Bar Lodge No. 1610; and C. S. Jolliffe, P.M., Lodge Lakimpur No. 3127.

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

S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.D., Warwicks., Stew.; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.

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

The Secretary drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS: ---

By Bro. H. G. GOLD.

Certificate of the Grand Master of K.T.; K.D.O.S.H., under the patronage of H.R.H. Prince Edward, to Richard Davis, held in their Field of Encampment at London 18 April 5802; A.D. 1799; A.O. 680. Signed by Benj. Cooper, Grand Chancellor.

Certificate, written by hand on plain paper. Issued by the Purnel Lodge, No. 35, held in the town of Newtown in the State of Ohio, to John Arkwright, on June 15th in the year of Masonry 5803. Signed by H. Lynch, Master; Peter Tull, S.W., J. Symes, J.W., and Henry James, Sec. A plain paper seal, attached by a light blue ribbon.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. H. G. Gold for his kindness in lending these certificates for exhibition.

Bro. Douglas Knoop read the following paper: -

THE BUILDING OF ETON COLLEGE, 1442—1460.

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF OPERATIVE MASONRY.

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



TON COLLEGE and King's College, Cambridge, were founded in 1440 by Henry VI., then beginning to take a direct share in the government of his realm.1 His interest in the work is evident from the detailed plans, doubtless prepared after consultation with experts, which he drew up for the erection of both Colleges in 1447, plans containing measurements and specifications for the buildings, particulars of the kinds of stone to be used, arrangements for the stipends of the officers and chief craftsmen

and provisions for a revenue of £1,000 annually for twenty years for each College.2 The building work at Eton had then been in progress for six years, having been started energetically in 1441. It proceeded, though with some variation in activity, through a period of disaster abroad and civil war at home, until 1460. In July of that year, at the battle of Northampton, its founder fell into the hands of the Yorkists, and, eight months later, with the collapse of the Lancastrian cause at Towton field, the Crown passed to Edward IV. He was not likely to make any sacrifices for his predecessor's foundation: indeed, he pillaged the College of some of its valuables and took away the greater part of its revenue. At this juncture William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, formerly Provost of the College and one of the two chief trustees for carrying out the founder's plan, came to its assistance, providing money to carry on the building and himself directing the work. It is apparently impossible to determine how much remained to be done when Waynflete took charge.3 Between 1450 and 1460 progress had been slow, but by the end of the period for which we have records it is probable that much of the stone work had been completed: the hall and the eastern part of the chapel had been finished and the cloisters and choristers' school existed.

THE BUILDING ACCOUNTS.

For our study of the operations we have been able to use the remarkable series of records listed below,4 being all those now discoverable at the College which relate to the building work in the reign of Henry VI.5:—

¹ In 1447 the King referred to the project as "the prymer notable werk proposed by me after that I . . . took vnto my silf the rule of my said Roiames." and Clark, I., 353.

² For texts and discussion see Willis and Clark, I., cap. iv.

³ Willis and Clark, I., 427-8.

⁴ We desire here to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the Provost and Fellows for their readiness to deposit these valuable records in the Sheffield University

Fellows for their readiness to deposit these valuable records in the Sheffield University Library so that we might examine them at leisure. Besides the records in the list, we examined also five indentures, of which four relate to work on the western part of the College in the reign of Henry VIII. The other belongs to the period with which we are here concerned. It shows that at various dates between October, 1441, and July, 1442. Richard Burton received through the Provost £969, 7, 6 for the building works.

Some or all of these building documents have previously been utilised by R. R. Tighe and J. E. Davis, Annals of Windsor, London, 1858; by R. Willis and J. W. Clark, Architectural History of the University of Combridge and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton, Cambridge, 1886; by H. C. Maxwell Lyte, History of Eton College, 1440-1910, London, 1911; and by G. G. Coulton, Art and the Reformation. Oxford, 1928. We have to thank Dr. Coulton for very kindly placing at our disposal the tabulation made by Mr. Hartridge of the 1442-3 Building Account. the tabulation made by Mr. Hartridge of the 1442-3 Building Account.

I. Books.

- (1442-43) A paper book bound in parchment, the cover being part of an illuminated MS. The book has no title except on the outside of the cover, '. . . mpton Anno Secundo.' It gives the wages paid from February 12th, 1441/2, to February 4th, 1442/3.
- (1444-45) The JORNALE of John Vady, clerk of the works, giving the wages paid from September 27th, 23 Henry VI., to Michaelmas in the following year. A paper book in parchment cover.
- (1445-46) A weekly wage book in the same form as the preceding, running from Michaelmas, 24 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following. Paper book in parchment cover. No title: first page cut down the centre.
- (1445-46) John Vady's account of receipts and expenses from Michaelmas, 24 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following, giving costs of materials, carriage, etc., and annual stipends, but no weekly wages. This book is of parchment throughout.
- (1448-49) Accounts of Roger Keys, master of the works, from March 25th, 26 Henry VI., to Michaelmas, 28 Henry VI., giving costs of materials, carriage, annual stipends and weekly wages. A thick paper volume in parchment cover.
- (1450-51) Account of John Medehill, clerk of the works, from Michaelmas, 29 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following, giving costs of materials, etc., but no wages. A paper book, unbound.
- (1453-54) Account of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 32 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following, giving costs of materials, etc., and wages. Paper book bound in parchment.
- (1456-57) Account of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 35 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following, giving wages and costs of materials. Two gathers of paper: unbound and defective.
- (1458- ?) Accounts of John Medehill. Part of a paper book, unbound; no date or title: pencil note "part of 37 Henry VI.." but contains references to 35, 36, 37, 38 and 39 Henry VI.
- (1458-59) Accounts of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 37 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following, giving wages and cost of materials, etc. Paper book in parchment cover.
- (1458-59) A duplicate of the preceding. It is bound together with
- (1459-60) John Medehill's accounts from Michaelmas. 38 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following, giving wages and costs of materials, etc. 1

II. Rolls.

- (1443-44) Compotus of John Vady from Michaelmas, 22 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1444-45) Compotus of John Vady from Michaelmas, 23 Henry VI.. to Michaelmas following.
- (1445-46) Compotus of John Vady from Michaelmas, 24 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1446-47) Compotus of Richard Burton from Michaelmas, 25 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1447-48) Compotus of Richard Burton from Michaelmas, 26 Henry VI., to Easter following.
- 1 For simplicity of reference we shall cite these as Accounts, giving in each case the years. The fourth in our list will be distinguished as Accounts (stores).

- (1448-49) Compotus of Roger Keys from Easter, 26 Henry VI., to Michaelmas, 28 Henry VI.
- (1449-50) Compotus of Roger Keys from Michaelmas, 28 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1451-52) Compotus of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 30 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1452-53) Compotus of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 31 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1453-54) Compotus of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 32 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1457-58) Compotus of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 36 Henry V1., to Michaelmas following.
- (i.) The Compotus Rolls. Except for the fifth and sixth in the list, which cover periods of six and eighteen months respectively, these compotus rolls are annual statements of receipts and expenditure. They are all similar in form, and their contents can be illustrated by a brief analysis of one of them, the compotus of Roger Keys for the period Michaelmas, 1449, to Michaelmas, 1450.2 First he notes £19. 9. 31 of arrears, that is, the amount remaining unspent of the previous year's receipts, and then the sum of £767. 15. 8 received from the Provost by the hands of various persons on thirty occasions during the year.3 Next come the 'foreign' receipts, i.e., receipts from sources other than those whence the ordinary and settled revenue was derived: in this year the sum of £5. 5. 9 was received for bricks, lime and iron sold, bringing the total receipts Details are then given of the totals of expenditure on to £793. 10. 8. Huddleston and Taynton stone, timber and other stores, on carriage by land and water, on wages of various kinds of workmen and stipends of officials, on liveries and on the expenses of the accountant, the clerk of the works and others. whole expenditure was £781. 10. $1\frac{3}{4}$, leaving £11. 0. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in hand, which sum would appear as 'arrears' in the following compotus. These annual statements give a good idea of the scale of the operations and in some instances supply useful information as to the source of the stone used, its cost and the cost of transport. They do not, however, give the number of workmen of each kind employed. though, since they give the total wages, they make an estimate of numbers possible.
- (ii.) Account Books. For our purposes the journals or particulars, from which the compotus rolls were prepared, are more important. These give the details of expenditure on wages for each week or fortnight and on stores and stipends for each quarter. The wage entries are commonly in the form of a register, giving the names of all the workmen employed, in various categories, and indicating not only how many days but on which particular days each man was present or absent, together with the amount due to him. As a rule, also, the feasts occurring in each week are noted. The following excerpt will serve as an example of this method of entry 1:---

¹ These are parchment rolls, usually of three membranes sewn end to end. They are beautifully written, with well drawn and decorated capital letters. We cite them as *Rolls*, giving the year in each case.

² This roll is printed, in translation, in Knoop and Jones, *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 241-244.

³ These amounts were doubtless recorded in an indenture, of which the Provost would keep one part.

⁴ From Accounts 1444-5, 0 means present, + absent, a semicircle or broken 0 a half-day. The feast was on the Tuesday, 2nd February, and the lathami, unlike the hardhewers, were paid for it.

iiij1. vijs.

Septimania incipiente die Lune primo die Februarij Festum Purificacionis beate Marie Virginis

Lathami	Petrus Palm[er]e Willelmus Campion Johannes Bright Thoma Glasier Robertus Marchant		+	0 0 0 0	0	0 0 0 0 0	+ + 0 0	ijs. vjd. ijs. vjd. ijs. vjd. iijs. iijs.
	Johannes Lewes Robertus Clerk Robertus Clynton	 0 0	+++++	+ 0 0	+ 0 0	+ 0 0	+ + 0	iijd. ijs. vjd. iijs.

In some instances the clerk adopted a form which required less space, and wrote the names in paragraphs across the page, as follows 1:—

In primis solutum vjto die Aprilis
Johanni Deneman Henrico RooHenrico
Rydefayre Willelmo Newman Johanni Man
Waltero Whytamore Johanni Spyser . . .
locatis per septimanam & dimidiam.
Et solutum Willelmo Chyrcheman
Willelmo Richard . . locatis per
septimanam. Et Roberto Blandon locato
per dimidiam septimanam singulis
capientibus per septimanam iiijs.

Item solutum die predicto Roberto
Karon locato per iij. dies. Et Thome
Vyall Roberto Cook . . . locatis per ix.
dies. Et Ricardo Fullere Willelmo xlixs. vjd.
Brodestrete . . . locatis per vj. dies
singulis capientibus per diem vjd.

S(olutum)
hardhewers
& positoribus

The officer responsible for these accounts was the clerk of the works (or, in the case of Roger Keys, the master of the works). They were prepared for him by his clerk, whose payment, for making them and drawing up the compotus roll, is in several instances noted. This clerk, as we know by the fortunate survival of duplicates for 1458-59, sometimes at least prepared more than one A fair copy was required for the auditors, whose duty it was to check, not only the annual compotus, but the journals delivered and examined with it.2 Most of the accounts in our list, to judge by their neatness, would serve this purpose, but one of them, the accounts for 1442-43, would seem to be of a It is less neatly written, lacks a title, and contains many marginal notes on, e.g., the dates on which particular workmen were paid, the persons who drew their pay for them, and the reasons why some had their pay reduced in particular weeks 3; matters of importance to the clerk of the works but of little or no moment to the auditors. We conclude that the first manuscript in our list was a working copy for the use of the clerk of the works.

¹ From Accounts 1448-50. Contractions in the Latin have been expanded.

² Roll 1449-50. Mention is there made of two books, "containing purchases of materials and things, the classes and names of men," i.e., perhaps, a wage book and a separate store book like those for 1445-46. The reference, however, is to parchment books, and no parchment books are known to exist for 1449-50. Moreover, Keys' accounts for that period, in their present form, include both wages and stores in one book. We do not know, however, that the existing copy of Keys' accounts was the one delivered for audit.

³ See below.

As such it is much more instructive than the other, if another there was, deliver with the compotus for audit.1

Altogether, it will be noted, we possess details of weekly wages for 8½ years out of the 19 in our period. Our records are thus less continuous than those of London Bridge, and we cannot speak with the same degree of certainty about the periods during which any individual mason remained at Eton. On the other hand, while the masons at London Bridge were engaged on a relatively small operation and chiefly on maintenance work, the Eton records enable us to study a much larger operation at various stages and throw more light on the difficulties attending even a royal enterprise.

ADMINISTRATION.

Judging both by our Accounts and the plans of Henry VI., the two most important persons in the administration of the building work were William Waynflete, and William de la Pole, fourth earl and second duke of Suffolk.2 Waynflete, while Provost, was the official through whom money was delivered to the clerk of the works for carrying on the building, and later, when he had become Bishop of Winchester, Waynflete was called surveyor and executor of the will of Henry VI., that is of his plan with regard to the College, a trust that the bishop faithfully discharged, as has been indicated, in a time of great difficulty. The function he had performed as Provost was carried on by his successors in that office, as the compotus rolls show. In addition to acting as the main source through which the clerk of the works was supplied with money, the Provost evidently kept some oversight of the spending; extra payment, c.q., given as a reward for diligence in hot weather, for night work or for other services, was said to be made 'by consideration of the Provost and the Marquis of Suffolk.'3 The latter had evidently to be consulted on questions relating to the plan: the expenses of the chief mason, going to London to have his advice about the Hall, are charged in the Accounts for 1445-46.

The officials in immediate touch with the building work were, according to the plan referred to above, a Master of the Works at £50 per annum and two Clerks of the Works at £13. 6. 8 per annum.4 The Account for 1449-50 shows that in June, 1449, Roger Keys was paid £12. 10. 0 for the quarter as Master of the Works, while John Medehill, Clerk of the Works, received £3 6. 8 and Richard Burton 5 received the same sum. This arrangement was probably new and was not permanent. Keys' predecessors and successor were clerks, not Their work was probably similar to his, but, perhaps masters, of the works. because the scale of operations was less, their status was lower. In the period of our Accounts there were five or possibly six men who held the office of clerk or master of the works, namely, William Lynde, John Vady, Richard Burton, Master Roger Keys and John Medchill.⁶ William Lynde, referred to in 1438

 Willis and Clark, I., 381.
 His office is not stated. The compotus for 1449-50 charges the stipend of one of the works only. It is probable that Burton was partly a clerk, partly a clerk of the works only.

¹ If a separate document was presented to the auditors it was perhaps, like all the others in our list, in Latin. The extant accounts for 1442-43 are mainly in English.

² Died in 1450. He is commonly referred to in the documents relating to the building as Marquis. See e.g., Willis and Clark, I., 351, 393, 401.

³ Accounts, 1445-46.

⁶ Another name ought perhaps to be added. Our first Account Book, inscribed on the cover mpton anno secundo, was possibly kept by John Hampton, esquire of the body, to whom there are many references in Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441 and 1441-46. We have found no record of his appointment as clerk or master of the works in succession to Lynde, but in 1442 he was one of the trustees for the receipt of money to be spent on the College. [Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-46, p. 35.] Among many other duties discharged by him previously was the purveyance of stone for a chapel at Wolverhampton. [Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-41, p. 312.]

as 'the king's servant,' 1 was perhaps a man of some substance 2 and consequence. In September, 1440, he, with two others, was appointed to explain to the Bishop of Lincoln the king's plan to found a College at Eton 3 and in February, 1441, he was appointed, for life, clerk of the works, with power to press masons and other workmen, to take materials and to inquire into the alienation of stores and require their restoration. 4 In 1442 he was one of the king's special attorneys to take seisin of lands for the College.5 He only remained clerk of the works until 1443 at the latest: whether his connection with the College then ceased, or whether he served in some capacity not recorded in the Accounts, we do not know, but his work was rewarded in August, 1445, with the office of controller of the petty customs in London, to which, in September of the same year, was added the collectorship of tonnage and poundage. Of John Vady we know nothing beyond what is to be gathered from our Accounts: he was in orders, being called chaplain, and was clerk of the works from 1443 to 1446; his stipend appears to have been £10 per annum, with £3. 6. 8 for his board. Richard Burton was connected with the works as early as 1441.7 In 1445-46 he served under Vady. receiving £4. 16. 8 for writing the particulars, i.e., drawing up the accounts, and attending the works. He succeeded Vady as clerk of the works in September, 1446. and probably took charge, at any rate he presented accounts, until Keys became master of the works at Easter, 1448. Thereafter he served under Keys, though exactly in what capacity is not clear. Master Roger Keys, like Vady, was a clergyman. We can first trace him at the erection of All Souls College, Oxford, where he became "supervisor of the work of the new college" in September, 1441, and Warden of the College the following spring.8 From 1448 to 1450 he was Master of the Works at Eton, where his experience at All Souls stood him in good stead: at any rate, he travelled to Winchester and Salisbury to measure the choirs and naves of the cathedrals there, presumably in order that some point concerning the church at Eton might be determined, and later he went to London to show the king a drawing or design (portratura) of the College.9 Exactly when his connection with the works ended we do not know: he was presented to the living of High Onger in April, 1449.10 In 1452, as a mark of the royal gratitude for his work at Eton, he was granted two stags yearly from Dartmoor Forest. 11 Of John Medehill we know only that he served under Roger Keys at All Souls College, having become clerk of the works there in April, 1440.12 Very possibly he accompanied Keys to Eton; in any case he served there under him as clerk of the works at £13. 6. 8 per annum and himself presented accounts, and probably had charge of the works, for all the years of which we have records between 1450 and 1460.

The business of these officers was, in the main, to keep account of money received to examine the accounts of the purveyors, and to see that materials were properly received and contracts carried out. At times they might have to collect money themselves and also make arrangement for the supply of stores and labour. Vady. e.g., in 1445-46, charged his expenses riding to London and from London

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<sup>1</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, 284-5.
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² See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, 447; 1446-1452, 32.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, 455. ⁴ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, 494.

⁵ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-1446, 32-33, 35, 38.
6 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-46, 350, 372. The controllership of the customs was surrendered by November 30th, 1448. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1446-52, 205.

⁷ See note, ante.

⁸ E. F. Jacob, The Building of All Souls College, 1438-1443, Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait, p. 122.

⁹ Willis and Clark, L., 398

¹⁰ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1446-52, 242: he had resigned it by November following: ibid. He was a Canon of Exeter and became Archdeacon of Barnstaple in 1450 (Jacob. 396 ibid, p. 133).

¹¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1446-52, 564. He was still living in 1464; Cal. Pat. Rolls. 1461-67, 382-3.

¹² Jacob, *ibid*, p. 123.

to other places to receive money and to see about timber; while Richard Burton in the same account had his expenses at 1s. per day going to Wycombe to arrange for stone, and to Abingdon, Burford and elsewhere in search of masons. Similarly, Keys in 1449-50 accounted for money spent by himself, the clerk of the works and others riding to various places to provide materials and to take workmen. There is no evidence that any of these officials, except possibly Keys, had anything to do with architectural matters.

With regard to that aspect of the administration, our information is scantier than we could wish. In the early stages there was a master mason connected with the building, namely, Robert Westerley, 'maister mason of the werke of our newe Collaige,' for whom the Chancellor was directed to make out a commission enabling him to press as many masons as should be necessary.1 The same man, probably, had been commissioned in 1430 to take stone cutters for the making of cannon balls, and it may be noted that John Hampton, king's esquire, later to be surveyor of the works at Eton, was at the same time commissioned to take smiths and carpenters to make carriages for the cannon.2 Whether Robert Westerly is to be regarded as the designer of Eton College we do not know, nor do we know how long his connection with the building lasted. In 1438, before the works commenced, he had been appointed for life master mason of the king's works, at 1s. per day,3 an appointment in which he was renewed in December, 1446, and November, 1451.4 It is possible, though not proved, that the general oversight of the work at Eton was in his province as master mason at that date, and that he was responsible for the plans and specifications, not only in 1441 but in 1447, but that, having several buildings in his charge, he could not remain constantly at the College. commission, in similar terms to the one made out for Robert Westerley, was issued to two men whose names occur repeatedly in our Accounts, John Smyth, warden of the masons, and Robert Whetely, warden of the carpenters, enabling them to take 'almaners of werkmen, labourers and carriage such as (to) eythr of theyme shall seem necessarie.' 5 We do not think it probable that John Smyth was an architect in any complete sense of the term, and consider rather that it was his business to see that a design prepared by somebody else was properly carried out. taking his instructions from the Duke of Suffolk when necessary. We think it not unlikely that he was the John Smyth whose name appears towards the end of the list of lathami de la longge at Canterbury Cathedral in 1429 and first in the lists of lathami there in 1433, 1437 and 1439.6 know too little about him to be able to determine his position very definitely. Such evidence as we have suggests that he was not nearly so important a person as, for example, Walter of Hereford at Vale Royal and Caernarvon. On the other hand, his status would appear to have been higher than that of John Clifford, principal mason at London Bridge. Unlike Walter of Hereford, Smyth had probably little or nothing to do with determining wage rates for particular masons, and he had nothing, apparently, to do with the accounts. The difference between his stipend and the wages of the masons under his authority is, however, greater than in the case of Clifford. It will be observed that John Smyth drew a higher stipend than his colleague, the chief carpenter, who was paid £10 per annum and had a livery. Robert Whetely, the chief carpenter, was probably a man of some substance, since he was able to take a contract of over £2507; we

See Tighe and Davies, Annals of Windsor, I., 333 folg.
 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-36, 44.

Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-36, 44.
 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-41, 228.
 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1446-52, 22, 500.
 Tighe and Davies, I., 333 folg.

⁶ Register of the Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury (Bodleian Library, Tanner MS, 165), fos. 133, 143, 154 and 157. Smyth's name no longer appears in the Register in 1441 and subsequent years for which masons are entered.

7 Roll, 1443-44.

know, too, that he had a chance of promotion in the king's service.1 The principal mason, we may reasonably assume, was at least in the same grade and probably stood a little higher: a special lodging was provided for him,2 which was not done for the chief carpenter. John Smyth was succeeded, whether immediately or not we cannot be sure, by Simon Clerk, who was principal mason in 1456-57. Medchill's Accounts for that year show Smyth in receipt of a stipend of £2 per annum, which probably means that he was retained in an advisory capacity.

The other officials connected with the building, besides the chief smith, chief labourer and sometimes a warden of the plumbers, were an under warden of the masons 3 and the purveyors. The former was paid £10 a year and the latter 6d, per day. The purveyors of stone were often, though not invariably, masons.

SCALE OF BUILDING OPERATIONS, 1442-60.

In attempting to estimate the scale of the building operations at Eton, as compared, for example, with that of other mediæval building operations, such as Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-80 and Caernarvon Castle in the early fourteenth century, allowance has to be made for the fact that the Master of the Works at Eton does not appear to have been directly responsible for so many subsidiary workers as was the case at Vale Royal and at Caernarvon. Thus no quarriers, carters, or boatmen are included in the Eton wage lists, whereas these categories accounted at Vale Royal for 41 men out of 133 in October, 1280,4 and at Caernaryon for 80 men out of 214 in October, 1304, and for 38 men out of 103 in October, 1316.5 Without quarriers or transport workers to swell the numbers, 140 men were employed at Eton in mid-October, 1442; 72 in October, 1444; 79 in October, 1445: and 118 in October, 1448. If we take the masons alone at these dates (including freemasons, hardhewers and layers) we find at Vale Royal 51 in October, 1280; at Caernarvon 57 in October, 1304, and 24 in October, 1316; and at Eton 90 in October, 1442: 55 in October, 1444: 43 in October, 1445; and 77 in October, 1448. In a general way, therefore, we feel justified in saying that in the 1440's the extent of the building operations at Eton College was not dissimilar from that at Vale Royal Abbey in 1280 and at Caernaryon Castle in 1304.

As between the different years, building activity at Eton fluctuated considerably. From Michaelmas, 1454, to Michaelmas, 1456, no records appear to be extant, but for all other years from 1442 to 1460, one, two, or three sets of statistics are available, viz., sums expended on materials, sums expended on wages, and numbers of masons employed. The accounting period was generally twelve months from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, but in one case it was as long as eighteen months, and in another as short as four months, whilst the number of masons employed varied from week to week. We have endeavoured to overcome these difficulties in the summary table which we have prepared to show the changes in the scale of operations, by giving for each accounting period (1) the average monthly outlay on materials; (2) the average monthly outlay on wages; and (3) the average number of masons employed each week.

¹ In April, 1445, he was granted the reversion of the office of chief carpenter, surveyor and disposer of works at Westminster and the Tower, at £20 per annum. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-46, 325.

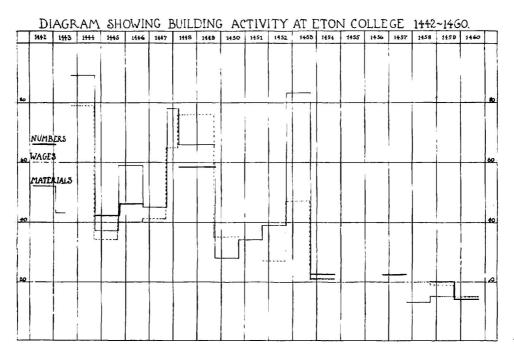
² Its rent is a regular quarterly item in Accounts, 1448-50.

³ Vady's Rolls show a warden (gardianus) of the masons at £13. 6. 8 per annum and an under-warden (sub-gardianus) at £10 per annum. We take it that the warden here is the capitalis lathamus, and the sub-gardianus is the warden, of the later accounts.

 ⁴ See A.Q.C., vol. xliv., p. 36.
 5 See A.Q.C., vol. xlv., p. 12.

Table showing scale of building operations at Eton College, 1442-60.

Accounting period.	Average monthly outlay on materials	Average monthly outlay on wages	Average number of masons employed each week
Feb. 1441-2 to Feb. 1442-3	£52	£60	66
Feb. 1442-3 to June 1443	43		
Oct. 1443 to Sept. 1444	89	79	
Oct. 1444 to Sept. 1445	37	34	42
Oct. 1445 to Sept. 1446	59	40	46
Oct. 1446 to Sept. 1447	45	41	
Oct. 1447 to Mar. 1447-8	78	65	
Apr. 1448 to Sept. 1449	66	76	
Oct. 1449 to Sept. 1450	28	35	58.5
Oct. 1450 to Sept. 1451	34		
Oct. 1451 to Sept. 1452	39	27	
Oct. 1452 to Sept. 1453	83	47	
Oct. 1453 to Sept. 1454	21	21	22.5
Oct. 1454 to Sept. 1455			
Oct. 1455 to Sept. 1456			
Oct. 1456 to Sept. 1457			22.5
Oct. 1457 to Sept. 1458	13	20	
Oct. 1458 to Sept. 1459	15	19	20
Oct. 1459 to Sept. 1460	15	15	14



From the statistical information given in the table, we have constructed a graph which brings out the substantial fluctuations in building activity from year to year, and also the gradual decline in the scale of operations. The second decade of the building operations coincided with the beginnings of the Wars of the Roses, and it was during the two years for which no accounts are extant that the Duke of York won the first Battle of St. Albans in May. 1455, and obtained possession of the government for the time being. This being so, it seems unlikely that a pet scheme of the Lancastrian king, Henry VI., would be energetically

pushed forward at that particular moment, and we are disposed to think that the scale of building operations from October, 1454, to October, 1456, was probably no greater than that in the subsequent years for which information is available. In other words, if we had to interpolate figures for the period October, 1454—October, 1456, we should assume that employment and expenditure remained approximately constant, and not that there was a wave of considerable building activity during the period, as a study of the graph, without reference to other factors, would probably incline one to surmise.

ORGANISATION OF THE BUILDING OPERATIONS.

The Accounts relating to the actual commencement of the building operations are not at present available, but they were examined by Mr. Clark when preparing the second edition of *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, and we rely upon the information given in that book to supplement the details which we have obtained from our study of the building documents listed at the beginning of this paper.

Supply of materials.

In commencing building operations at Eton College in 1441, the procedure appears to have differed from that adopted at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278. There the Master of the Works organised quarrying operations on a large scale at Edisbury some four or five miles away, and established smithies in which the quarriers' tools could be repaired and sharpened; within two or three months of starting, he was employing no fewer than 48 quarriers and a dozen men at the forges, and apparently all the stone required was obtained from the Edisbury quarries. At Eton College one of the first things done by those responsible for the building operations was to hire land to establish a brick works at Slough, from which, commencing in 1442, very large supplies were obtained. The numbers given in Willis and Clark are as follows:—

1442-3	463,600	1447-8	
1443-4	1036,500	1448-9	60,000
1444-5	174,000	1449-50	123,500
1445-6	176,000	1450-51	135,500
1446-7	300,000		

The traffic was so great that those responsible for the building had to repair the road between Slough and Eton in 1443-4 at a cost of 6s. 8d.

On the other hand, relatively little stone appears to have been obtained locally. There are references in the Accounts to a "quarry below Windsor Castle" from which chalk and flint were dug by stone diggers (lapifodiatores) or labourers in the employ of the clerk of the works, whilst a stone called 'modrestone' was obtained from Langley, near Slough. We also learn that the clerk of the works paid men 4d. or 5d. per cartload to gather flint from fields at Marlow and Medmenham and to transport it to the bank of the Thames. "Hethstone" was dug at Hughenden, near Wycombe, and another fairly near source of supply was Merstham, near Reigate. But much stone, especially of the better qualities, appears to have come from further afield: from Caen in Normandy, from Maidstone, Farleygh, and Boughton in Kent, from Huddleston and Stapleton in Yorkshire, and, at a later date, from Taynton in Oxfordshire.

The methods by which the stone was obtained appear to have varied. Huddleston freestone in 1445-6 was purchased in London from the clerk of the works at Stow, whilst Kentish ragg was also obtained in London the same year from the old walls of the Savoy Palace, which the king had given to the College. In the latter case, the Eton authorities paid 2½d, per doliate for digging and carrying the stone to the water's edge. On occasion the clerk of the works

entered into contracts with quarry masters for the supply of stone; a contract of this type between Wm. Lynde, clerk of the works, and five quarry men of Kent for the supply of a large quantity of Kentish stone, ready dressed, was made in April, 1442.1 But probably the most usual method was to act through purveyors (provisores), who were sent from Eton to the quarrying areas to arrange on the spot for the provision of stone and its carriage. Thus in 1445-6 Peter Palmer, mason, was in Kent, where he bought large amounts of ashlar and various kinds of dressed stone—nowells, endstones, grastable;, etc.—at so much He was paid 12d. per week (for 44 weeks) beyond his per foot at the quarries. daily wage for expenses 'being in Kent for provision and carriage of stone.' In the same year William Chircheman, mason, received 7s. in respect of expenses incurred whilst spending seven weeks at the quarry at Merstham 'for provision of stone and carriage thereof,' and Richard Burton's expenses 'being at Wycombe for the provision of stone', were also defrayed. In 1448-9 Robert Januars. mason, was paid £6. 13. 4 on account of provision of stone at Taynton. At that date, too, a purveyor named Jooce was in Yorkshire to arrange for supplies of stone from Huddleston and Stapleton. In the same Account it is recorded that Roger Keys, Master of the Works, agreed to hire a quarry at Huddleston from Sir John Langton, and there is an entry showing that he paid for the repair of the way from the quarry to Cawood, on the River Ouse, between York and Selby. whence the stone was shipped to London. In December, 1449, John Deneman, mason, was paid 18s. 4d. for three weeks, plus horse hire riding to Huddleston quarry.

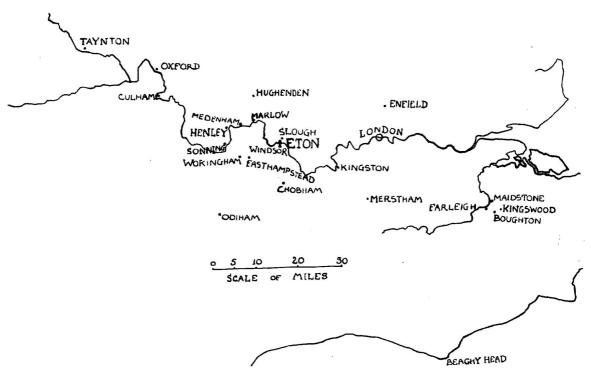
A compotus roll of 1450-1 shows that a supervisor named Wells was working the quarry at Huddleston on behalf of Eton College. In 1458-9 Medehill, the clerk of the works at Eton, paid Sir John Langton 33s. 4d. for the rent of his quarry, and a year later he paid a man 5d. for thatching lodges (logiorum) in the quarry. So far as we can tell, Huddleston, from 1450 onwards, was the only quarry at which the Eton authorities maintained a permanent organisation; at Windsor and at Hughenden they paid on occasions for digging stone, whilst in other cases they appear to have bought stone from the quarries at so much per foot or so much per piece.

Other materials were got locally. Lime was burned in a kiln near Windsor Castle by lime-burners in the employ of the Eton authorities, the chalk no doubt being obtained from the 'quarry below Windsor Castle,' whilstthe fuel for the wood fire was cut in Windsor and other neighbouring forests. Sand was dug in Eton itself. Timber came from various places: amongst others from Langley and Wexham near Slough; from Windsor Park, from Esthampstead and Wokingham, some ten to twelve miles to S.W.: from Chobham, some ten miles to the S.; and further afield from Sonning on the Thames, two miles below Reading; from Odiham, some 25 miles away, near Aldershot; from Enfield Chase, in Middlesex; and from Kingswood, near Ledes, in Kent. From Kingswood, oak was obtained; it was for arresting a certain trespasser in and about the oak timber for the building, at Kingswood, in Kent, near Ledes Castle, and bringing him before the Provost, that Richard Dawdener was paid a reward of 3s. 4d. in July, 1449.

Transport.

In view of the distances from which materials were drawn, the problem of carriage was of very considerable importance. hand, the fact that supplies were obtained from so many different directions made it difficult, if not impossible, for the Eton authorities to organise a transport department of their own; in any case, to judge by the Accounts, they do not

Contract printed in W. and C., I., 385.
 Presumably 'hethstone' from Hughenden.



appear to have possessed horses and carts, though the works did possess a boat, called le schoute, which at times appears to have been hired out, as, for instance, to William Osborn, one of the chief carriers of Taynton stone. Even the local carrying between Windsor and Eton and between Slough and Eton was paid for at so much per cart load. Thus flint was carried from the quarry below Windsor Castle to the College at 2d. per cart load, and bricks from the kiln at Slough to the College at 6d. per 1,000. The carriage of 'hethstone' from Hughenden to Marlow cost 12d. per cart load, and from Marlow to Eton by boat 8d. per doliate. Merstham stone purchased for 20d. per doliate at the quarry cost another 20d. per cart load to transport by road from the quarry to Kingston and 12d. per cart load by water from Kingston to Eton. Kentish stone cost 8d. per cart load to carry from the quarries to the waterside at Maidstone, 8d. per doliate to carry by water from Maidstone to London, and 16d. to transport up the Thames from London to Eton.

The price paid for stone at Huddleston and the cost of carrying it to Eton appears to have varied somewhat. In 1448-9 it was being bought at the quarry for 10d. or 12d. per doliate, and was said to be worth 2s. per doliate at the wateredge at Cawood, whilst carriage thence to London by water cost 4s. per doliate. In 1453-4 John Person was paid 1s. 4d. per doliate, or 23s. 4d. in all, for $17\frac{1}{2}$ doliates of Huddleston stone, the cost of transporting which from Cawood to London at 5s. 8d. per doliate was £4. 19. 2. In 1459-60 James Palden, mason, was paid 10d. per doliate, or £1. 19. 7 in all, for conveying $47\frac{1}{2}$ doliates of Huddleston stone from the quarry to Cawood. In the same year John Perrison de Medilbourgh in Selandia, 'Ducheman et Schipman,' was paid £10. 6. $0\frac{1}{2}$ for carrying $47\frac{1}{2}$ doliates 1 cwt. Huddleston stone from Cawood to London

Two amounts (£5. 6. 0 and £3. 19. $8\frac{1}{2}$) have been entered and both crossed out.

¹ The following occurs in the defective volume of Accounts the 37 Henry VI. in our list:—

Memorandum quod recepi xxvij. die mensis Junij de Willelmo Osbarn pro \mathbf{v}^{to} denar(io) de la Schoute, a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimo preterito usque dictam diem omnibus computis et allocatis.

(=4s. 4d. per doliate). In addition, in all cases 16d. per doliate was paid for the carriage of the stone from London to Eton.

In 1448-9 the cost of carrying Caen stone was 4s. per doliate from Caen to London, and 16d. per doliate from London to Eton.

In 1456-7 several men were paid 2s. per cart load for carrying stone by road from the quarry at Taynton to Culham (on the Thames below Oxford), a distance of twenty miles as the crow flies, and a further 2s. was paid for the carriage by road of the stone from Culham to Henley. Thence bargemen conveyed this stone to Eton, being paid 12d. per doliate.

Masons' Lodges.

In discussing supply of materials, reference was made to lodges in the quarry at Huddleston. The only other mention which we have noted relates to Eton and is in the Account of 1445-46. This shows that fourteen cartloads of straw were purchased to cover the lodges and the walls of the Church in winter.

Masons' Hostel.

From an early stage of the building operations, if not from the outset, the authorities provided living quarters for the masons. Account of 1445-6 we read of "wages of one cook for the masons' hostel (pro hospicio lathamorum) for the year, with 6s. 8d. paid him for his clothes and livery, £2. 6. 8d." In the Account for 1448-9, an item in respect of wages of a cook for the masons again appears; in addition to an item for rent to John Clerk, of Eton, for the farm of a parcel of land on which is situated the tenement in which the masons (latami) live, and a payment of £9 to two carpenters for making a chamber (camera) 60ft. long by 18ft. broad with convenient height, erected on the tenement assigned and deputed to the masons, near the tenement of John Clerk situated in Eton. It was probably to a chamber (camera) such as this that the Third Point of the Cooke MS. refers—"That he can hele the Councell of his felows in logge and in chambere . . ." In the same year there are several payments in respect of preparing fuel in Windsor forest for the hostel of the masons and for transporting fuel from the forest to the hostel of the masons (hospicium lathomorum). Thus the masons appear to have been provided with living accommodation, free fuel and the services of a cook. far as housing other artificers is concerned, the only references we have found are to purchases of straw in 1449 "for beds of carpenters working at le Moote and New Hall." 2

MASONS' WAGES.

The classification of the masons differs in the various Accounts. In the wage-book of 1442-3 there is a three-fold division into:—

ffr'masons harde hewers row masons

1 On June 24th, William Croke, John King and others, hired with some of their neighbours to carry 237 cartloads of Taynton stone from Culham to Henley at 2s. per doliate, were paid £23. 14. 0. Unless the scribe has made a slip, the cartload (carrecta) was evidently the same as the doliata.

² Everywhere in this section we have translated *latomi* as 'masons' because there is nothing in the context to show whether it is used in the narrower sense of hewers of freestone as contrasted with hardhewers, or in the wider sense of hewers, as in the expressions *lathomi vocati firemasons* and *lathomi vocati hardehewers* (see next section). As freemasons received more favourable treatment in the matter of holidays than hardhewers, it is quite possible that similar favourable treatment was accorded them in the matter of the hostel, but we have found no evidence in the Accounts, one way or the other.

There is a fourth category, viz., brike men, which appears to be the rowmasons in another disguise. The corresponding terms in the wage-books of 1444-5 and 1445-6 are:—

lathami harde hewers positores petrarum

whilst the brike men are there designated positores de brike. In John Vady's "Accounts of Receipts and Expenses, 1445-6," in summarising wages, the descriptions employed are:—

lathomi vocati ffremasons lathomi vocati hardehewers positores vocati rough leyers et brekemen

In the wage-book of 1448-9 there is only a two-fold division:-

lathomi hardehewers et positores

In the wage-book of 1453-4 there is once again a three-fold division, but one which is essentially different from the previous classifications:—

cementarii positores cubatores

This last classification is followed in the wage-books of 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60.

In these various classifications the terms ffr'masons, lathami, lathomi vocati fremasons and cementarii all appear to refer to the hewers or cutters and to be interchangeable; the same men are entered under the different descriptions in the different wage lists. The same appears to be true of the terms row masons, positores petrarum, positores vocati rough leyers, positores (in the 1448-9 Account), and cubatores (in the 1453-4 and subsequent Accounts): all these terms refer to layers and are apparently interchangeable, for so far as Eton building terminology is concerned a rough mason and a rough layer appear to be one and the same The word actually used in the Account of 1442-3, which is in English, is row mason (not rough mason); 'row' was either a dialect form or an alternative spelling of rough, and a row mason presumably implied a mason doing rough work, i.e., rough as compared with the work done by a freemason. the later Accounts, which are in Latin, the word used to designate a row mason or a rough layer is cubator, which is distinguished from the word positor. The distinction between cubatores and positores in the Accounts of 1453-4, 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60 is more than a mere terminological distinction. The positores received not merely better pay and better conditions regarding holidays than the cubatores, but better pay than the cementarii, or freemasons, from whose ranks they were recruited and into which they dropped back when not actually engaged As to the distinction in the work done by the cubatores and the positores respectively, whilst the former probably laid rows of stones, we are disposed to think that the latter were hewers who, having cut tracery or archmoulds, were for the time being engaged in setting the work they or other freemasons had cut, such setting being a highly skilled job in which a very small want of care or of precision would throw an arch or a window out of the true and spoil a hewer's work.1

¹ 'Setters' in receipt of higher wages than the general body of masons occur at King's College, Cambridge, in 1508 (Willis and Clark, I., 475), and at Sandgate Castle in 1539-40 (*Arch. Cant.*, xx., p. 235).

- (a) Summer and winter rates. In 1442-3, 1444-5, 1445-6, 1448-9 and 1453-4 no distinction was made between summer and winter rates; a wage of 3s. a week or of 6d. per day, as the case might be, was paid to freemasons, hard hewers, row masons or layers in summer and winter, though the layers were not generally employed the whole of the winter. In 1456-7 the freemasons were paid 3s. 4d. per week in October, 3s. a week in November. December and January, and 3s. 4d. per week from February to September. The summer and winter wages of the freemasons acting as positores or setters were 3s. 8d. and 3s. 4d. respectively. The same distinction between summer and winter rates was made in 1458-9 and 1459-60, so far as the freemasons and positores were concerned. No hardhewers were employed during these years; layers (cubatores) as formerly received 6d. per day in the summer of 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60; what their winter wage would have been we do not know, as none were employed from November to February in the later years.
- (b) Holidays and feast days. During the course of a year there were numerous days on which the masons did not work, in respect of some of which, nevertheless, they received wages, the freemasons being more favourably treated in this matter than the hardhewers or row masons or layers. In some years the wage registers were so entered as to show the number of days paid for, and it is not possible to be certain which feast days were observed. On the other hand, the wage registers for 1444-5 and 1445-6 are quite explicit, so far as freemasons. were concerned, so that it is possible to trace the holidays and feast days observed and whether or not they were paid for. So far as the hardhewers and layers are concerned, it is possible to trace the holidays and feast days. observed, but there is occasionally an element of uncertainty as to which of two feast days was paid for. With regard to the days observed, 46 different days in all were observed as holidays or feast days during 1444-5 and 1445-6, but as in each year some of the days normally observed fell on Sundays, the actual weekdays on which no work was done by the freemasons amounted to 38 in 1444-5 and to 43 in 1445-6, four of the extra days in the latter year being accounted for by fewer saints' days falling on Sundays, and one by the addition of St. Edward (October 13) to the list of Saints' Days observed.1

Table showing holidays and saints' days observed by the masons in 1444-5 and 1445-6.

		1110 0.		
	Fixed	Festivals.	1444-5	1445-6
29	Sept.	St. Michael	YES	YES
13	Oct.	St. Edward	NO	YES
18	Oct.	St. Luke	Sunday	YES
28	Oct.	St. Simon and St. Jude	YES	YES
1	Nov.	All Saints	Sunday	YES
2	Nov.	All Souls	YES	YES
17	Nov.	St. Hugh	YES	YES
30	Nov.	St. Andrew	YES	\mathbf{YES}
6	Dec.	St. Nicholas	Sunday	YES
8	Pec.	Conception V.M.	YES	YES
21	Dec.	St. Thomas	YES	YES
25	Dec.	Christmas Day	YES	YES
26	Dec.	St. Stephen	YES	Sunday
27	Dec.	St. John	Sunday	YES
28	Dec.	Holy Innocents	\mathbf{YES}	YES
29	Dec.	St. Thomas	YES	YES
1	$J_{a.n}$	Circumcision	YES	YES

¹ It was not observed either in 1442 or in 1444.

	Fixed	Festivals.	1444-5	1445-6
6 J	an.	Epiphany	YES	YES
2 F		Purification V.M.	YES	YES
24 F	eb.	St. Matthias	YES	YES
25 M	lar.	Annunciation V.M.	YES	YES
23 A	Apr.	St. George	YES	YES
25 A	_	St. Mark	Sunday	YES
1 M	lay	St. Philip & St. James	YES	Sunday
3 M	Iay	Invention of Holy Cross	YES	YES
5 J	une	Feast of Dedication of Church	YES	Sunday
24 J	une	Nativity of St. John Bapt.	YES	YES
29 J	une	St. Peter & St. Paul	YES	YES
7 J	uly	Translation of St. Thomas	YES	YES
22 J	uly	St. Mary Magdalene	YES	YES
25 J	uly	St. James	Sunday	YES
10 A	lug.	St. Lawrence	YES	YES
15 A		Assumption V.M.	Sunday	YES
24 A	lug.	St. Bartholomew	YES	YES
8 S	ept.	Nativity of V.M.	YES	YES
14 S	ept.	Exaltation of Holy Cross	YES	YES
21 S	${f ept}.$	St. Matthew .	YES	YES
	Moveal	ble feasts.		
Good	Frida	Y	Mar. 26	Apr. 15
	er Mor		Mar. 29	Apr. 18
	er Tue		Mar. 30	Apr. 19
		Inesday	Mar. 31	Apr. 20
	nsion	,	May 6	May 26
Whit	t Mond	lay	May 17	June 6
Whit Tuesday		May 18	June 7	
	t Wedi		May 19	June 8
Corpus Christi		risti	May 27	June 15

In the table which we give we have set out the 37 fixed holidays and the nine moveable holidays observed in 1444-5 and 1445-6. In the Account for February, 1441-2, to February, 1442-3, which was written in English, some of the holidays are described by their more popular names. Thus May 3rd is described as St. Helen in place of Invention of Holy Cross, November 1st as All Hallows insead of All Saints, December 8th as Our Lady in place of Conception of B.V.M.; the days following December 25th as 'Cristemas weke' instead of St. Stephen, St. John, etc., and January 1st as 'newzere day' in place of Circumcision.

In regard to the observance of feasts it may be noted that hardhewers and layers apparently abstained from work on exactly the same days as the freemasons. In what concerns payment of wages in respect of holidays, however, the position was by no means the same. The freemasons, both in 1444-5 and 1445-6, were paid for all holidays except nine, namely, three days at Christmas, three days at Easter and three days at Whitsun. The hardhewers in each year were paid for five holidays only; in 1444-5 they were paid for St. Hugh (November 17th) 'by mandate of our lord the king,' one day in the week December 28th-January 2nd (! Holy Innocents, St. Thomas, or Circumcision), one day in the week March 22nd-27th (! Annunciation or Good Friday), one day in the week May 3rd-8th

¹ For that week the register shows that the hardhewers did not work on December 28th, December 29th or January 1st, but, on the other hand, that they were paid 2s. There is nothing to indicate for which of the three holidays they were paid.

(? Invention of Holy Cross or Ascension), and the Feast of the Dedication of the Church (June 5th). In 1445-6 they were paid for St. Edward (October 13th) 'by mandate of our lord the king,' one day in the week November 1st-6th (? All Saints or All Souls), St. Hugh (November 17th), one day in the week December 6th-11th (? St. Nicholas or Conception B.V.M.), and one day in the week December 20th-25th (? St. Thomas or Christmas Day). Thus, although five holidays were paid for in each year, there was only one day (St. Hugh) common to both years, though as the table shows, only one of the holidays (including the alternatives) paid for in the first year, viz., the Feast of the Dedication of the Church (June 5th) fell on a Sunday in the second year. The layers were paid for only three holidays in the first year and four holidays in the second year. In 1444-5, they were paid for one day in the week March 22nd-27th (? Annunciation or Good Friday), one day in the week May 3rd-8th (? Invention of Holy Cross or Ascension), and for the Feast of the Dedication of the Church (June 5th). In 1445-6, they were paid for one day in the week November 1st-6th (? All Saints or All Souls), for St. Hugh (November 17th), for one day in the week December 6th-11th (?St. Nicholas or Conception B.V.M.), and for one day in the week December 20th-25th (? St. Thomas or Christmas Day). Thus, as compared with the hardhewers, they lost pay for St. Hugh and for a day at the end of December in the first year, and for St. Edward in the second

In the later Accounts it is not possible to trace the feast days with quite the same degree of certainty as for 1444-5 and 1445-6, but so far as we can judge more or less the same feast days appear to have been observed. In one or two years, however, additional holidays were introduced: thus in 1453-4 the Translation of St. Edward (June 20th), in 1456-7, St. Anne (July 26th), and in 1459-60 the Feast of the Dedication of the Church at Eton (November 7th) appear to have been observed as holidays, though for the one occasion only, so far as we can tell. The most interesting innovation, however, was the observation of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati, which was entered in the registers on November 8th 1453, 1456, 1459 and 1460 as a day on which the masons did not work. On each of these occasions, i.e., in each of later periods for which Accounts are available, the masons and other workmen had a holiday, but unlike other feast days, the freemasons were not paid wages in respect of the feast of the Quatuor Coronati. It constituted a tenth day in the year in respect of which they were not paid.

Whilst the Quatuor Coronati may have been the patron saints of the German masons, being definitely included in the Invocation of the Strassburg Constitution (1459) of the Steinmetzen, the position which they occupied amongst English masons has always been somewhat uncertain. The Regius Poem, written approximately at the end of the fourteenth century, after setting out the legend of the Craft and the 'customs' of the masons (in the Articles and Points), devotes some forty lines under the heading Ars Quatuor Coronatorum to the subject of the Four Crowned Martyrs, without any suggestion, however, that they were the patron saints of masons. Nearly a century later, in the London Masons' Ordinances of 1481, we find a regulation "that every freeman of the craft shall attend at Christchurch (within Aldgate) on the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati (November 8th) to hear mass under penalty of 12d.," which would seem to imply a definite recognition of the Four Crowned Martyrs. Our present study of the Eton College Building Accounts shows that at some date after 1448, and not later than 1453, the practice of observing the festival of the Quatuor Coronati was introduced by the masons working at Eton. The College Authorities recognised the festival to the extent of entering the name of the festival in the wage registers, but did not give it the standing of one

See Gould, Concise History (1920), p. 20.
 Cal. of Letter-Book. L., p. 184.

of the many official holidays for which the freemasons received their wages. Whether the observance of November 8th amongst English masons was at all general in the second half of the fifteenth century, there is no evidence to show; the Eton practice in the 1450's and the London Regulation of 1481 constitute the only positive evidence with which we are acquainted. On the other hand, the contemporary Building Accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle, 1480-84,¹ show that masons were paid for six days in the weeks in which November 8th occurred. As the normal practice there appears to have been not to pay for holidays, we are disposed to think that the festival of the Quatuor Coronati was not observed at Kirby Muxloe.

The arrangement by which masons were frequently paid wages for holidays on which they did not work appears to have been one of the 'customs' of the masons in earlier times. This is quite explicit in the Second Point of the Regius MS.:—

That the mason worche apon the werk day, Also trwly as he con or may, To deserve hys huyre for the halyday.

As stated in the Tew, Watson and Henery Heade MSS., the meaning is not quite so clear:—

And also that every Mason shall work truly upon the workday that he may truly deserve his pay and receive it, so that he may live honestly on the holyday. (Tew MS.).

The later versions of the Old Charges do not appear to refer to the question at all. Perhaps this is an example of the gradual influence of legislation on the evolution of masons' 'customs,' as the practice of allowing masons pay for festival days on which they did not work was declared illegal by Statutes of 1360 and subsequent years.²

(c). Variety and changes in rates of wages. With relatively small exceptions, there was very little variety in the rates of pay amongst the masons prior to 1448, apart from differences due to the varying treatment they received in respect of holidays, to which reference has already been made and which is, perhaps, implied in the statement that freemasons received 3s. per week, whilst hardhewers, row masons and layers received 6d. per day. The freemasons were paid for 24 holidays in 1444-5 and 29 holidays in 1445-6, for which hardhewers received no pay; in other words, a freemason working full-time in 1444-5 or 1445-6 would have been paid for $50\frac{1}{2}$ weeks at 3s. in each case, or £7 11s. 6d. per annum, whereas a hardhewer working full-time would have been paid for 46 weeks and three days at 6d. per day = £6 19s. 6d. in 1444-5, and for 45 weeks and four days at 6d. per day = £6 17s. in 1445-6. The maximum earnings of a layer would have been £6 18s. 6d. in 1444-5 and £6 16s. 6d. in 1445-6. Thus, on the average hardhewers and layers could only earn eight or nine per cent. less than freemasons in the course of a year; in practice, their earnings probably fell short of the maximum owing to slack employment in the winter months.

In 1448 the higher rate of 3s. 4d. per week for freemasons whilst acting as setters, first appears in the Accounts under review. In that year, it was paid to four freemasons for a month. In 1453-4 ten freemasons benefited by the higher scale for periods varying from two to 25 weeks; in 1456-7 two benefited for 17 and 26 weeks respectively; whilst in 1458-60 four benefited for periods varying from 25 to 33 weeks.

In 1456-7 the introduction of the higher summer rates of 3s. 4d. per week for freemasons and 3s. 8d. per week for freemason-setters led to further variety,

Leicestershire Arch. Soc., vol. xi. (1915). pp. 193-345.
 See 34 Ed. III., c. xi. (1360); 4 H. IV., c. xiv. (1402); and 6 H. VIII., c. iii. (1514).

as there was no corresponding advance in layers' wages. The position with regard to standard rates is summed up in the table which follows:—

Year.	Freemasons.	Freemason Setters.	Hardhewers.	Rowmasons and layers.
1442- 3 (all the year) 1444- 5 (all the year) 1445- 6 (all the year)	3s. per week		6d. per day	6d. per day
1448-9 (all the year)	3s. per week	3s. 4d. per week	6d. per day	6d. per day
1453-4 (all the year)	3s. per week	3s. 4d. per week		6d. per day
1456- 7 summer	3s. 4d. per week	3s. 8d. per week		6d. per day
1458- 9 winter (Nov. Dec. Jan.)	3s. 0d. per week	3s. 4d. per week		6d. per day

Table showing masons' standard wage rates at Eton, 1442-1460.

The exceptions seem to fall into three groups. In the first group are five hardhewers, one layer and one rowmason who received less than 6d. per day:—

Thos. Chapelyne, hardhewer, 5 days @ 6d. and 4 days @ 4d. per day in Aug., 1442.

John Benham, rowmason, 2 weeks @ 5d. per day in Sept., 1442.

John Gore, jun., stone layer, 4 weeks @ 4d. per day in May and June, 1445.

William Jemmes, hardhewer or stone layer, 4 weeks @ 5d. per day in April and May, 1448.

Thos. Asschedoune, hardhewer, 7 weeks @ 5d. per day in July-Aug., 1448.

Wm. Boile, hardhewer, 5 weeks @ 4d. per day in July-Aug., 1448.

Thos. Brygges, hardhewer, 8 weeks @ 5d. per day in July-Aug., 1448.

The first two men stayed a fortnight only, coming and going in each case alone at a time when a dozen hardhewers and a score of layers were regularly employed. They would seem to have been casual masons of a low grade of skill whose standard of efficiency did not satisfy the Chief Mason. John Gore, junior, arrived and departed with John Gore, senior; whilst the short period of service at Eton of William Jemmes coincided exactly with that of a man named John Crystmas, whose name likewise appeared in the list headed "hardhewers and layers." The last three men were recruited at a time when numerous hardhewers and layers were being engaged for three or four months. Brygges arrived in the same week as four others, of whom three departed before him and one at the same time; Asschedoune arrived in the same week as two others, of whom one departed before him and one at the same time; Boile arrived in a week by himself. Thus it would seem possible that John Gore, jun., Jemmes, Brygges and Asschedoune were learners or perhaps apprentices, travelling about the country with their masters.

In the second group were Robert Clynton, freemason, and Thos. Robynson, freemason. The former, from April to June, 1449, was in receipt of 2s. 6d. per week after being in receipt of 3s. 0d. a week like the general body of freemasons, for some four years previously. The latter was in receipt of 3s. 0d. a week in October, 1458, and from March to September, 1459, whilst the other freemasons were paid 3s. 4d. For some ten years previously he had received the same wage as the general body of freemasons. i.e., 3s. in 1448-9, 1453-4 and the winter of 1456-7, and 3s. 4d. in the summer of 1456-7. Thus, after several years of service, the pay of Clynton and Robynson appears to have been reduced; we can only surmise that for reasons of health or age they were no longer as efficient as formerly, and that they accepted a reduced rate in preference to dismissal.

The third group of exceptions is the most interesting. Among the freemasons we find five men at different times serving for considerable periods at less than the standard rate, to which we know that three of them ultimately attained:—

other freemasons.

- (i.) On May 18th, 1448, six weeks after the commencement of the 1448-9 Account, the name of Thomas Smyth first appears amongst the freemasons at a rate of 2s. per week, which he continued to receive until the close of the Account on September 27th, 1449. During the year October, 1453, to September, 1454, he was paid the standard rate of 3s. per week, whilst in 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60 he was paid 3s. 4d. in summer and 3s. in winter like the
- (ii.) On February 22nd, 1448-9, the name of John Aleyne first appears amongst the freemasons, his wage from that date until the end of the Account on September 27th, 1449, being 20d. per week. By October 1st, 1453, his wage had reached the standard rate, and he received 3s. or 3s. 4d., as the case might be, like the other freemasons during 1453-4, 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60.
- (iii.) When the Account for 1453-4 opens, on October 1st, 1453, we find Henry Janyns, freemason, in receipt of 2s. 6d. per week. His name disappears from the list on March 30th, 1454, after 26 weeks of continuous service on the same day as the name of John Clerk, warden of the masons.
- (iv.) On October 1st, 1453, the name of John Coupere appears amongst the freemasons at a wage of 2s. per week, which he continued to receive until the close of the Account in September, 1454. In the next Account, October, 1456, to August, 1457, Coupere's name appears regularly at 2s. 6d. per week and likewise from October, 1458, to April, 1459. He then vanishes for more than a year, only to re-appear for a while in July, 1460, at the full summer rate of 3s. 4d. per week.
- (v.) The name of Thomas Kyng, freemason, first appears in the Accounts in June, 1459, at a wage of 2s. per week, a rate which he continued to receive until the Account closed in September, 1460.

With regard to Henry Janyns, we are disposed to think that he was the son of Robert Janyns who came to Eton from Merton College, Oxford, in the spring of 1449 to serve as Warden 1; that he was apprenticed to John Clerk, the then Warden, at some date between October, 1449, and October, 1453, and that on

¹ See below.

the departure of the latter at the end of March, 1454, the apprentice naturally accompanied his master. In what concerns Thomas Kyng, if he was an apprentice, there is nothing to show who his master was, no other freemason arriving at Eton at the same time; nor does his name appear long enough in the Accounts to enable us to trace whether his wage ultimately rose to 2s. 6d. and then to the standard rate, as appears to have been the case with Coupere. Thos. Smyth's wage, within 5½ years of his commencing work at Eton, had risen from 2s. a week to 3s.; very possibly he attained the standard rate in a much shorter time, as there is a gap of four years in the wage lists between September, 1449, and October, 1453, about which period no information is available. The same is true of John Aleyne; in a maximum period of 42 years, and possibly in considerably less time, his wage rose from 20d. a week to the full rate of 3s. If Smyth and Alcyne were apprentices it would seem either: (a) that they served substantially less than seven years, unless the standard rate of wages was paid in respect of an apprentice, which we are disposed to doubt, both on general grounds and in view of Coupere's case referred to next, or (b) that they had served part of their apprenticeship before they arrived at Eton. The latter alternative would not seem impossible, as Smyth's name figures in the list for the first time in a week when a freemason named William Byrche, who had worked at Eton previously, re-appears. One objection to the surmise that Smyth was Byrche's apprentice is that Byrche vanished fifteen months later, whilst Smyth continued to work at Eton at 2s. a week, which difficulty can only be overcome by making the further assumption that Byrche died or retired from masonry and that his apprentice was transferred to another master. So far as Aleyne is concerned, he commenced work at Eton at the same time as a freemason named Walter Childecote, who was still at Eton in October, 1453, when the standard wage was being paid to, or in respect of, Aleyne, then supposedly out of his apprenticeship. Thus if Smyth and Aleyne were apprentices when they first appear in the Eton Accounts, and if they served seven years in that capacity, the presumption is that they served Byrche and Childecote respectively elsewhere for some time before arriving at Eton.

The case of John Coupere is different: his name was on the wage-list at Eton on the very first day of the 1453-4 Account, so that it is impossible to form an idea as to how long he had been there or with whom he came or to whom he might be apprenticed. On the other hand, the Accounts under review show that he served for five years and seven months at the rate first of 2s. and then of 2s. 6d. per week. When he disappeared from the wage-list at the end of April, 1459, no other mason appears to have left Eton at the same time; perhaps his apprenticeship (if any) was at an end and he left to gain experience. In any case, by April, 1459, he could have served for seven years or more at Eton. The following summer he re-appeared at the standard summer rate of 3s. 4d. per week, at a time when several freemasons were being recruited, but he only stayed for a fortnight. Reference to the possible subsequent careers of Coupere and Janyns is made in a later section of this paper.

These five men—Hy. Janyns, Thos. Kyng, Thos. Smyth, John Aleyne and John Coupere—are the only ones among the 293 freemasons recorded in the eight detailed Accounts, to whom the wage-lists would seem to point as possible apprentices. Against this supposition has to be set the fact that, so far as we have been able to discover, no mason or other worker is ever described in the Eton building documents from 1442 to 1460, either as an apprentice or as a learner of any description.

(d) Methods of paying wages. All wages entered in the wage-lists were time-wages at the rate of so much per annum or so much per week or so much per day. The Chief Mason was paid £3 6s. 8d. per quarter at the rate of

£13 6s. 8d. per annum; the Warden was generally paid fortnightly or weekly "in part payment of his wages of £10 per annum." The general body of freemasons appear to have received weekly wages, the other masons daily wages, but in both cases in the wage-lists, as preserved, weekly or fortnightly totals were entered against the various names. In the Accounts for 1442-3, 1444-5 and 1445-6 all entries were weekly with the occasional exception of those relating to the close or commencement of a year. In September, 1445, entries were made for two successive half-weeks (September 27th-29th and September 30th-October 2nd) at the close of 1444-5 and commencement of 1445-6, whilst in September, 1446, the last entry is for a period of one week and four days (September 19th-29th). In the Accounts for 1448-9, 1453-4, 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60 the entries were mostly fortnightly, but with an occasional weekly entry to complete a quarter. It does not follow, however, that wages were promptly paid at the end of each week or of each fortnight as the case might be. The marginal notes in our first Account and occasional entries in the others throw some light on the way in which the money earned by the masons actually reached In one instance at least it seems to have been paid over to the principal mason for distribution.1 Very often the pay was not drawn by the mason himself, but by one of his fellow workmen, usually a mason whose name occurs in the same list, though not always. In the week commencing 22nd December, 1442, the wages of Stevyn Baker and Roger Charleton, hardhewers, were paid per Knyght, laborer. Notes of the names of the workmen to whom the pay was handed over are very frequent, but with regard to two weeks there is further information, namely, the date of payment. In the week headed March 26th a date is entered, in sixteen instances, after the amount of the wage, the date being either the 3rd or the 8th of April. We conclude that in these instances the recipient's wage was either three or eight days in arrears. Similarly in the week headed 14th May a date is entered, either May 28th or June 4th, in seventeen instances before the mason's name, which we take as indicating that the particular masons concerned received their pay either nine or sixteen days after it was due. On the other hand, though some masons had to wait for their money, one at least seems to have been able to anticipate it. In the week headed 30th July there is entered against the name of Cornelius Dawker, row mason, the note: "lent to hy[m] ye same day vppo[n] hys wag[es?] ou[er]e ye seid iijs. iijs. viijd."

Although time-wages predominated at Eton, occasionally a mason was paid by the task. In Vady's Account of Receipts and Expenses for 1445-6, under the heading task work (opera ad tascam) we find the entry paid "to Edmund Knight for working 166 feet of assheler 44s." This Edmund Knight was presumably the same as a hardhewer of that name who worked regularly at Eton from October, 1444, to September, 1446, with the exception of a break of seven weeks in May and June, 1446. Those seven weeks contained 35 working days (equivalent to 17s. 6d. in time wages), and it hardly seems likely that all the ashlar could have been prepared single-handed by Knight in that time. He may, however, have employed sufficient assistance to complete the task in that period, or he may have done the work partly in his leisure time, either with or without assistance, whilst drawing wages as a hardhewer.

In a few cases masons received extra payments beyond their ordinary remuneration. Thus in the Account of Roger Keys for 1448-50, Peter Palmer, mason, is on one occasion paid 20s. "in reward for his diligence by precept of the provost," and on another occasion 6s. 8d., whilst a payment of 6s. 8d. was also made to Henry Roo, mason, in the same Account, no reason being stated. The principal cases of extra payments which we have come across occur in

 $^{^1}$ $Accounts,\ 1458.$ "Memorandum quod liberati v. Decembris Symoni Clerk pro vadijs latomorum ix". xvs.

Vady's Account of 1445-6, in which the following entry occurs under the head of "Rewards":—

"In various rewards made to the setters of stone as well as various other workmen on the aforesaid works, for their diligent labour in the said works in hot weather (tempore estiva) by consideration of the Marquis of Suffolk and the Provost of Eton College, viz. Henry Roo 12s., Richard Foxe 5s. 8d., John Plesant 6s. 4d., Stephen Pette 2s. 8d., William Storer 2s., John Skynner 3s. 4d., Robert Blandon 3s. 4d., setters of freestone (positoribus libre petre); John Michell 3s. 4d. and Lambton Henry 12d., layers of breke. Thomas Glasier, karue(r) 20s.

Roo, Foxe, Plesant, Pette, Storer, Skynner and Blandon are all classed in the wage-lists as freemasons (lathami) at 3s. per week; this extract shows us that they were paid extra for setting freestone in hot weather. In the next Account (1448-9) the reward to freemasons engaged in setting in hot weather appears to have been replaced by a higher wage of 3s. 4d. per week, such wage being paid to four freemasons (Stephen Pette, John Skynner, William Newman and William Byrche) whilst engaged in setting for four weeks during July and August, 1448. By 1453 the fact that the additional pay for setting was originally associated with diligence in hot weather appears to have been forgotten, for we find the rate of 3s. 4d. being paid to freemasons employed as setters in October and November of that year. From that time onwards, freemasons engaged in setting were paid fourpence per week more than the general body of freemasons, whether it be spring, summer or autumn; from the middle of November to the beginning of March no setting appears to have been undertaken.

John Michell and Lambton Henry, described in the quotation as layers of brick, appear in the wage-lists of 1445-6 under the heading stone layers (positores petrarum). That stone layers or row masons should act as bricklayers was not unusual, as we shall show in a later section dealing with mobility of labour, but this is the only case we have found in which they were paid a special reward whilst so acting.

Thomas Glasier, described in the quotation as karue(r), is classed in the wage-lists with the freemasons (lathami) in receipt of 3s. a week from the beginning of October, 1444, to the end of June, 1446. This entry under "Rewards" is the only indication with which we are acquainted which shows that he was a carver.

At the end of the same Account of John Vady is another entry under the heading "Rewards" in which, unfortunately, no names are given:—

Rewards made to the carpenters, sawyers, tylers, setters, glasiers and other workers and labourers aforesaid for their diligent labour both in holiday times (tam temporibus festivalibus) and at other times at night (quam aliis temporibus nocturnis) towards the Feast of the Assumption of B.M. by consideration of the Provost of the said College and other supervisors there at various times £6. 2. 2.

In addition to their money wages, the freemasons and possibly the hardhewers, as stated in another connection, were provided with living accommodation,

¹ In the wage register for 1445-6 there is no list of bricklayers (positores de brike), but in Vady's Accounts of Receipts and Expenses under the heading Vadia Positorum there is an item Wages of layers of brike—223 days between them, each at 6d. per day. The number of days worked by 10 bricklayers is given, including 41½ by John Michell and 44 by Lambton Henry.

free fuel and the services of a cook.¹ Further, in the case of the officers, a livery was also provided. The Account for 1445-6 shows that the cost of the cloth for the livery of the Chief Mason was 3s. per yard and for that of the Warden and Purveyors 2s. 6d. per yard.

One other modification of the normal time-wages was brought about, not by additions, but by occasional deductions or fines. Most of the examples quoted in Willis and Clark ² and in Coulton ³ relate to labourers, but a few cases relating to freemasons and hardhewers are recorded in the Accounts:—

- In the week 2nd-7th July, 1442, John Hampton, freemason, "for late cuming and gooth from his werke owt of tyme" was paid for 4 days only.
- In the week 27th August-1st September, 1442, there is entered against the names of Richard Spenser and Richard Lylly, hardhewers, "for ffyting," and each received only two days pay.
- In the week 19th-24th November, 1442, there is entered against John Reding, freemason, "for going w'out lycens," and he is paid for 4½ days only.
- In the week 7th-12th January, 1442-3, Andrew Bruyn, freemason, is penalised half-a-day for "late cu(m)ing."
- In the week 28th January-2nd February, 1442-3, Edmund Knight, hard-hewer, is fined half-a-day's pay "for going on Sat(ur)day at xi. of ye belle."
- In the week 20th-25th September, 1445, Richard Ffoxe, freemason, is disallowed one day's pay for coming late on various occasions.

These are the whole of the cases relating to masons which we have been able to trace in the eight sets of Accounts. It should be borne in mind, however, that five of the entries came from the 1442-3 Accounts, which was probably a working copy for the use of the clerk of the works, whereas only one occurs in the other Accounts, which appear to have been clean copies made for the Auditors. It is quite possible that as a general rule the reason why a mason lost a day or half-a-day in some particular week was not entered in the clean copies. Had the working copies of the wage-books for each period survived, itis not unlikely that more fines might have been traced. In view of the large number of masons employed in 1442-3, many of them probably recruited by impressment against their will, six reductions in pay that year for disciplinary offences seem a very small number of cases, and even if there were as many recorded in the working copies of the wage books relating to other years, it could not be regarded as reflecting unfavourably upon the general level of conduct amongst the masons. An odd fight and an occasional case of coming late or going early might easily occur in the best regulated building enterprises of modern times.

¹ See previous section on masons' hostel.
² Vol. I., p. 383. In a footnote they state that "these instances are selected from the accounts of Roger Keys (1448-9)." That is a slip; they actually came from Hampton's Journal of 1442-3.

³ Art and the Reformation, pp. 191-3, taken from Hampton's Journal of 1442-3.

CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT.

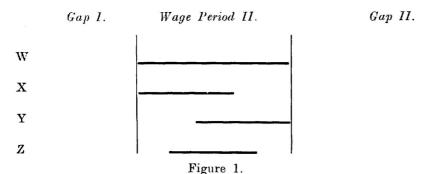
Although the detailed wage-records stretch from 12th February, 1441-2, to 27th September, 1460, a period of 18 years $7\frac{1}{2}$ months, there are unfortunately serious gaps in them. The position may be summarised as follows:—

Wage records extant.	Gaps.
12 February 1441-2 to 10 February 1442-3 (12 months)	
	12 February 1442-3 to 26 September 1444 (19½ months)
28 September 1444 to 29 September 1446 (24 months)	
	1 October 1446 to 27 March 1448 (18 months)
28 March 1448 to 27 September 1449 (18 months)	
	29 September 1449 to 29 September 1453 (4 years)
1 October 1453 to 28 September 1454 (12 months)	
	30 September 1454 to 25 September 1456 (24 months)
27 September 1456 to 13 August 1457 (10½ months)	
	15 August 1457 to 30 September 1458 (13½ months)
2 October 1458 to 27 September 1460 (24 months)	

Thus in all, the records cover 8 years $4\frac{1}{2}$ months, whilst the gaps amount to 10 years 3 months.

The records obviously do not include all the freemasons who worked at Eton during the 18\hat{8} years; during each gap there were doubtless recruits who came after one wage-period had closed, and went again before the next wage-period began, so that no trace of them remains in the available Accounts. In order to form an estimate of the number of these unknown recruits who worked solely at times for which no records are available, we have examined recruitment for each wage-period for which we have information to ascertain how many recruits there were (i.) who did not work at the beginning or at the end of the period in question (because those present at the beginning or at the end would be likely also to work during part at least of the immediately previous or immediately succeeding gap) and (ii.) whose names do not occur in other wage-periods. In other words, we have endeavoured to ascertain how many freemasons there were whose services at Eton fell entirely inside any one of our wage-periods.

If we picture four freemasons, W, X, Y and Z, whose names occur in wageperiod II. only, and whose periods of recorded employment were as represented in Figure 1, we should exclude W for our present purpose on the ground that



his name in all probability figures in the missing records for Gap I. and Gap II., and we should exclude X and Y because their names probably figured in the missing records for Gap I. or Gap II. as the case might be. The only recruit we should count would be Z, whose period of service did not impinge on Gap I. Our examination shows that the numbers of recruits in the position of Z were 19 in 1442-3, 15 in 1444-6, 75 in 1448-9, 10 in 1453-4, 2 in 1456-7 and 16 in 1458-60, or 137 in all in the six periods amounting to 83 years. Thinking for the moment of our wage-periods as the gaps of a man who found and tabulated the missing wage-records, we should expect to find that the names of these 137 men did not occur on his lists. If gaps amounting to 8% years would probably contain 137 names not recorded in the wage-periods, by a sum in proportion we conclude that gaps amounting to 101 years should contain 167 names, i.e., $137 \times 10\frac{1}{4} \div 8\frac{3}{8}$, not recorded in the wage-periods. 185 years from February, 1441-2 to September, 1460, in addition to 293 freemasons recorded in our wage-periods, we estimate that there were 167 freemasons who worked for shorter or for longer spells during the intervening gaps, but at no other times, making in all 460 freemasons who worked at Eton. We emphasize this point because to our minds there can be no question that the coming and going of freemasons at Eton was substantially greater than a consideration of the surviving records by themselves would suggest. matter in another way, practically all the long-service men are covered by the extant records whilst a large number of short-service men are omitted.

In order to bridge the gaps in the available wage-records and arrive at some idea as to how long the different masons worked at Eton, we have made certain definite assumptions:—

1. If a mason was employed at the end of one wage-period and a mason of the same name was employed at the beginning of the next succeeding period, we have assumed that it was the same man and that his employment was continuous, i.e., that he worked at Eton throughout the gap in question. We indicate this in our diagram by joining the solid lines as in the case of A.B. and C.D. in Figure 2. In this

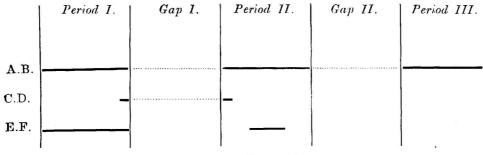


Figure 2.

way we reach the conclusion that several masons worked continuously for long periods at Eton, although there is no definite information relating to any one spell of employment exceeding two years.

- 2. If a mason was employed part, or all, of one wage-period and a mason of the same name was employed during the later part of the next succeeding wage-period, as illustrated in the case of E.F. in Figure 2 above, we have assumed (i.) that it was the same man but (ii.) that the employment was not continuous.
- 3. If a mason was employed part, or all, of one wage-period and a mason of the same name was employed in a later wage-period, with one or more wage-periods intervening in which his name did not occur, we have assumed that the two masons in question were different men.

Thus, for example, if the name E.F. occurs in 1442 and in 1445 we assume that it relates to the same man; if the name G.H. occurs in 1442 and not again until 1449 (i.e., with two gaps and one blank period in between) we assume that we are concerned with two different men.

In the chart we have made no attempt to indicate that, where a mason was at work at the beginning, or at the end, of a wage-period, without his name appearing at the end of the immediately previous wage-period or at the beginning of the immediately subsequent wage-period, it is probable that his length of service at Eton was greater than that indicated by the solid line which represents his recorded employment during the wage period. We feel obliged to leave the partial filling in of the gaps to the imagination of the reader. In endeavouring to prepare a statistical table, however, of spells of employment at Eton we have had to make allowances for masons who were in employment when a wage period started or ceased but whose names do not appear at the end of the previous wage-period or at the beginning of the subsequent wage-period. Our method has been to place them either one or two classes higher in our tabulation according as their spell of service impinged on one, or on two, gaps.3 We recognise that our methods are rough and ready, but as the average length of the gaps is two years, or excluding the big gap October, 1449, to September, 1453, during which building activity greatly declined and dismissals must have been frequent, eighteen months, we think that the arbitrary additions we have made, which average approximately half the length of a gap, where one gap is impinged on, and half the length of two gaps, where two gaps are impinged on, are not unreasonable.

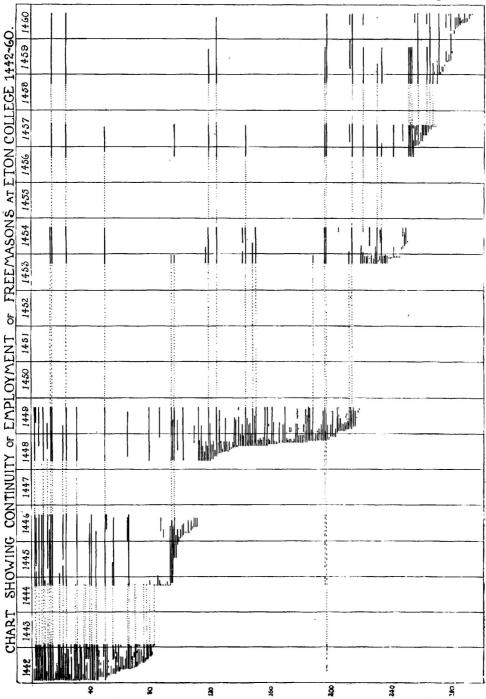
In the chart tracing the employment of freemasons at Eton College from 1442-1460 we have omitted all names so as to produce a compact diagram which could be reproduced on one page, and we have therefore contented ourselves with numbering them. Commencing in February, 1441-2, the recorded service of each man is inserted in the order in which the names first appear in the wage-registers of freemasons. The first black line at the top left-hand corner represents the career of John Sutbery, who was employed continuously from February 12th, 1441-2, to May 19th, 1442, and then entirely disappeared. The second black line represents the career of John Bright, who worked from February 12th, 1441-2, to May 19th, 1442, and again from July 16th, 1442, to

¹ Other than the first wage-period.

² Other than the last wage-period.

³ E.g., a mason employed in July and August. 1442 (the middle of a wage-period) and in October, November, and December. 1444 (the beginning of the next wage-period) would be placed, not in the class 14 to 26 weeks, but the next higher class. 27 to 52 weeks. A mason who served two years from October, 1444, to September, 1446 (i.e., right through a wage-period) but at no other recorded time, would be placed, not in the class 1 year 1 week to 2 years, but two higher in the class 3 years 1 week to 4 years. A mason serving through two complete adjoining periods, say from October, 1444, to September, 1446, and from April, 1448, to September, 1449, would be treated, not as a man employed for five years (class 4 years 1 week to 5 years), but as a man serving two years longer (class 6 years 1 week to 7 years).

February 9th, 1442-3, from October, 1444, to September, 1446, with the exception of odd weeks, and again from the end of March, 1448, to the end of September, 1449. His name does not appear in the later records. The fourteenth line represents the career of John Ridale, who, with the exception of



odd weeks, worked at Eton throughout each of our six wage-periods. The eighty-fifth line represents Wm. Dalynton; actually his name is the twelfth on the freemasons' wage-register of 1444-5, but the eleven names ranking before his belong to masons who appear in the 1442-3 list. His is the first new name on

the 1444-5 list, and it only appears there for three weeks and is then seen no more. The two masons who figure some two-thirds of the way down the list and are shown as having commenced work at the beginning of 1444-6 and of 1442-3 respectively, although grouped with masons commencing work in 1448, are John Boile and Thomas Peverell. They are placed according to where their names first appear in the list of freemasons; their earlier service was as hardhewers. We refer to these two men again in discussing mobility of labour.

Considering the chart as a whole, it shows us that whilst at all periods some of the recruits remained at Eton and became what we may call long-service men, there was nevertheless a marked preponderance of short-service men, a preponderance which would be even more striking if the numerous short-service men employed during the gaps could be brought into the picture. For the benefit of those who do not find it easy to follow a diagrammatic representation of the position, the situation may be represented in a different way. Of the 85 freemasons 1 whose names first appear on the wage-lists in 1442-3, 33 were still employed in 1444-5, 21 in 1445-6, 14 in 1448-9, 5 in 1453-4, 4 in 1456-7 and 3 in 1458-9 and 1459-60; or, putting it the other way round, of the 85 freemasons whose names first appear on the wage-list in 1442-3, 52 had disappeared by October, 1444, 64 by October, 1445, 71 by April, 1448, 80 by October, 1453, 81 by October, 1456, and 82 by October, 1458. We have analysed the new names in each period in this way and have embodied our analysis in a table.

Table showing the	number of freeme	isons employed at	different periods
analysed according	to when they firs	t began to work	at Eton College.

			1442-3	1444-5	1445-6	1448-9	1453-4	1456-7	1458-9	1459-60
Began	work	1442- 3	85	33	21	14	5	4	3	3
,,	**	1444- 5		16	8	5	3	2	1	_
.,	.,	1445- 6			14	3	_	_	l —	_
,,	٠,	1448- 9				105	11	5	4	3
,,	••	1453- 4					30	5	3	2
,,	••	1456- 7						19	8	4
,,	••	1458- 9							11	4
	.,	1459-60								13
		er of free wage lists		49	43	127	49	35	30	29
		period.								

Thus the table shows that of the 16 freemasons first employed in 1444-5, 8 continued to be employed in 1445-6, 5 in 1448-8, 3 in 1453-4, 2 in 1456-7, 1 in 1458-9 and none in 1459-60. It also shows, for example, that of the 43 different masons whose names appear in the wage-list of 1445-6, 21 were first employed in 1442-3, 8 in 1444-5 and 14 in 1445-6.

Finally, we have prepared a table grouping 293 freemasons employed at Eton from 1442 to 1460 according to their length of service, which we have estimated in each case on the assumptions set out earlier in this section:—

Length of Service.	No. of Freemasons.	Length of Service.	No. of Freemasons.
1 week to 4 weeks	40	8 years 1 week to 9 years	5°
5 weeks to 13 weeks	55	9 ,, 1 ,, 10 ,,	1
14 ,, ,, 26 ,,	57	10 , 1 , 11 ,	_
27 ,, ,, 52 ,,	45	11 ,, 1 ,, 12 ,,	1
1 year 1 week to 2 years	36	12 ,, 1 ,, 13 ,,	2
2 years 1 week to 3 years	19	13 ,, 1 ,, 14 ,,	1
3 ,, 1 ,, 4 ,,	8	14 ,, 1 ,, 15 ,,	1
4 ., 1 ,, 5 ,,	5	15 ,, 1 ,, 16 ,,	1
5 ,, 1 ,, 6 ,,	8	16 ,, 1 ,, 17 ,,	_
6 , 1 ,, 7 ,,	3	17 ., 1 ,, 18 ,,	_
7 ,, 1 ,, 8 ,,	2	18 ,. 1 ,, 19 ,,	3

¹ Including Peverell, as if he had been a freemason from the outset.

Of the 293 freemasons known by name whose periods of employment at Eton during the 18½ years from February, 1441-2, to September, 1460, it is possible to estimate, 152, or rather more than half, served for 6 months or under, or, if the dividing line is drawn at 12 months, 197, or rather more than two-thirds, served for 12 months or under.

So far as hardhewers, rowmasons, layers of stone and brickmen are concerned, but few appear to have been employed after 1448-9. The last hardhewers whom we have been able to trace occur in the wage-lists of the summer of 1448. None were employed in 1449, or in 1453-4, 1456-7 or 1458-60. A score of layers were employed yet in the summer of 1449, but most had left before

CHART SHOWING CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT AT ETON COLLEGE 1442~1450. 1442 1443 1444 1445 1450 1446 1447 1448 1449 HARDEHEWERS ROWE MASONS LAYERS AND BREKEMEN HARDEHEWERS OR LAYERS

the wage-account closed at Michaelmas. In the autumn of 1453, five layers were employed, of whom Thos. Hertford and Ric. Fuller had worked previously at Eton.¹ In the autumn of 1456 and the summer of 1457 only Hertford and Fuller were employed as layers, whilst Fuller was the only layer employed in October, 1458, after which he disappeared. As only five names occur after 1449, we have limited the chart and statistical tables relating to hardhewers, rowmasons, layers and brickmen to the years 1442-49. We have divided the diagram into three sections. In the first section we record the service of hardhewers; the two

¹ Hertford worked in 1442-3, 1444-6 and 1448-9 as a layer. Fuller worked in 1442-3 first as a layer and then as a hardhewer, throughout 1444-6 as a hardhewer, and in 1448 either as a hardhewer or as a layer. In our chart and statistics, 1442-9, he is classed as a hardhewer.

whose service is indicated by a broken line are Peverell and Boile, who afterwards became freemasons and have been classed by us as such throughout. Morrell, whose recorded service is represented by the first line, and Fuller, whose recorded service is represented by the nineteenth line, worked for 3 weeks and 14 weeks respectively as layers in 1442 before being grouped with the hardhewers. In the second section, we place the rowmasons, layers of stone and brickmen, whose work appears to have been to a considerable extent interchangeable. We have graphed their service in each period in the order indicated: it so happens that there were some brickmen in 1444 who were never employed at Eton as layers of stone, which explains why certain men starting work in 1444 are placed lower down the diagram than some men starting work in 1445. In the third section, we have placed those men whom we have no means of picking out of the collective group "hardhewers and layers" in the 1448-9 records as being definitely hardhewers or definitely layers. In the tables we have ignored the men in this section.

The diagram suggests that in the case of hardhewers in the early years at Eton, there was a very fair continuity of service ²; on the other hand, the service of the layers always appears to have been of a very discontinuous character. We have prepared two tables for hardhewers and layers respectively from 1442 to 1449, analogous to that for freemasons from 1442 to 1460 given previously. The tables tell the same story as the diagram.

Table showing the nu	umber of har	dhewers emp	doyed at	different	periods,
analysed according t	o when they	first began	to work	at Eton	College.

	1442-3	1444-5	1445-6	1448	1449
Began work 1442-3 1444-5 1445-6 1448 1449	21	9 18	5 14 6	4 6 2 16	0 0 0 0 0
Total number of hard- hewers on wage - lists in each period.	21	27	25	28	0

Table showing the number of rowmasons, layers and brickmen employed at different periods, analysed according to when they first began to work at Eton College.

Began work 1442-3 1444-5 1445-6	1442-3 38	1444-5 	1445-6 3 2 7	1448 2 1 0	1449
1448 1449				7	0 23
Total number of row masons, layers & brick- men on wage-lists in each period.	38	21	12	10	28

¹ In the 1442-3, 1444-5 and 1445-6 registers hardhewers are separated from layers, whereas they are lumped together in 1448-9.

² The Compotus Rolls show that nearly as much was spent in hardhewers' wages in 1443-4 as in 1444-5 and 1445-6. The Compotus Roll for 1446-7 does not separate-hardhewers' wages from the masons' wages in general, but the total figure shows a big decline as compared with the total figure for 1445-6, so that presumably the employment of hardhewers contracted rapidly after 1446. prior to petering out in 1448.

MOBILITY OF LABOUR.

Movement from place to place.

Eton being but a very small place in the middle of the fifteenth century and Windsor on the opposite bank of the Thames not being very large either, it is certain that supplies of labour must have been drawn from outside the immediate area of the building operations to enable these to be conducted on the substantial scale which the Building Accounts reveal. At the outset, considerable reliance was placed upon the system of impressment, and we are disposed to think that use was made of the same system in 1448, if not at later dates. In February, 1441, William Lynde, the first clerk of the works, was authorised to impress as many masons and other artificers as he might require and to imprison all such as should refuse to work for the King at reasonable wages.1 At the same time another commission to arrest stone-masons, masons, etc., was issued to Thomas Wight.2 In June, 1441, Robert Westerley, chief mason, in whose favour letters patent had been issued to select stone-hewers, etc., went to Burford and Oxford where his activities interfered with the work in progress at All Souls College.3 As a result of representation to the King, these workmen were exempted, but in October, 1441, John Wynwyk, warden of the masons at Eton,4 was authorised to take stonehewers and masons, even in the fee of the Church.⁵ It was possibly in virtue of this commission that seven masons were taken from All Souls College to work at Eton College. In April, 1442, a further commission was issued to John Wynwyk, stone-cutter, to take stone-cutters and masons at the king's wages and to imprison all persons contrary therein.7 In the same month we find a reward of 20s, being paid to Robert Westerley for purveying freemasons in divers places of England.8 In July, 1442, a commission was issued to William Veysy, brickmaker, to take masons

- ¹ Maxwell-Lyte, History of Eton College, 1911, pp. 11-12.
- ² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-41, p. 525. A purveyor of that name occurs in the Accounts.
 - ³ Maxwell-Lyte, p. 12.
- 4 Possibly the same as John Wynwik, the king's servant, who was granted the office of warden of the masonry at Westminster, the Tower of London and elsewhere in England on 23rd August, 1439 (Patent Rolls, 17 H. VI., page 2, membrane 14, quoted by W. J. Williams, The King's Master Masons, A.Q.C., vol. xliii., p. 96). If the two men were one and the same, he would hardly be "warden of the masons at Eton" in the usual sense of second mason.
 - ⁵ Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 12, 13.
- ⁵ Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 12, 13.
 ⁶ Jacob, loc. cit., p. 129. By the courtesy of the Warden of All Souls College, we have had an opportunity of examining the Building Account upon which Prof. Jacob's article is based. The entry (fo. 69) under September 16th, 1441, may be translated: "Pd. to John Chaunter hired to carry to Windsor the gear of seven masons, taken by mandate of the King, for his works there, 20d." Prima facie, this suggests that the masons were taken to work at Windsor Castle, but we incline to agree with Prof. Jacob's conclusion that Windsor was used in the Account to include Eton just across the Thames. Our reasons for thinking so are: (i.) There is nothing in the detailed Windsor Castle Building Account for 1440-41 (Exchequer K.R. 496/9) which points to the arrival of seven new men at the end of the season. All the masons in the detailed Windsor Castle Building Account for 1440-41 (Exchequer K.R. 496/9) which points to the arrival of seven new men at the end of the season. All the masons are named: 15 worked there for 44 days and upwards; 1 for 18 days and 1 for 12 days, and all except the last had worked there the previous year (see P.R.O. Ministers' Accounts, 1302/8). (ii.) Building activity at Windsor was declining in 1440-41, as compared with the previous year when 45 masons were employed. It is unlikely, therefore, that masons were being recruited for Windsor in September, 1441. On the contrary, Andrew Broyne, cementarius, after working 131 days at Windsor in 1439-40 and 89 days there in 1440-41, appears to have gone to All Souls College in September, 1441, where he is described as a carver (fo. 68°) and paid 3s. 8d. a week. (iii.) We can trace four All Souls College masons at Eton College in 1442, viz., William Campyon, John Rydale, Andrew Broyne, and John Plesance. With the exception of Plesance, they were not among the newcomers arriving at Oxford from London, Norfolk, and Suffolk in August or September, 1441, though Prof. Jacob states that it was seven of such newcomers that were taken to work at Eton. Unfortunately, only very few names are given in the All Souls Account; otherwise we might have been able to trace more are given in the All Souls Account; otherwise we might have been able to trace more Oxford masons at Etou College.
 7 t'al. Pat. Rolls, 1441-6, p. 70.

 - 8 Willis and Clark, I., 384 n.

and layers called 'brike leggers' at the king's wages and to commit resisters to Concerning a somewhat later period, there is an entry in John Vady's Account, 1445-6, "expenses of Richard Burton being at Abingdon, Burford and sundry other places (not named) for provision of masons, 7 days 7s."

In view of the fact that there was so much impressment of labour at Eton, we may turn aside for a moment from the problem of the mobility of labour to consider what light the Accounts throw on the conditions of pressed labour as compared with those enjoyed by free labour.2

- (i.) Rates of pay. Pressed labour had to work at the king's wages. In a previous section we have seen that at Eton during the 1440's freemasons received 3s. a week, summer and winter, including pay for most holidays, whilst other masons received 6d. per day, summer and winter, but no pay for numerous holidays with rare exceptions. At Oxford, from which town we know that some of the masons were taken, the normal wages paid to masons engaged on the building of Merton College Bell Tower from May, 1448, to May, 1450, were 3s. 4d. per week from the first week in February to the last week in October,3 and 2s. 9d. per week from the first week in November to the last week in January. Thus, in theory at least, a freemason at Oxford could earn 3s. 4d. per week for 39 weeks and 2s. 9d. per week for 13 weeks, or £8 5. 9. per annum; whilst a freemason at Eton could earn 3s. for 52 weeks, or £7 16. 0. per annum. Actually at Eton there were certain holidays for which no wages were paid amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ weeks in all, thus reducing the maximum yearly earnings to £7 11. 6. At Merton College there also appear to have been certain holidays without pay. Of the 15 masons (latomi) who figure in the Accounts, only one, Thomas Wykes, worked for a complete year; he received the normal remuneration of 3s. 4d. per week in summer and a winter wage of 2s. 10d. per week (compared with the normal 2s. 9d.). In view of the regularity of his employment and of his slightly enhanced winter rate, we may assume that Wykes was the first of the working He commenced work at Merton College the third week of June, 1448. and was never absent when work was being done. His earnings to the end of the second week of June, 1449, i.e., for his first complete year, amounted to As freemasons at Eton could have earned £7 11. 6. in the same period and were in addition provided with lodging, fuel and the services of a cook, and almost certainly had more holidays with pay than Wykes, their position in the 1440's appears to have been at least as good, if not slightly better than that of freemasons at Oxford. With the introduction of the summer rate of 3s. 4d. at Eton in the 1450's the Eton freemasons appear to have enjoyed better financial conditions than those which applied to freemasons at Merton College. In 1448-9 hardhewers, rowmasons and layers at Eton probably earned slightly less than a mason like Wykes at Oxford, especially if the greater irregularity of their work be taken into account, though very possibly they earned as much as masons doing similar work.
- (ii.) Length of employment. So far as we can tell, there was nothing in the Eton letters patent or commissions authorising impressment to indicate how long the pressed labour could be held. On the other hand, the fact that the commissions were renewed so frequently does suggest that even though they remained valid they were not effective for very long. The Accounts also seem to

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-6, p. 93.
2 A further study of impressment will be found in our article The Impressment of Masons for Windsor Castle, 1360-1363, to be published in Economic History,

there is nothing to show it in the published accounts.

This rate was in force in 1456-7 and 1458-60.

February, 1937.

Two masons Robert Janyus and John Atkyns, received 8d. per day, summer and winter, when at work, but they worked very irregularly at Merton and often for broken weeks. Possibly they were there in a supervising or consulting capacity. The Building Account is printed in Rogers, *History of Agric. and Prices*, III., pp. 720-757.

⁴ It is possible that Wykes enjoyed similar treatment at Merton College though

lend colour to the suggestion that after a few months men claimed their release or were given licence to depart. Where masons were pressed, it is to be assumed that they arrived at the scene of the building operations in groups or batches, conducted by the purveyor or other officer who had impressed them. Thus on

CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT OF FREEMASONS RECRUITED JULY-OCT. 1448.

	JULY AUG SEPT. OCT. NOV. DEC JAN FEB. MAR APR. MAY JUNE JULY AUG SE
L. Buomost	Over 13-0 and over 14 in Dan Grant Law 11, at 11, and Gost blag 2.
W. BURTON T. TOSEWELL	
T. GERMAN	
W. SCHEREMAN	_
M. WORTH	
J. CRYPS	
T. SPARK	
J. MAYNARD J. RODMAN	
J. MORYSE	
R. SCHIPMAN	
T. BOTESGATE	
J. TERELL	
н. вувьс	
J. PASMARE	
I Roos H. Gryme	
W. WOTTON	
r mongumrey	
T. HEYNES	
J. TYDYR	
T HELERE R PASMERE	
J. SYMMYS	
W. DART	
T JEFFREY	
J. WYLKYNS	
T. TOGOOD	
T. WHITEHEDE R. SENOWE	
W. COCHON	
T. CRYKILWODE	
& BURTON	
P. LAK R. SANFORD	
J. PYNSON	
T. HEYDOK	
J. VRYZC	
J. CHILTON	_
T. BOOLD J. BYRTT	
J. NORTON	
J. WYLLYS	
J. CLERK	_
W. NUTTON	-
W. JONES	
W. NORTON J. BROKE	-
T. PITT.	
R PRATON	
R. DOWDYNG	
J. BENNE	
J. FPILDENE R. GALAMPTON	
J WHELER	
J. BARRY	
R. STERY	
J. PWNTER	
J BERELL	
W. FFAYREFELD	
P. BUTTELOTT	
T. ROWCHE	
J. BERY	
J. ROGGER	_
J. EDWARD	
W. WALSSCHE	
J. WILKOK.	

May 31st, 1442, the names of four rowmasons, William Lynde, John Lynde, John Sacrys and Thomas Rigware appear in the wage-lists for the first time. They worked for seven weeks until July 14th, and then disappeared. In Lynde's Account for 1442-3 there is the following entry 1:—

16 July, 1442, John Lynde, William Lynd, John Sacrys and Thomas Rigware, Row Masons of Norwyche in reward at their going ... xvi. d.ha

On royal works in the second half of the sixteenth century discharged artisans were allowed the same rates as pressed men, *i.e.*, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile on their return,² and we are disposed to think that the money was paid to these four rowmasons for that reason.

The most active period of recruitment amongst freemasons at Eton was in 1448; from the week ending July 27th to the week ending October 19th, i.e., in a period of three months, the names of 69 new freemasons appeared upon the wage-lists, there being as many as 20 newcomers one week and 12 in another. This mass recruitment strongly suggests a vigorous policy of impressment. As the wage-records are continuous until 27th September, 1449, the employment of these men at Eton can be traced week by week for periods varying from 62 weeks to 49 weeks. We have prepared a chart to show what happened to these 69 recruits, from which it will be seen that only eight were at Eton when the Account closed on 27th September, 1449. The average maximum period of service of these 69 men was $54\frac{1}{2}$ weeks; their average actual period of service was $24\frac{2}{3}$ weeks, or 45 per cent. of the maximum. Putting the facts in another way, of the 69 freemasons recruited in the three months ending 19th October, 1448:—

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41 were employed at Eton in the middle of November, 1448
40
                                           ,, December
29
                                           ,, January, 1448-9
33
                                           ,, February
                                      ,,
                              ,,
30
                                           ,, March
                                      ,,
19
                                           ,, April, 1449
19
                                              May
                              ,,
                                      ,,
14
                                              June
            ,,
                      ,,
                              ,,
13
                                              July
            ,,
                      ,,
                              ,,
                                      ,,
13
                                             August
11
                                           ., September
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                      ,,
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If we are correct in assuming that the majority, if not all, of these 69 recruits were pressed men, the rate of wastage, or leakage, or release, appears to have been not inconsiderable.

(iii.) License to be absent. Among the marginal entries in our first wage-book are several which indicate that a careful eye was kept, not only on the punctuality and industry of the labourers, but also on the coming and going of freemasons, rowmasons and hardhewers. In the week commencing November 19th, e.g., John Reding lost part of his pay for going wout lycens. Apparently, permission was required for a mason to absent himself over the week-end; against the name of Robert Norton, who is recorded as drawing full pay for the week commencing March 5th, there is the note Et reveniet die lune; he returned by the afternoon of March 12th and drew 2s. 9d., instead of 3s. for that week.3 In some instances more extended leave was given. Richard Golding, e.g., in the

¹ Willis and Clark I., 384 n.

² Rogers, III., 657.

³ Edmund Knight, who in the week commencing January 28th lost pay for going on Saturday at xj. of ye belle, was probably in too great a hurry to start on his leave.

week commencing August 13th, has this day senet opposite his name; in the following week he was absent, but was at work again on August 27th. Similarly, against the name of William Bullvon, on August 27th, there is the note this day iij. wek,2 and, on September 10th, against the names of Philip Walker and William Tolleram, to Myhelmess. In contrast with these grants of leave, during which the men concerned would be absent from the masons' hostel, there is one entry which, in somewhat doubtful grammar, indicates that permission to remain in the hostel could sometimes be obtained by a craftsman who had ceased to be employed on the works. In the week commencing March 26th, against the name of James Wychingham, it is recorded that Inest domu[m] (sic) usque die[m] lune octabis Pasche cu[m] licencia.

The use of the system of impressment is not the only indication of movement from place to place. There are other entries in the Accounts which point Thus, under the head of "Expenses & Rewards" in Roger to such movement. Keys' Accounts of 1448-9, we find: -

- 26 April. Paid to James Woderooff and John Jakes, lathomi, for their expenses coming from Norwich to Eton
- 4 July. To James Woderoof by precept of the King for certain expenses coming from Norwich to Eton with his gear (cum harnes' suis).

The names of neither of these lathomi appear in the wage-lists; this, together with the largeness of the amount and the fact that a payment was made by precept of the king, seems to point to these men being experts of some kind or other who were brought from Norwich to Eton for a special purpose.3

In the wage-lists of 1448-9 there occur two names which a short time previously appeared in other building accounts and which seem likely to refer to the same men: Henry Rydfayre, lathomus, worked regularly at Eton from the end of March, 1448, to the end of September, 1449, whereas the name Henricus Rydefare, cementarius, occurs in the Fabric Roll of York Minster in 1446.4

The name of Robert Jannings, lathomus, first appears in the Eton wagelists in the fortnight 10th-22nd February, 1448-9, when he is described as Warden, and was paid 8s. in part payment of his wages of £10 per annum. A mason of that name was Warden (under Richard Chevynton) at the erection of All Souls College, Oxford, 1438-1443.5 During the autumn and winter of 1448 the name of Robertus Janyns, latomus, frequently occurs in the building account of the Bell Tower of Merton College, Oxford, at a wage of 8d. per day. His name last appears there in the first week of February, 1448-9, when he was paid for one day.

In the wage-lists of 1442 the name of Richard Reyner occurs among the We think it possible that he was the same "Richard Reyner of Thornegge (in Norfolk) ffremason "who was surety for John Marwe of Norwich, freemason, in the Conesford Quay contract of 1432.7

In the wage-lists of 1442, there appear the names of five freemasons. Henry Roo, Wm. Rombolde, Thos. Berry, John Boston and Wm. Newman, who had

¹ i.e., sennight, 'week.' The same note is entered opposite the name of Stephen Burton on September 10th, but, since he was present on September 17th and 24th, he does not appear to have made use of his leave.

² He had not returned by September 24th.

³ In Keys' Compotus, 1449-50, there is an entry "Reward to James Woderoffe, lathamus, £7." He is almost certainly the same man. A certain James Woderowe, lathamus, £7." He is almost certainly the same man. A certain James Woderowe, mason, was admitted to the freedom of Norwich in 1415 (L'Estrange, Calendor of Freemen of Norwich). Very possibly this was the same man.

4 See Fabric Roll of York Minster (Surtees Soc.), p. 61.

5 Jacob, loc. cit., p. 128. In the Account he is described as gardianus lathomorum. He was paid 6d. per day, together with an annual reward of 13s. 4d.

6 Printed in Rogers, III., pp. 720 ct seq.

7 A.Q.C., vol. xxxv., p. 38.

previously worked at Windsor Castle: Roo, Rombolde and Newman in 1439-40 and 1440-41, Boston in 1439-40 and Berry in 1440-41. Of these five, Newman worked for some 15 years at Eton, Roo for some 12 years and Rombolde for about 4½ years.

The name of Andrew Brwyn also occurs among the freemasons in 1442 (and again for a short time in 1446). We think he was probably the same as Andrew Broyne who worked as *cementarius* at Windsor in 1439-40 and 1440-41 at 6d. per day, and as "Carver" at All Souls College, Oxford, at 3s. 8d. per week in September, 1441.² Three other freemasons at Eton in 1442, viz., John Rydale (working there for 18 years), Wm. Campyon (working there some 5 years), and John Plesant [Plesance] (working there some 4½ years), also appear to have worked previously at All Souls College.

When the Account for 1444-45 opens, the names of Wm. Dalynton and Thos. Glasier occur among the *lathomi*. Shortly afterwards, and in immediate succession to each other, are entered the names of Stephen Pette, Robert Clynton and John Denman. Masons of these names had all worked at Christchurch, Canterbury: Dalynton in 1429, Glasier in 1437, 1439, 1441 and 1442 (and was to re-appear there in 1454). Pette in 1431, Clynton in 1429 and 1431 and Denman in 1433 and 1437. Of these five, Pette worked for some nine years at Eton, Denman for some eight years and Clynton for about 4½ years.

Movement from Occupation to Occupation.

- 1a. Rowmasons and brikemen. In the Account of 1442, there were 38 rowmasons on the wage-lists; of these no fewer than 20 served for one or more weeks as brikemen. In some cases it was only for an odd week, in others it was for two or three months. Apart from these 20 rowmasons who laid bricks, there were only two brikemen on the wage-list, and they only worked for four weeks each. The same conditions with regard to wage-rates and holidays applied to rowmasons and brikemen.
- 1b. Layers of stone (positores petrarum) and layers of brick (positores de brike.) In 1444-6 the names of 18 stonelayers appear on the wage-lists, 10 of whom worked for shorter or longer periods as bricklayers. In addition to these there were 13 other bricklayers whose names do not otherwise occur. Rates of pay and holiday conditions were the same for both classes of layer with one peculiar exception. In 1445 Robert Caron worked 21 weeks as a bricklayer at 6d. per day, holidays normally not being paid for. In 1446 he worked 20 weeks as a stonelayer, being paid 3s. per week "by agreement," holidays normally being paid for; on 10 occasions when there were only five working days in the week he received 3s. Thus he was paid, not like a stonelayer, but like a freemason.
- 2a. Hardhewers and rowmasons. In 1442, two hardhewers, Richard Bronge and Richard Fuller, worked for a time as rowmasons, the remuneration and conditions of employment being the same in both cases. In the summer of 1446, a certain Roger Style served as a hardhewer, whereas four years previously a man of that name served as a rowmason and brikeman.
- 2b. Hardhewers and stonelayers. In 1445 Richard Fuller and another hardhewer, named John Sly, worked for a couple of weeks as stonelayers.
- ¹ P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, 1302/8 (for 1439-40), and P.R.O., Exch. K.R. 496/9 (for 1440-41).
- 2 All Souls College Building Account, fos. 68°. 69°.
 3 John Rydale, lathomus, was paid 12d. on 6th May, 1441, "in reward, coming from Norwich" (ibid, fo. 60).
- 4 Wm. Campyon, lathomus, was paid 51d. per day in January, 1440 (ibid, fo. 12).

 5 John Plesance, lathomus, was paid 3s. 4d. in September, 1441, "coming from Norfolk, in reward" (ibid, fo. 68).

⁶ Bodleian, Tanner MS, 165, fos. 133, 136, 143, 154, 157, 160, 161, 172.

- 3. Hardhewers and freemasons. Thomas Peverell, who worked as a hardhewer in 1442 and 1444-6, and John Boile, who worked as a hardhewer in 1444-6, worked as freemasons in 1448-9, 1453-4, 1456-7 and 1458-60. In each case, after the transference, they received the more favourable financial treatment accorded to freemasons.
- 4. Layer and freemason. In October, 1453, Thomas Boile worked as a layer (cubator) at 6d. per day; from the beginning of November, 1453, until the end of June, 1454, he worked as a freemason (cementarius) at 2s. 6d. per week, which, allowing for more favourable treatment in respect of holidays and more regular employment in winter, probably did not represent much, if any, reduction compared with the 6d. per day previously received. From July, 1454, until the end of the Account in September he received the full rate of 3s. per week. He was employed as a freemason at Eton from October, 1456, to February, 1456-7, at a summer rate of 3s. 4d. and a winter rate of 3s. per week, and he was again employed from October, 1458, till October, 1459, on the same terms.
- 5. Freemasons and setters of stone. In 1448-9, four freemasons worked for a time as setters of stone; in 1453-4, ten; in 1456-7, two; in 1458-60, four. In every case whilst so working they received 4d. per week more than the general body of freemasons.
- 6. Promotions at Eton. (a) Peter Palmer, who worked as a freemason in 1442, and whose name regularly appears on the wage-lists of freemasons in 1444-6 and in 1448-9, was, during at least part of the latter periods, purveyor of stone in Kent. He received a livery and 12d. per week expenses for 44 weeks in addition to his wage in 1445-6, whilst in the 1448-9 Account he is referred to as the King's purveyor.
- (b) A freemason named Thomas Teneham worked at Eton during April, May and June, 1442. His name does not occur in the 1444-6 wage-lists, but at the end of March, 1448, a mason of this name was Warden, an office which he continued to occupy until the end of December, 1448, when he disappeared.

The names of both Peter Palmer and Thomas Teneham occur at Christ-church, Canterbury, the former among the *lathami* in 1437, the latter among the apprentices to the *lathami* de *la loygge* in 1429 and among the *lathami* in 1433 and 1437. It would seem likely that these were the same men.

- (c) When the Account for 1453-4 opens on October 1st, 1453, John Clerk was Warden of the masons. He vanished at the end of March, 1454, and was succeeded by Richard Philpot, who had been employed at Eton College for many years as a freemason.
- 7. Promotions outside Eton. It is not without diffidence that we suggest the possibility that certain masons who worked at Eton during one or more of the periods for which records exist came, at a later date, to occupy much more responsible positions at other building operations. In each case there is an interval of a good many years which is entirely unaccounted for, and it is obviously quite impossible definitely to prove that A.B., mason, of (say) 1450, was the same as A.B., master mason, of (say) 1470. It is quite possible that the second A.B. was a son or nephew of the original A.B., even if he were not a complete stranger. On the other hand, as there are four cases in point, we feel that it is very improbable that time or circumstances should prove all the cases to be unsound.
- (a) Henry Janyns, who we are disposed to think was the son of Robert Janyns (or Jannings) the Warden of 1449, and the apprentice of John Clerk, the Warden of the winter of 1453-4, may very well be the same as Henry Jennings, Master Mason at the erection of St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle in 1476.²

¹ Bodleian, Tanner MS. ut supra.

² Tighe and Davis, I., 375.

- (b) John Coupere, who appeared to be serving his apprenticeship at Eton in 1453-4, 1456-7 and 1458-9, may very possibly be the same as John Coupere, Master Mason at the erection of Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1480-3.1
- (c) Robert Spillesby, lathamus, who worked at Eton from July, 1445, to February, 1445-6, is perhaps the same as Robert Spillesby who became Master Mason at York Minster in 1466, a post which he held until his death in 1472.2
- (d) Thomas Jordan, hardhewer, who worked at Eton from Michaelmas, 1444, to Michaelmas, 1445, may possibly be the same as the Thomas Jordan who was "serjeant of our masonry within our realm of England" in 1464.3

MASONS' TOOLS.

During the period under review there were generally two smiths on the establishment of the College; at one time each received an annual salary of £6 and a livery; later, the chief smith was in receipt of £6.13.4 per annum and a livery. That the smiths, amongst other jobs, made masons' tools is quite clear from certain entries under the heading "foreign receipts" in some of the Accounts and Compotus Rolls:-

> Thomas Milsent, smith of the works, paid £1. 16. 3 on account of various instruments of the masons and other workers by him made from the iron of the said works and by him sold. (Account, 1445-6.)

> And of 52s. 111d. received of Thomas Mylsent chief smith there for divers instruments of masons and other workers working in the aforesaid works by him made with iron appointed for work of the same kind in the same time. (Compotus, 1448-9, 18 mos.)

The amount received from Milsent on account of tools was 12s. in 1447-8 (6 months), 2s. 5d. in 1449-50, and 17s. 2d. in 1453-4.

The entries raise three questions in our minds:—

- 1. Were the tools made by the smith out of the College iron and sold by him (a) the only tools made during the accounting period, or (b) the surplus tools, which were being disposed of like surplus stone, bricks or lime, or (c) worn-out tools which were being sold off like old stores (such as wooden images and leaden stars) at York Minster? 4
- 2. Were the tools in question (a) sold to Eton College masons or (b) sold to other parties?
- 3. Were the tools in question (a) sold by the smith as an agent for the clerk of the works, to whom he accounted for the receipts, or (b) sold by the smith as a private trading venture after he had bought them outright from the College?

We cannot supply a certain answer to any of these questions for want of definite information, and have therefore to content ourselves with weighing the In the first place, we think it unlikely that the tools sold probabilities. represented old stores; as the tools were made by the smith out of iron belonging to the College, we can see no reason, if they were worn-out beyond repair and had become so much scrap iron, why such scrap iron should be sold, instead of being used by the College smith, along with supplies of new iron which might be purchased, to make new tools and other iron work. Further, the very substantial

¹ A. H. Thompson, Building Accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle, 1480-84 (Leices Arch. Soc. Transactions, vol. xi.).

² Fabric Rolls of York Minster (Surtees Soc.), pp. 72, 77.

³ Rolls of Parliament, v.. 547 b.

⁴ Fabric Rolls of York Minster, p. 13.

amount derived from the sale of tools in 1445-6 and 1448-9 strengthens our feeling that they were not being sold off as scrap iron. In the second place, on the assumption that the tools sold were new, the question arises whether they represented the whole or the surplus output of tools. If they represented the surplus, as was apparently the case with the lime and the bricks that were sold, it would seem reasonable to expect that the sale of tools would be large in years when building was slack at Eton, and small in years when building was active at Eton. Actually, rather the reverse appears to have been the case; the sales were biggest at periods when we know that building was most active, which seems to point to the sale of the whole, and not of the surplus, output. In any case, the tools would probably only be made as required, so that there should really be no surplus. In the third place, if the tentative conclusions previously reached are accepted, viz., that the tools sold were new, and that they represented the whole output of the smiths, it seems to follow that they were sold principally, if not entirely, to the masons working at the College: this seems the only way of explaining big sales in years of active building; it also seems compatible with the statement in the second quotation that money was received from the smith "for divers instruments of masons and other workers working in the aforesaid works," 1 which implies that the tools were made for men working at Eton. Further, as the supply of tools could be adjusted to requirements much better than the supply of lime or brick, we see no reason why there should have been any surplus tools made for the Eton masons but not required by them. If the conclusion is correct that the tools were sold to the Eton masons, then the practice at Eton differed from that which appears to have prevailed at some mediæval building operations with which we are acquainted. In the fourth place, we have to consider whether the Chief Smith sold the tools made in College time and with the College iron on his own account or as an agent for the clerk of the works to whom he had to account for the proceeds. It not being uncommon in the Middle Ages to find a craftsman who whilst employed was nevertheless conducting some trade on his own account, it is quite possible that Milsent bought the tools from the clerk of the works and sold them at a profit to the masons on his own On the other hand, it may be that the tools were sold on behalf of the clerk of the works, who did not want to enter scores of very small items in his accounts, and preferred to lump all the proceeds together as received from the smith, who acted as salesman. On the whole, we are inclined to think that Milsent, the smith, acted as an agent for the sale of the tools, the case being analagous to that of a purveyor who acted as agent for the purchase of stone, although he actually appeared in the Accounts as the man paid for the stone. If Milsent traded in masons' tools on his own account, as very possibly he did, we should hardly expect those transactions to be mixed up with the College Accounts.

From the point of view of students of the history of operative masonry, mediæval building documents vary considerably in interest and importance. Some are useful mainly because they confirm conclusions already established, others because they throw light on matters previously uncertain. Of the very great importance of the records we have used for this paper there can be no possible doubt. The surviving documents relating to the building of Eton College in the period 1442-1460 are superior to those we used for the works at Vale Royal Abbey and Caernarvon Castle, because, invaluable as those records were on account of the picture they provided of the stone-building industry before the Black Death, the Eton documents stretch over a much longer period. They are superior to the fabric rolls of York Minster and Westminster Abbey, incomparable as the York Rolls may be in describing the government and organisation of the Lodge, because for several years they provide weekly or fortnightly wage-registers,

¹ The italics are ours.

which permit of a detailed study of the activities of individual masons. They are superior to the records of London Bridge, unrivalled as those may be in continuity and on account of the details concerning weekly payments which they preserve for centuries, because they relate to a large body of masons engaged in new construction, whereas the Bridge Accounts relate to a small body of masons engaged chiefly, if not entirely, in repair work. Notwithstanding the gaps in the weekly wage-registers, we know of no documents so capable of throwing light on the problem of continuity of employment among mediæval masons as the Eton building documents. They give a remarkably clear picture of the fluctuations in building activity and of the mobility of labour on a big building operation in which the king took a direct and active interest, for which he provided reliable financial resources and to further which he issued commissions to press workmen and punish those leaving without licence. problems on which these Accounts throw an interesting light are those relating to holidays, to freemasons acting as setters, to the conditions of pressed labour and to the supply of masons' tools. On one matter hitherto very dark these records provide new information, namely, on the observance of the Feast of Quatuor Coronati. The circumstance makes it especially appropriate that the present paper on the building of Eton College should first be communicated to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. Williams, seconded by Bro. W. K. Firminger; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. G. W. Bullamore, C. F. Sykes and the Secretary.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said: -

This is not the least important of the series of papers investigating the economic side of the mason craft for which we are indebted to Bro. Knoop and his learned colleague.

Our thanks are due to both of them, and there is no doubt that future students will find their paths made easier by reason of the intelligently directed labours of the authors.

The paper is valuable because it is based upon authentic contemporary evidence, and because the footnotes show the precise authority for most of the statements in the text. The conscientious care taken to avoid anything approaching guesswork is everywhere evident.

The writers of the paper have recorded the various descriptions of workers and have arrived at the conclusion that several of the terms were interchangeable and that the same men sometimes acted as "hewers" and sometimes as "setters". This is what we might expect having regard to the City of London ordinances of 1356.

As to the observance of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati, the writers seem unduly diffident as to the significance of the reference in the Regius MS. They say that that MS. after setting out the legend of the Craft and the Customs of the masons devotes some 40 lines under the heading Ars Quatuor Coronatorum to the subject of the Four Crowned Martrys without any suggestion, however, that they were the patron saints of masons.

Surely the very existence of those 40 lines in such a context is much more than the suggestion now alleged to be lacking, and therefore when we find the Feast observed at Eton before 1453 and in London in 1481, the true inference is that English Masons were merely following a precedent indicated in the *Regius* MS. and which in all probability had been the vogue long previously.

Discussion. 111

In Grose and Astle's Antiquarian Repertory, vol. iii., pages 52-3, the following extract appears from the Parliament Rolls, vol. v., p. 112:—

Presented A.D. 1443, 23 Hen. VI.

and yat from the Fest of Ester unto Mighelmesse ye wages of any free mason [a later translation of the French "frank mason"] or Maister Carpenter excede not by the day iiiid with mete and drynk and without mete and drink vd ob [i.e., 5]d.].

A Maister Tyler Sclatter rough Mason and meen Carpenter and other Artificiers concernyng beldyng by the day iiid with mete and drynk and without mete and drynk iiiid ob $[i.e., 4\frac{1}{2}d.]$.

And from the Fest of Mighelmesse unto Ester a free mason and a Maister Carpenter by the day iiid with mete and drynk without mete and drink iiiid ob $[i.e., 4\frac{1}{4}d.]$.

Tyler, meen Carpenter, rough Mason and other artificiers aforesaid by the day iid ob with mete and drynk withoute mete and drink iiiid and every other Werkman and Laborer by the day 1d ob with mete and drynk and without mete and drink iiid and who that lasse deserveth to take lasse.

and that none Artificier, Werkeman ne laborer, take any thyng for eny halyday ne for no werkeday excepte after the rate of the tyme of the day in which he laboreth.

(There is a different translation in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. ii., 1377-1501, 23 Hen. VI., c. 12, p. 338, but the variations are merely verbal.)

The Statute was to operate from Michaelmas, 1446.

Reference to the Statute is made in Gould (i., 362), but it is not rendered with exactitude.

It is interesting in connection with the present paper because it enables us to compare the Wages ordained to come into operation in 1446 with those actually paid to the King's workmen at Eton in the period 1442-1460.

It also shows the wages stipulated by Statute for the various classes of workmen, e.g., Free Masons and Rough Masons.

Bro. W. K. FIRMINGER said:-

Speaking as one whose Masonic career has for the most part been spent in a land (India) in which opportunities for research in such fields as Bro. Knoop has laboured so productively have been very limited, I thank the reader of the paper for the rich mine of materials he was so generously making available. In a former paper Bro. Knoop gave us a picture of William Baker in 1539: "Ij times Ryding to the Downes to have certayne communication with master controller there concerning the law and custome of fire masons and hard hewers ". In a footnote to the paper he has read to-night he explains that he has translated latomi as 'masons' "because there is nothing in the context to show whether it is used in the narrower sense of hewers of freestone as contrasted with the hardhewers, or in the wider sense of hewers as in the expressions lathami vocati ffreemasons and lathomi vocati hardhewers." Probably even the most casual reader of A.Q.C. will see the importance of such points as these. What Bro. Knoop has to tell us about the observances of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati in the years between 1448 and 1453 is of great interest to the liturgiolist as well The earliest breviary to which Bro. Freke Gould could as to the freemason. appeal for the observance of that feast was a Spier breviary of 1477, but Bro. Knoop takes us back to Eton in 1453, and eleven years before the outbreak of the Civil War. Bro. Gould's authorities, at the time of his writing, appear to have been even then behind the advance of ecclesiological science. If the Worshipful Master will give me permission, and Bro. Knoop will accept my apologies for prescinding for a few moments from the subject of his paper. I would like to draw the attention of the Lodge to an Etonian who was in his day a very considerable Masonic worker. In the first vaults in the Ante Chapel at Eton, without any epitaph to mark the spot, repose the mortal remains of one who, if the event of Sedgemoor had favoured his father's arms, might have been King of England. The name of the proposer of the following resolution in Grand Lodge (21st November, 1724, Q.C.A., x., p. 59) deserves to be commemorated by the brethren wheresoever spread over land and water:—

"That in order to promote the Charitable Disposition of the Society of ffree Masons and render it more Extensive and beneficiall to the whole Body a Monthly Colleccion be made in Each Lodge according to the Quality and Number of the said Lodge and put into a Joynt Stock".

The passing of that resolution may surely be described as a historic event fraught with the happiest consequences to Masonry and the relief of those in distress. Incidentally, of course, it led on to a great step being taken towards the consolidation of the Masonic Society, for it involved the return to Grand Lodge of lists of members by the private Lodges, and it also provided a means of deciding whether or no, by long failure to pay dues, private Lodges had fallen into abeyance. The brother of whom I am speaking, after the death of his father and during the lifetime of his famous mother, Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, was styled Earl of Dalkeith, and it was under that title he was nominated Grand Master at that stormy meeting, June 24th, 1723, from which the Duke of Wharton withdrew in so unceremonious a manner. He was succeeded in the Chair of Grand Lodge by his cousin, the second Duke of Richmond. On the 6th February, 1732, he succeeded to the rank of Duke of Buccleuch, an honour which, being his grandmother's by right, had not been forfeited by the attainder of his father, the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth. He died 22nd April, 1751, having outlived both By his own request, Bro. B. W. Harvey tells me, his body was buried beside that of his younger brother, the Hon. Henry Scott, a scholar of Eton, who was buried in that vault on March 9th, 1716. I apologise for this digression, but while we are talking of the building of Eton, it was perhaps not unpardonable to recall the memory of one who raised the corner stone of benevolence in the building up of our Grand Lodge of England.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:-

The interchangeability of the term ffremasons with other terms I believe to be more apparent than real, for although the freemasons were lathomi, the lathomi were not necessarily freemasons. The decision of A.D. 1356 concerning the dispute between the hewers and the layers and setters swept away all barriers, and the layers acting as lathomi did not thereby become freemasons. The freemasons would act as setters because the setters were highly paid, but the Old Charges show that they looked down upon the layer, so that the freemason and layer is an unlikely combination.

These documents show that as a class the Freemasons were only present in the early years when the work of stone preparation was in progress. After the term is dropped we get an almost complete change of staff, and finally the classification becomes cementarii, positores, cubatores. The warden is changed, and the hitherto neglected Feast of the Quatnor Coronati becomes a holiday. The

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explanation is that the Freemasons having nearly all departed, the layers and setters, who were under the protection of the Quatuor Coronati, became predominant. The presence of the *cubatores* or bedders would be due to the necessity to re-bed the second-hand material. Ordinarily this was done at the quarries. Thomas Boile, *cubator* and *cementarius* in 1453, I regard as a bedder and layer. Although described as a Freemason in this paper, there is not the slightest evidence that he was one of what Bro. Gould described as "the upper ten".

Skilled workmen seldom work single-handed. It is customary to have an assistant or "mate" receiving a lower wage. Owing to the weight of material, such an assistant would often be a necessity for a skilled mason, and at minor works he probably supplied his own man. Travelling together, therefore, would be an advantage to the mason and his mate when seeking employment, and I suggest that this is the explanation of workmen arriving and departing in pairs, the individuals of which were graded at different rates of pay.

Bro. C. F. Sykes writes:-

Bro. Knoop's and his collaborator's latest study in the History of Operative Masonry is a most valuable piece of work. I add my sincere thanks to them for an illuminating paper, one which does enlighten our knowledge of mediæval working conditions. I especially thank them for the excellent graphs and tables with which the paper is illustrated.

The period of greatest activity coincides with that during which the Earl of Suffolk was most prominent in the King's Council. His power began to fade at the close of 1449, and in the next year he was impeached, banished and subsequently murdered. After the fall of Suffolk, with the exception of the period 1452-3, when much material accumulated, work slowed down considerably. It would thus appear that the loss of Suffolk gravely affected building operations at Eton, and before they could recover, Civil War broke out, and had not ceased by the time the Eton records terminate.

The very heavy cost of transport is brought out in the figures quoted relative to stone obtained from Huddlestone. In 1448-9 a unit of stone costing from 10d. to 1s. at the quarry, increased in value to from 7s. 2d. to 7s. 4d. by the time it reached the building site. In 1453-4 transport was even more costly, a unit at the quarry costing 1s. 4d., increased in value to 9s. 4d. on arrival at Eton.

Similarly stone from Caen increased in value by 5s. 4d., and that from Taynton by 5s. per unit. Regarding the latter, the cost by barge from Henley to Eton at 1s. per unit appears to be high compared with that from London to Eton at 1s. 4d. per unit.

I like what I may term the human touches in the paper. The chart showing the continuity of employment of Freemasons 1642-60 presents the careers of nearly 300 individuals who worked for long or short periods. We see them come and go, can, perhaps, distinguish their varying abilities and picture the changing nature of activity on the building. Then the items concerning workmen arriving late, leaving without permission, Edmund Knight slipping away at 11 o'clock on Saturday, Richard Spenser and Richard Lylly stripping out to settle their differences in the time honoured fashion, all yield additional pleasure to reading the paper, even though the results of these actions did not add much joy to the delinquents on the subsequent pay day.

We read that in 1459-60 John Perrison de Medilbourgh in Selandia 'Ducheman et Schipman', brought stone to London, and there comes into view the Dutch ship with its foreign captain and crew, and we hear a strange tongue on Cawood quay.

This reconstruction of the scene and the revivifying of the working operations are accomplishments which render the writers of the paper worthy of any bouquets we can offer them.

Bro. Knoop writes, in reply, on behalf of G. P. Jones and himself:-

We wish to offer our cordial thanks to those Brethren who prepared comments on the paper, the more so because we realise that it is not the type of paper which lends itself readily to discussion. We ourselves are probably in the best position to make comments, as, since the paper was read in Lodge some three vears ago, we have had opportunities (thanks partly to the generous assistance given by the Leverhulme Trustees) to examine various MSS. in London and Oxford, and thus to amplify some of the matters raised in the paper. Regarding impressment of masons, we have been able to make an intensive study of the problems at Windsor Castle in 1360-63, based on the building accounts, some Sheriff's expenses and numerous orders and commissions to take masons, the results of which are embodied in an article in the forthcoming issue of Economic In what concerns the Quatuor Coronati, we have discussed the subject at some length in the introduction to an edition of the Regius and Cooke MSS. which we are preparing with our colleague, Douglas Hamer, and which is shortly to appear under the title The Two Earliest Masonic MSS. We have given further attention to masons' tools, and have embodied our conclusions in The Mediæval Mason. In that book, we have also examined in much greater detail the numerous words used in the Middle Ages to designate 'mason'. In all these cases we have left our original text unaltered and do not think that there would be any advantage in re-stating our present views here. On the other hand, where we have been successful in tracing some Eton masons, at Canterbury, at Windsor and at Oxford, we have incorporated the information in this paper. We have also, by the courtesy of the Provost of Eton College, been able to reproduce a photograph of the page in the wage register of 1453, which first shows the observance of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati as a holiday.

ERRATA.

Page 73 line 1: for septimania read septimana. Page 74 line 2: for deliver read delivered.

Page 92 line 5: for estiva read estino.

FRIDAY, 5th MAY, 1933.



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; W. J. Williams, I.P.M.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M., as J.W.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; 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.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.G.; F. W.

Golby, P.A.G.D.C., Stew.; and S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, Stew.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. R. Stansfield, W. A. Congdon, R. A. Wall, T. E. Rees, G. Y. Johnson, G. W. South, H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., C. F. Sykes, L. G. Wearing, Geo. Sarginson, Wm. Lewis, Ismay Drage, J. S. Charters, S. Battye, S. Mather Jones, Albert Thompson, S. A. V. Wood, E. S. Ladds, Geo. C. Williams, H. Johnson, F. Fighiera, P.G.D., F. A. Greene, G. D. Hindley, A. F. Ford, A. E. Gurney, J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., Thos. H. Wheen, R. Girdlestone Cooper, A. B. Starling, E. Eyles, H. W. Martin, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.Purs., F. Morfee Walsh, A. E. W. Hare, S. S. Huskisson, Lewis Edwards, Geo. F. Shaw, T. F. Hurley, T. Simpson Pedler, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, H. G. Gold, R. Wheatley, E. W. Marson, Cecil Powney, P.G.D., H. Fletcher Moulton, P.G.D., F. W. Davy, P.A.G.Reg., and B. Ivanoff.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. H. C. Taylor, Lodge of Faith No. 141; and F. A. Pinfold, S.W., Earl of Sussex Lodge No. 2201.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. D. Knoop, M.A., S.D.; J. Stokes, M.A., P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; B. Telepneff, S.W.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; George Norman, M.D., P.G.D., P.M.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., J.D.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.

Two Lodges and Forty-two Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following members of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. W. L. Wade-Dalton, Junior Grand Deacon; C. J. Parsons, Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; J. A. Floyd, Assistant Grand Pursuivant; Sir T. Harris Spencer, Past Grand Deacon; O. Leo. Thomson, William N. Bacon, Hubert C. Bristowe, Maurice G. Chant, L. M. Douglas, Trevor Evans, W. E. Gilliland, N. T. Jungalwala, Edwin H. Middlebrook, J. M. Rowbotham, W. J. Shand-Smith, J. E. A. Sorrell, and Ernest C. S. Stow, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; E. J. Barrett, W. C. Hartley, D. T. James, W. Lyall, and J. Sworder, Past Grand Standard Bearers; and H. Chown and L. H. Strouts, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearers.

The Secretary drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS: -

By Bro, Lewis Edwards.

A large coloured print: The Oriental Guide, containing three groups of Biblical and other scenes with Masonic reference, and various emblems, etc.

By Bro. E. Eyles, by permission of the Master of No. 167.

A set of eleven Officer's Jewels, the property of St. John's Lodge, No. 167. Those of the Master, I.P.M., Treasurer and Secretary of special design, probably pre-Union. The Deacons, dated 1821, as also the Tyler. The others of later dates.

By Bro. S. J. FENTON.

Apron. White linen, shield shaped with blue border. Flap with squared sides and a silver tassel. No emblems. Probably not Masonic.'

By the Secretary.

Apron; orange borders, etc. Probably Dutch Constitution.

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

Bro. W. Ivor Grantham read the following paper: -

THE ATTEMPTED INCORPORATION OF THE MODERNS.

BY BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM.



ROTHER GILBERT W. DAYNES at the time of his death in 1931 was engaged in the collection of material for a number of Papers intended for communication to this Lodge. The manuscript notes of our late Brother were fortunately preserved and passed into the hands of our Secretary who, shortly afterwards, entrusted to me that portion of them which related to the subject-matter of this Paper with the suggestion that I should endeavour to complete that which Brother Daynes had

commenced. To this request I gladly acceded, and now offer for your consideration the result of my labours. In the collection of material for this Paper I have been much helped by Brother G. Y. Johnson, P.P.G.W., of York, who has kindly placed at my disposal the transcript of many relevant documents made by the late Brother W. R. Makins, for some years Assistant Librarian to Grand Lodge, who also was engaged at one time on the preparation of a Paper on the subject of the proposed Incorporation. Credit for the Paper now communicated to this Lodge is therefore due in large measure to these Brethren; its many imperfections are entirely mine.

In 1767 Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, was elected Grand Master of the original, but so-called Modern, Grand Lodge of England. In the year following his election the Duke of Beaufort initiated his scheme for the incorporation of the Society of which he was Grand Master. His proposal at the outset met with the general approval of Grand Lodge; but within a very short time a sharp difference of opinion arose as to the propriety of the Grand Master's project, and one Lodge even went so far as to enter a formal cavent against further proceedings in the matter. Thereafter, for a period extending over several years, argument on the subject was keen, special meetings were convened by both promoters and opposers, and each party set out its arguments in print. Ultimately the original proposal, which was for incorporation by Royal Charter, was dropped; and in the month of February, 1772, a Parliamentary Bill for the incorporation of the Society was introduced into the Lower House, where the measure was accorded a first and second reading. On April 1st, however-an ill-chosen dateon a motion for the third reading, the House of Commons delivered a coup-degrace, the Bill expired, and within five weeks the Duke of Beaufort had retired from the position of Grand Master in favour of Lord Petre.

Such in outline are the events which now claim consideration. The purpose of the present Paper will be to record the principal contemporary references to the subject, to trace the steps taken by each party to the dispute, to give the text of the proposed Royal Charter and of the Parliamentary Bill, to indicate what would appear to have been the reasons or motives which actuated the contending parties, and to consider the proposed Incorporation from its legal aspect.

Although mainly concerned with the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, the present enquiry may conveniently commence with a brief glance at the Masonic situation in England in and around the year 1767.

By this time the Antients were firmly established, and competition between the rival Grand Lodges was keen. In the previous year (1766) the Hon: Thomas Matthew, Provincial Grand Master of Munster, had succeeded the Earl of Kelly as Grand Master of the Antients, but the moving spirit of this organisation was undoubtedly Laurence Dermott, who for the first eighteen years of its existence acted as Grand Secretary, and subsequently on two separate occasions became Deputy Grand Master.

In the older, yet so-called *Modern*, Grand Lodge the year 1766 was marked by the initiation of Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York and Gloucester during the Grand Mastership of Lord Blayney, who in the following year was succeeded in the presidency by Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort. At this period Spencer was Grand Secretary of the *Moderns*, and Thomas Dunckerley, later to acquire a remarkable number of Masonic appointments, was Provincial Grand Master of Hampshire.

On his election as Grand Master of the *Moderns* in 1767 the Duke of Beaufort re-appointed to the office of Deputy Grand Master Colonel John Salter, who had served in that capacity during the whole of the Grand Mastership of Lord Blayney. A year later, however, the Duke of Beaufort created a mild sensation by superseding his Deputy—without previous intimation to Colonel Salter, if credence may be given to the account of the proceedings published in the Appendix to the unauthorised 1769 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. This account, constituting as it does the principal contemporary reference to the earlier stages of the subject-matter of the present enquiry, deserves to be given in full:—

At the Assembly and Feast, held at Merchant Taylors-Hall. in 1768, after a most elegant Entertainment provided by the Stewards, his Grace, Henry Duke of Beaufort, was requested to continue the Favour of presiding over them as Grand Master for the Year ensuing; which he graciously condescending to do, was proclaimed as such amidst the joyful Acclamations of the Brethren, and on being again invested with the Master's Jewel, and installed in Solomon's Chair, he appointed the Honourable Charles Dillon, Esq: to be his Deputy; also nominated Rowland Holt, Esq: to be Senior Grand Warden, Mr. Henry Jaffray, Junior Grand Warden, and continued the other Offices to the Brethren who were in Possession of them before the Election.

The Appointment of the Honourable Mr. Dillon to be Deputy Grand Master gave some Disgust, not only to Colonel Salter (by being done without any previous Intimation to him, who had so long filled that important Post with such distinguished Honour to himself, as well as Advantage to the Craft in general) but to many of the Brethren present, who taking into Consideration the said Nomination, and conceiving it as tending to be productive of disadvantageous Effects, drew up a Memorial in consequence thereof, which they presented to his Grace. In this Memorial they humbly represented their Fears that the Craft would suffer great Inconveniencies from being deprived of so able a Director, and prayed that his Grace would recall that Appointment, and confer it on Colonel Salter. But it being observed, on behalf of the Grand Master, by several of the past Grand Officers, That as it had been Time out of Mind the Custom, and was undoubtedly consistent with Reason, that the Grand Master should, without the least Controll, appoint whom he thought proper to be his Representative, the said Nomination was acquiesced with.

However well judged, at the Time of the Appointment, the Brethren's Fears of the Capacity of the Honourable Mr. Dillon might be, his manly and spirited Behaviour in the executive Parts of his Office since have removed every Chimera that the most suspicious Mind could form.

At the Committee of Charity held at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, on Tuesday the 26th of February, 1769, previous to the Quarterly Communication at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, on the Friday following, it was declared by the Honourable Mr. Dillon. That his Grace the Duke of Beaufort proposed to petition his Majesty for a Charter of Incorporation in Favour of Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of England; but the particular Circumstances under which such Incorporation should be founded not being either generally known, nor clearly understood, occasioned much Altercation; as it did also when reported to the Grand Lodge assembled in Quarterly Communication. In order therefore to remove all Doubts, and that every Lodge might have an Opportunity maturely to consider the said Charter of Incorporation, the Honourable Mr. Dillon, by Command of the Grand Master, promised that a Copy of the said intended Charter should be sent to every Lodge under the immediate Government of the Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons, together with two printed Notes, one implying an Assent, the other a Dissent, in order to have one of them signed by the Master and Wardens, and witnessed by the Secretary, of each respective Lodge, agreeably to each Lodge's Determination. In consequence of which proceeding there were sent up to the Grand Secretary the Approbation of One Hundred and Sixty-eight Lodges, and the Disapprobation of only Fortythree.

In the Quarterly Communication, in ample Form, held by his Grace,, Henry Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, with the rest of the Grand Officers, and a numerous Body of Masters and Wardens from the various Lodges, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, on Friday, April the 28th, 1769, after the Minutes of the Committee of Charity, held at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, the Tuesday preceding, were read and confirmed, the Object of Incorporation was again taken into Consideration, and after being strongly debated, the Questions were put, when a very great Majority appeared in Favour of the Incorporation.

After the Business of the Grand Lodge was gone through, but before it was closed, his Grace the Duke of Beaufort was put in Nomination by the Honourable Mr. Dillon to be Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons for the ensuing Year; which Motion was joyfully received, and universally approved of, as it would give his Grace an Opportunity to carry into Execution those great and noble Designs which he has so generously adopted for the Good of Masons in Masonry.

(Text of the proposed Charter, to be given presently in full.)

The above Copy of a Charter being, as before observed, sent to the Members of every Lodge for their Perusal and Consultation, removed all Ideas of Fear that had arose, lest any Innovations should be made in the Polity of a Society that had for so many Ages stood distinguished for Secrecy, Morality and Good Fellowship.

When this Charter therefore shall receive the Royal Sanction, it is to be hoped the several well-intentioned Schemes now in Embryo, will be carried into Execution, and that the good Intentions of many Brethren (who have been hitherto with-held from the want of such an Incorporation to validate their good Designs) will then shine forth with Lustre, and demonstrate to the World in general, but to the Craft in particular, that they not only profess, but exercise, the truly noble Principles of Brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth, Principles that ever did, and ever must produce those salutory Effects that are pregnant with relieving the Distressed, and removing the ghastly Aspects of Misery and Want from their Abode, by either contributing to their immediate Assistance, and so enable them to

amend their Circumstances in Life; or if that be impossible, to place them in some comfortable Asylum, that may shelter them from the dreary Horrors of spending their latter Days in absolute Penury and Want.

To the Aged only let not these benevolent Ideas be confined, but extend them even to young *Lewisses* that stand in need of such a Protection, as their several Conditions and Circumstances shall demand. Actions of such an elevated Nature cannot fail of having the Sanction of every rational Mason, nor can the Plan proposed for the support of such, it is presumed, be supported with any Arguments to destroy the Execution.

There is nothing in the above narrative to suggest that the Duke of Beaufort's design to have the Society incorporated was anything but original; and yet the question of incorporation had been raised several years previously by Earl Ferrers, Grand Master 1762-63. This fact is revealed by a publication bearing the following title-page:—

AN ADDRESS

To the respective Bodies of Free and Accepted Masons,

as delivered

At the Stewards Lodge, held at the Horn Tavern, Fleet-street, London, the 16th of November, 1763, (Being Election and Installation Night),

By THOMAS EDMONDES, Esq:

One of the Grand-Wardens to the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Earl FERRERS, Grand-Master.

To which is added,

His CHARGE to the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Lord BLAYNEY, present GRAND MASTER, on his being appointed Master of the New Lodge, at the Horn-Tavern, Westminster, constituted in due Form, by THOMAS EDMONDES, who then acted as DEPUTY GRAND MASTER.

LONDON:

Printed for S. Hooper, Bookseller, in the Strand, and sold by all Booksellers. MDCCLXVI.

(Price One Shilling and Sixpence.)

On page 35 of this publication will be found this passage:—

. . . our ever-memorable grand master, Earl Ferrers, . . . proposes to set on foot the best approved plan to erect a proper building for the accomodation of the grand convocation, and grand lodges aforesaid, together with spacious rooms for a growing library, and school, for the qualifying and finishing twelve boys, sons of poor Masons, in the knowledge of some of the arts and sciences best adapted to their respective geniuses, in order to be put out in the world; . . . and I have the honour to inform you that our most worthy grand master Earl Ferrers, proposes to endow the scholastic part of the foundation with an annual perpetuity of 50 l. as a beginning, to defray the expence of the school; and that as soon as a freehold spot of ground, or convenient building can be bought for the purpose, he will, at his own expence, use his utmost endeavours to get a charter, to make us a

body corporate, and fix the foundation of the building, with its appurtenances, for ever in the grand officers for the time being, appropriated to the sole use and benefit of the Free and Accepted Masons, until this, with all the gorgeous palaces on earth, nay, the globe itself, be dissolved in the general crush. . . .

Here is a clear indication that several years before the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Beaufort the heads of the Craft contemplated the incomporation of the Society, the erection of a Hall and administrative offices, and the establishment of a School for Boys.

In view of the close connection to be traced between these various proposals, it will be necessary in what follows to devote a certain amount of space to matters which might, to some readers, appear to be foreign to the subject of the proposed incorporation. The record of subsequent events will, however, demonstrate the impossibility of eliminating all reference to these subsidiary questions.

The first public announcement of the Duke of Beaufort's intention to have the Society incorporated was made by the Deputy Grand Master at a meeting of the Committee of Charity held at the Horn Tavern, Fleet Street, on Friday, October 21st, 1768, when eighty-four Lodges were represented. The relevant Minute is as follows:—

Present

The Honble. & Most Worshipful-	
Charles Dillon, D.G.M.	as G.M.
Rowland Holt Esqr. S.G.W.	as D.G.M.
Henry Jaffray Esqr. J.G.W.	as S.G.W.
Henry Jaffray Esq ^r , J.G.W.	as S.G.W.
Thos. Dunckerly Esqr. P.G.M.	as J.G.W.
Rowland Berkeley Esqr.	G.T.
Thos. French	G.S.
Peter Edwards P.S.G.W.	

The Lodge was opened in due form.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort having appointed Bror. Thomas French to succeed Bror. Spencer deceased the Most Worshipful Grand Master in the Chair invested him with the ensigns of his Office as Grand Secretary.

The Most Worshipful Grand Master in the Chair then informed the Brethren that his Grace the Duke of Beaufort out of an ardent zeal and sincere regard for our noble Institution, and ever attentive to increase the harmony and promote the prosperity thereof, was resolved to have the Society incorporated, as well to add to its Ancient dignity and lustre, as to establish its incomparable laws on a firm, solid, and permanent basis.

And, as the immediate execution of a plan of so great and important a consequence to the honor, credit, and reputation of the Craft, cannot fail to be agreeably received, and earnestly desired, by every good and faithful Mason, he proposed, that the Brethren present should immediately take into serious consideration, the most effectual means to raise a fund, for defraying the expence of Building a Hall, and purchasing Jewels, Furniture &c for the Grand Lodge. But as the business had already advanced too far on the evening, his Worship was pleased to adjourn the Committee till Monday next at half past Six in the Evening.

The Lodge was closed in due form.

The adjourned meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, where there were present the representatives of forty-five Lodges presided over by:—

The Hon Charles Dillon D.G.M.	as G.M.
Rowland Holt Esqr. S.G.W.	as D.G.M.
Henry Jaffray J.G.W.	as S.G.W.
Rigg Esqr. R.W.M. of No. 1	as J.G.W.
Rowland Berkeley	G.T.
Thomas French	G.S.

The Lodge was opened in due form.

The Most Worshipful Grand Master in the Chair addressed the Committee on the subject of his Grace the Duke of Beufort's kind intentions towards the Society and presented them with a scheme which he had ordered to be printed for their perusal to raise a fund for erecting a Hall and purchasing Jewels, Furniture &c for the Grand Lodge independent of the General Fund of Charity.

He earnestly recommended the Brethren to make what ever alterations they should think necessary that every measure might be forwarded to carry into immediate execution the excellent plan his Grace had proposed.

The Scheme being carefully examined several alterations and amendments were made, and the following unanimously agreed to be recommended to the Quarterly Communication for Confirmation.

1st. Every Grand Officer to contribute annually, in proportion to the dignity of his Office, not less than the following sums

Grand Master	20	0	0	ì	
Dep ^y . Grand Master	5	5	0		
Senr. Grand Warden	3	3	0	1	
Jun ^r . Grand Warden	2	2	0	37 17	0
Grand Treasurer	3	3	0		
Grand Secretary	3	3	0		
Grand Sword Bearer	1	1	0	J	

- 2d. Every provincial Grand Master pays One Guinea to the Secretary for registering his name and half a Guinea for drawing out his deputation on parchment which fees (if the Secry, and his Deputy have a salary) will go to this fund, and supposing six nominations in one Year will raise £9-9-0.
- 3d. Every provincial Grand Master who chuses to have his patent curiously drawn with the usual embellishments on Vellum to pay five Guineas which supposing 2 Yearly will raise £10-10-0.
- 4th. Every Lodge constituted pays one Guinea to the Secretary for being registered, and half a Guinea for drawing their Constitution on parchment, which supposing Twenty annually will raise 31-10-0.
- 5th. Every Constitution drawn with the usual embellishments on Vellum, at five Guineas each which, supposing three annually 15-15-0.
- 6th. Every new made Brother at his admission to pay a sum not less than two Shillings and sixpence for registering his name which as there are above 390 contributing Lodges, and supposing 350 to make, on an average Ten Masons annually will raise 437-10-0.
- 7th. No present member of any Lodge to be affected by this charge unless he joins another; then he is to pay two Shillings and six pence for having his name registered as member of every such Lodge which at a moderate computation will produce annually £100-0-0.
- 8th. Every Lodge to pay the sum of two Shillings and six pence for every Mason thay shall hereafter make, when such Bror. is registered which will produce annually £437-10-0.

9th. As there are many Cases according to the Constitutions wherein particular Lodges cannot act without a special power from the Grand Master, an annual dispensation will be granted in all such circumstances as are prescribed by our laws, excepting funerals and other publick exhibitions, or making Masons under age, to every Lodge within the Bills of Mortality at half a Guinea each, to every Lodge in the Country or abroad at a Quarter Guinea each.

100 within the Bills of Mortality will produce 200 in the Country or abroad 52-10-0 105-0-0

rejected

- 10th. Every Old Lodge which has lost its Warrant, except the two oldest Lodges to pay One Guinea for a new Patent which shall bear date from the time they were constituted. This will raise to this fund £105-0-0.
- 11th. A Book to be open in every Lodge for the voluntary Contributions of the members, to be applied to the purposes of the Grand Lodge.

Sum Total on an average, exclusive of Voluntary Subscriptions £1290-1-0.

By this Scheme the General Fund of Charity will be greatly augmented as the salaries, with every other expence will be defrayed out of this Fund.

All Business being over the Lodge was closed in due form.

On Friday, October 28th, 1768, this Scheme was sanctioned by Grand Lodge, subject to the deletion of Clause 10—an amendment to which may be attributed the marginal note subsequently inserted in the Minute Book of the Committee of Charity.

The relevant Grand Lodge Minute reads:-

The Hon^{ble}, and Right Worshipful CHARLES DILLON, D.G.M., having acquainted the Brethren at the last C.C. with his Grace the Duke of Beaufort's Intentions to have the Society incorporated, and also represented to them the Advantages that would result from the Accomplishment of so great a Design, proposed, previous thereto, that the Committee should take into its serious Consideration the most effectual Means for raising a Fund to build a HALL and purchase Jewels, Furniture, &c. for the Grand Lodge independent of the General Fund of Charity and at the same time recommended a Plan to their Perusal to which several Amendments were made and the following Resolutions agreed to, were referred to this Communication and unanimously Confirmed.

Here follow, in the original entry, the first nine and the last of the eleven financial proposals submitted by the Committee of Charity.

Amongst other allusions in the Press to these projected schemes, the following may here be quoted:—

The Public Advertiser

(London)-October 31st, 1768.

On Friday Evening a grand Meeting of the Free Masons was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, when 300 l. were collected for the purposes of Charity, and it was agreed to build a Hall for the Use of the Society, and likewise a Number of Almshouses for the Accommodation of decayed Masons having large Families.

The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser (London)—November 10th, 1768.

We hear his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, has given a piece of ground at St. Mary le Bone, whereupon to erect an Hospital for the sick and lame members of the fraternity, and another for the aged and infirm; as also a school for the children and orphans of decayed brethren.

The Newcastle Journal

(Newcastle)-November 26th, 1768.

We are credibly informed, that the English Society of Free and accepted Masons, intend to apply for a Charter to make themselves a legal body corporate, in order to annihilate the Society who stile themselves Antient Free Masons, on account of the disgrace they have brought on Freemasonry, by indiscriminately admitting every one into it who can pay their fees, let their character be ever so infamous.

The motive imputed to the Moderns in this last paragraph deserves to be noted.

Thomas French, appointed Grand Secretary in October, 1768, was soon engaged in heavy correspondence, as may be seen by perusing the Letter Book of this period. Following upon the meeting of Grand Lodge on October 28th, he addressed the Grand Master in these terms:—

May it please your Grace

The Grand Lodge of the Antient & Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons under your Grace's authority and protection in Quarterly Communication assembled, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand on Friday the 28th day of October 1768 unanimously resolved that their thanks be given to your Grace for the honour of your patronage and the particular regard you have professed for the Society by Our Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master, which they will ever remember with the deepest sense of gratitude, and assure your Grace that their utmost endeavours will ever be exerted to preserve the harmony of the Craft, and to support you in every measure that can bring honour, credit, and reputation to the Society.

I have the honour to subscribe myself with the most dutiful respect, May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most Obedt. & Humle. Servt.

THO. FRENCH, G.S.

To this letter of thanks a somewhat tardy acknowledgment was accorded on February 11th, 1769:—

Grosvenor Square

Sir,

Feby. 11 1769.

I received yours (with a message from the Grand Lodge held the 28th day of October 1768) and beg you will at the next Quarterly Communication present my best Compliments to the Grand Lodge, and assure them that their approbation of my conduct in Masonry makes me extremely happy; that what was proposed to them by Brother Dillon was meant by me for the good of the Society: and as they have received it as such it gives me the highest satisfaction.

I desire you will return them very sincere thanks for their ready reception of this most useful and beneficial plan and for the general support they have already given it. I hope they will continue to act with unanimity and cordiality the true characteristics of good masons, that we may, with greater speed and ease bring this matter to a happy conclusion. No endeavours on my part shall be wanting to accomplish it.

I am. Sir,

Your and their most affectie. Brother and Well-wisher,

BEAUFORT, G.M.

P.S.

I take this opportunity of desiring you to return my sincere thanks to those Masters of Lodges who so cordially promised to support me and the Grand Officers in the measures necessary to be taken to bring this plan to perfection.

This reply is phrased in a way which suggests that the Grand Master was not unaware of the opposition which was already manifesting itself. But before the nature of this opposition is indicated, further letters written by the Grand Secretary during the closing months of 1768 must be quoted:—

Brother French to Brother Banks.

To the Right Worthy and Worshipful Master, Wardens and Brethren of the Eighth Lodge

at Calcutta-Greeting

Dillon are resolved to have the Society Incorporated as well to add to its dignity as to establish its Laws; and the Grand Lodge have unanimously confirmed the inclosed scheme previous to the execution of that excellent plan, which we have every reason to believe will be agreeably received by you.

New Bond Street

THOS. FRENCH G.S.

London 31 Oct. 1768.

Brother French to Brother Middleton, P.G.M. Bengal.

Right Worthy Brother,

. . . I have the pleasure to inform you that his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, and the Hon^{ble}. Charles Dillon our Deputy Grand Master, ever zealous to promote the prosperity of the Craft, are resolved to have the Society incorporated; as well to revive its antient lustre, as to establish its incomparable Laws on a permanent foundation.

The inclosed Resolution of the Grand Lodge assembled in Quarterly Communication, are recommended to you by his Grace, who hopes the excellent plan proposed will meet with the favourable approbation of all our worthy Brethren in India.

I have the honour to be, with all due respect

Right Worshipful, Your most affectionate Brother

and most obliged Humble Servant

New Bond Street

THOS. FRENCH G.S.

London 31 Oct. 1768.

By order of the D.G.M.

Reference to the contemporary Letter Books preserved in the Grand Lodge Library reveal the text of similar letters addressed to

Brother Price

Boston,

Brother Griffin

Mother Lodge, St. Kitts,

Brother Errington

Barbados.

Brother Trotter

Darlington.

The letter addressed to Brother Trotter at Darlington contains an expression of hope

that the Brethren of your Lodge will pay a proper regard to our Regulations.

The date of this letter is November 28th, 1768.

Owing to the scarcity of contemporary Minutes, it is difficult to gauge accurately the nature of the reception accorded by Lodges to the Grand Master's financial and other proposals. The Grand Secretary must indeed have been gratified by the receipt of a letter couched in these terms:—

Whitehaven

Worthy Brother,

25 Nov. 1768

As our most noble Grand Master His Grace the Duke of Beaufort's intentions are to have the Society incorporated, and supposing the advantages resulting therefrom will answer the end proposed, we do more gladly concur-

with the same or any other measure that the Grand Lodge shall at any time think proper to enter into for promoting the interest of this our most Antient and honourable Society.

HENRY ELLISON

JOHN HARRIMAN

ROB¹. SANDEMAN

Master

Wardens

The New Year (1769) was destined to bring trouble to those in authority, for on January 2nd, at a regular meeting of the Caledonian Lodge No. 325, a resolution was passed authorising a Memorial against the proposed incorporation of the Society to be presented at the next Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge. This Memorial (shortly to be given verbatim) was prepared with obvious care, and contained reasoned arguments against the project. Other Memorials against the proposal were prepared by the St. Alban's Lodge (then No. 26), the Stewards Lodge (then No. 70), and the Royal Lodge (then No. 313). The text of these last three Memorials unfortunately cannot be traced, but they would all appear to have been presented to Grand Lodge at or before the meeting held on February 28th, 1769.

Intimation of this growing opposition must have reached the ears of those at headquarters, because on January 25th there appeared in the London Newspapers (The Public Advertiser and The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, to mention but two in which the announcement can be seen) a peremptory notice calling upon all Masters of Lodges to attend a meeting on the very next day. This was the form of the notice:—

FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS Under the Constitution of England

The Masters of all regular Lodges are requested to meet the GRAND MASTER, at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, To-morrow, the 26th instant, at seven in the evening on special affairs.

T.F. Grand Secretary.

Of the business transacted at this meeting of the Craft, called at such short notice, there would appear to be no official record. For an account of what transpired other sources of information must be searched.

The Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity contain this entry:-

1769 February 1.

The R.W.M. informed us that in consequence of an Advertizem^t. he had attended a Meeting of the Grand Officers and of the Masters of a great number of Lodges convened at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street the 26th. Ult⁵. When the D.G.M. in the Chair informed them that in Consequence of a previous proposition some Steps had been taken for obtain^g, a Charter for the Incorporation of the Society, but that he wished to know the Sence of the Members in Gen¹, before it was fur^r, proceeded in. And the R.W.M. fur^r, informed us that at such Meeting it was agreed to send a Letter to the Grand Ma^r, thanking his Grace for the Great Regard he show'd to the Society, and desiring he wo^d, lay before them a Draft of the intended Charter for their Approbation.

A very different account of the proceedings at this gathering is to be found in the printed "Case of the Caledonian Lodge," which was later freely circulated. This publication, which deserves to be set out in full, is the first of the contemporary records to mention the Caveat stated to have been entered in the Office of the Attorney-General by certain members of the Caledonian Lodge.

All efforts to trace this Caveat have so far failed. The Law Officers' Department of the Royal Courts of Justice, created in 1893, contains no records of earlier date than 1856. Prior to the formation of this Department the Law Officers carried on their official duties at their private chambers in the Temple, and it was apparently the custom for the outgoing Law Officer to hand to his successor such official papers as remained in his possession. As a result of this arrangement many documents of historical value to posterity must assuredly have been mislaid, or possibly even destroyed—amongst them, perhaps, the very document referred to above.

At the Public Record Office a Caveat Book is preserved, which covers a period of more than a century (1689-1791); but the object of our search is not in this volume, nor is it to be found amongst the unbound Papers of the Privy Council or in either of the two undermentioned volumes of the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series, Home Office Papers)—1766-1769 and 1770-1772.

A reference to the Caveat in question may, however, be seen in the Privy Council Register, Volume 6, Geo. III., at page 439, where the following entry occurs:—

At the Council Chamber Whitehall the 7th day of February 1769 PRESENT

Lord President
Duke of Grafton
Earl of Hillsborough

Viscount Weymouth

Lord North

Sir Edward Hawke

This Day M^r. Beardmore in Wallbrooke entered a Caveat against any Petition for a Charter for the Free and Accepted Masons.

At the request of the present writer the Clerk to the Privy Council with his accustomed courtesy caused a search to be made amongst the records remaining at the Privy Council Offices, but no trace could be found of any document relating to the subject of this enquiry. To the Clerk is due the discovery of the entry in the Register, quoted above.

The voluminous Case of the Caledonian Lodge read as follows: -

CASE

of the

CALEDONIAN LODGE

of

FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS

No. 325

Held at the HALF-MOON Tayern. CHEAPSIDE.

The Master and Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, on receiving the Grand Secretary's letter, dated the 18th of November last, with a copy of the New Regulations, and likewise a letter from the Honourable Mr. D - - - - , Deputy Grand Master, dated the 16th of the said month, appointing Brother J. H. Maskall their Provincial Grand Master, and ordering them to receive him as such, came unanimously to the resolution to make some humble remonstrances against these new measures; accordingly a memorial was drawn up, read in open Lodge at their monthly meeting the 2d. of January last, unanimously approved of, signed by all the present members, and ordered to be presented to the Most Noble GRAND MASTER and Brethren in Quarterly Communication assembled: The like Memorials, or to the same effect, were then prepared by many other respectable Lodges, expecting the Quarterly Communication, according to custom, to be near at hand.

Some time after, an advertisement appeared in the public papers, signed T.F. requesting all Masters of regular Lodges to meet the GRAND MASTER on the 26th of January, at six o'clock in the evening, at the Horn Tavern, Fleet Street; in obedience to which the Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, among others, duly attended the said meeting.

The Honourable Mr. D - - - -, as Deputy Grand Master, in the Chair, begun the business of that night with reading to the Brethren a long memorial, in support of the new measures and Incorporation, expressing his surprise to hear of an opposition intended to be made against the New Regulations and Incorporation, and reflecting very severely on some particular Brethren, members of the Grand Lodge, partly by name, and partly by description pointed at in the said memorial.—Proper notice being taken of the impropriety of such an address, the question was put to Mr. D - - - -, On what special business that meeting was called? and what sanction and authority he intended to give it, or could give it? the Brethren being almost unanimously of opinion, that, at a meeting like this, called by public advertisement only, without a proper summons to the respective Lodges, specifying the business to be entered upon, without any licence, appointment, leave, or power from any preceding Grand Lodge, nothing could be concluded which could in any way be binding on the Society.

The Deputy Grand Master then declared, That this meeting was called in consequence of a prevailing report of an intended opposition to the Incorporation that his Grace the Duke of B - - - - - -, not intending to persist in any measures disagreeable to the Brethren, had charged him to take the sense of as many Brethren as possible on the subject; that he, the Deputy Grand Master, to save time and trouble in going about from Lodge to Lodge, for that purpose had caused the Brethren, the Masters of Lodges, to be called together, whom he desired to give their opinions, in order to make his report to the Duke accordingly.

The Masters of Lodges did not then think themselves authorised to give their sentiments as representatives of their respective Lodges; but offered to give their opinion as individuals only, if the Deputy Grand Master would allow it; which was immediately granted by Brother D - - - -; who added, that nothing done in that meeting should be looked upon as binding on the Brethren.

Several arguments for and against the Incorporation were then advanced by Brother D - - - - and others; (though more against than In answer to some difficulties which were started relative to obtaining a Charter, the Deputy Grand Master repeatedly declared, That he was certain of success, and that the Charter might be ready in three days.—After a good deal of time spent in debates, the Deputy Grand Master rose up, and said, That seeing the majority of the Brethren were so much against any Charter whatsoever, the matter should drop there, and nothing more should be heard of it; which was doing justice to the intentions of his Grace the GRAND MASTER, by whose direction Brother D - - - - attended: and should have finished the business of that night, according to his Grace's message: Notwithstanding which a motion was made, and the following question put. Whether a letter should not be drawn up, and signed by as many of the Brethren as chose to do it, and sent to the GRAND MASTER, returning thanks for his Grace's intentions to have the Society incorporated, praying him to go on with this business, and to lay a draught of the Charter before the Lodges? which motion, by an unaccountable misunderstanding, was carried by a majority in the affirmative; and a letter was accordingly drawn up by a committee, consisting of the Grand Secretary, the Provincial Grand Master for Hampshire, the Provincial Grand Masters for London (as

they are called).—However, many Masters of Lodges present saw very well through this last effort of an expiring party, who wanted to carry their point at any rate, and to mislead, by the innocent look of the question, a former sensible majority against it; agreeable to a declaration made by the Grand Secretary some time before, that a Charter would be obtained in spite of their teeth; and were surprised, that the very same Deputy Grand Master and Brethren, who, an hour before, had acknowledged, that no business of the Society could be done at this time or place, should now take upon themselves to approve, at least in general terms, of an Incorporation, and desire the GRAND MASTER to go on immediately with that business; when it appeared by the Deputy Grand Master's declaration, that three days only would be wanting to finish the whole.—Those Masters, therefore, when they saw, at a meeting called on purpose by the Duke of BEAUFORT to know the real sentiments of the Brethren, that their GRAND MASTER's most gracious intentions were so much abused, and that endeavours were used to impose upon his Grace a sham approbation of the Charter from a mistaken majority, when their real sentiments were against it; when they saw my Lord Duke was desired to put himself to further trouble for an Incorporation, against which not a single argument had been refuted; they thought, in justice to the profound respect they owed his Grace of B - - - - - -, to their regard for their laws and constitution, and to the preservation of their rights, freedom, and liberties as Masons, they ought to protest against such premature proceedings; and the Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE together with fourteen more Masters of Lodges, signed the following public instrument.

To the Honourable C - - - - - D - - - - , Esq; Right Worshipful SIR,

Though, in obedience to a summons in the public papers, requesting the attendance of all the Masters of regular Lodges to meet your Worship, I have attended as Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, No. 325. I take the liberty to declare, That I have appeared as an individual member of a Lodge of Masters, held by your Worship only; I therefore protest, in the name of myself, as Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, against any act or vote passing in this Lodge, which may in the least affect the freedom, liberty, or independence of the Society. This I think necessary to do, not only in my own name, but in the name of all who please to adhere thereto.

London, 26th January 1769.

This protest was publicly read and signed in the Lodge; and before the closing of it, offered by the said Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE to the Deputy Grand Master in a public manner, who peremptorily refused acceptance of it; whereupon the Lodge was closed.

On February the 6th, at the monthly meeting of the said CALE-DONIAN LODGE, a report was made of the unprecedented proceedings in the said extraordinary meeting; and, after due consideration, it was unanimously resolved and ordered, That a Caveat should be entered against the Incorporation, in one of the public offices through which it must pass; and which the Brethren of the said Lodge thought they had a right to do, on the following considerations, submitted to every impartial Brother and honest man.

lst, By the law of the land, which gives a right to the meanest of his Majesty's subjects to be heard by council, against any grant in agitation, whereby he may think himself injured, or his liberty or his freedom in the least affected. It is indeed no favourable prospect for a Charter, if the mere idea of it should already thus intoxicate us with such an imaginary power,

as to pretend to fly in the face of the laws of the realm, and to rob the subjects, under the pompous title of *Free* and *Accepted*, of one of their noblest birthrights, which, in the case now before us, (if the Society was incorporated), would litterally happen.

2dly, By the laws of Masons; because they must never interfere with the laws of the land, and because there is no law or regulation in the Constitution-book on which the case in question can be tried. fore are ignorant on what pretence their Constitution is to be taken away, except it is done in a despotic, arbitrary, and unmasonic manner; for the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, by entering the said Caveat, did not counteract any vote or resolution of the Grand Lodge or Committee of Charity; for the meeting of the 26th of January (in consequence of which the Caveat was entered) was neither; it being an illegal meeting, without either power or authority, and as such it was allowed; besides this, the Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, for himself, and in behalf of the Brethren, protested against the proceedings of that night, in manner as above related; and the Brethren of the said Lodge repeat protesting against it, and against any use being made of any thing done, voted, or declared there, to prejudice them in the cause now depending; and against their Master's being made answerable for any thing which passed there, except his private behaviour as an individual of the congregation then assembled.

3dly, By the laws of reason; for if those Brethren who wished to encourage the Charter were permitted by letter to desire the GRAND MASTER to proceed in that business, (though the consideration of the same had never been regularly submitted to the Society in Grand Lodge assembled), surely those Brethren who differed from them in opinion had an equal right to enter their protest against such a proceeding: but the letter of encouragement was countenanced and received by the Deputy Grand Master; and the protest on the other side was absolutely refused to be taken notice of.—They leave it to the Brethren to determine, whether the conduct of the Honourable Mr. D - - - - - on this occasion was partial or impartial; and, after this treatment, what other method the Brethren, who had been thus treated, could pursue, but to put in a Caveat to these underhand-proceedings, where-ever they could, and where-ever they had a right to do it as men, after they had been, in so arbitrary a manner, refused to do it as Masons.

4thly, By the laws of prudence: The Deputy Grand Master has often declared, that the Charter might be ready upon three days notice: -the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE are not so very ignorant of the nature of a Charter, or the means and requisites of procuring one, but they know that it is morally impossible that this business can be hurried through the different offices in such a short space of time; therefore, if there is any meaning in the Deputy Grand Master's advances, (and their great respect forbids them to think otherwise), common sense directed them to believe, that a great part of the formalities must already have been gone through; and though they could not well recognise this great forwardness of the Charter with the long delay of the rough draught of it being laid before them, yet such was their confidence in the Deputy Grand Master, that the Brethren did not in the least doubt of his assurances, and that the business went on apace, after the encouraging letter of the 26th of January: and therefore thought it most prudent to stop it, before it might be too late for either men or Masons to do it.—However, they do not intend thereby to hinder the Society from having a Charter, if it should be regularly proposed, fairly canvassed, and agreed upon by the majority of the Society to accept of one, in Committee of Charity or Quarterly Communication, as our laws direct in cases of moment, when they shall be very willing to withdraw the Caveat.

At the Committee of Charity the 24th of February, the Deputy Grand Master, without having sent any particular summons to the CALEDONIAN LODGE, before the Master of it was present, and at the very beginning of the evening, thought proper to impeach the said Lodge for entering the above Caveat, in such terms as, had they come even from any private Brother, must have greatly prejudiced the Brethren against the said Lodge, before they had an opportunity of justifying themselves: how infinitely more then must such an accusation do it, when delivered from the chair by the Deputy Grand Master! who, they humbly conceive, as such, was judge, and ought rather to have been the advocate for than the accuser of the offending Brethren:—The sum and substance of it was, "That for such a daring and unjustifiable act (as Mr. D - - - - was pleased to call it) he would move to have the Constitution taken from the Lodge, and every Brother who signed the Caveat by name expelled the Society, in which he hoped to be supported by the Brethren in the next Quarterly Communication."

At the Quarterly Communication the 28th of February, immediately after the laws relating to the behaviour of the Masons in the Grand Lodge were read, without any further summons to the CALEDONIAN LODGE, without their representatives being in the least called upon to answer anything laid to their charge, and without further entering into the cause, the Deputy Grand Master Brother D - - - - painted the fact in the blackest manner possible, and really moved for the annihilation of their Constitution, and the expulsion of such members from the Society as had signed the Caveat; and thus passed sentence, or at least dictated the most severe punishment, instructed and prejudiced the jury, before the party was heard; and had it not been for the early attendance of the Master and Wardens, and the brotherly support of some dignified Brethren, acquainted with the purity of the intention of the accused, their Constitution would have been taken away, and they cut off from so honourable a Society, before they knew they had any thing to answer for; such being the influence of the Chair, that it was even with some difficulty they were allowed the benefit of an express law in the Constitution-book, according to which all complaints are to be reduced into writing at one Committee of Charity, and the parties regularly summoned for the next.—The motion being made, Whether this affair should be laid before the Committee of Charity or next Quarterly Communication, (the Prosecutor being for the latter, and the defendants for the former), the question was carried for the Quarterly Communcation by a majority, where it will come on next meeting and where, if the Deputy Grand Master Brother D - - - -, who has publicly declared himself in this cause the Prosecutor, chuses to act his part again so masterly as he did last Quarterly Communication by speaking to and supporting every argument on his side of the question, and interrupting every one speaking against it: if, by the holding up of hands for it, he, with his new-created Provincial Grand Masters for London, will first sway his hand with loud huzza's, and, during the holding up of hands for the contrary, he will again entertain the Brethren with his fears of their mistaking the question; or if he will again refuse to put a question properly moved, seconded, and called for from all corners of the room, for fear of its being carried against his inclinations; -if all this should happen again, as it did in the last Quarterly Communication, and the CALEDONIAN LODGE should, by that means, be voted out of the list, the Brethren thereof will at least have some reasons to excuse the mistaken zeal of a misled majority, and the satisfaction to know, that the blame of such an unbrotherly act cannot properly be laid to the charge of the body of a Society, which they ever have revered, and ever shall. Nor are they without hopes, that the strict adherence to candour and equity which the Brethren in general have hitherto so manifestly shewn in all other cases, will procure them that justice due to the uprightness of their acts and intentions, notwithstanding the great disadvantage they labour under, by their chief Judge and Protector being turned their Prosecutor; as it is certain that Mr. D ---- has resolved upon their ruin, and looks upon their fate as already decided: for what other reasons can be given for treating their representatives with the greatest disdain in open Quarterly Communication, where he said, that he despised them and refused to receive the memorial offered him in behalf of this Lodge, to the great concern of all the Brethren, who think themselves intitled to stand innocent in the opinion of their judges until they shall be convicted by the Brethren of the crime laid to their charge.

They are in general concerned to have unknowingly incurred the Deputy Grand Master's displeasure to a degree hitherto unheard of in Masonry; and the many material errors in his very accusation make them believe, he must have the knowledge of the Caveat merely from hearsay, and are therefore at a loss to know, how he possibly could, consistent with his acknowledged wisdom, without the least direct inquiry, which the Brethren of the said CALEDONIAN LODGE would have readily satisfied, and without any proofs or certainty, so absolutely resolve upon the ruin of a Lodge, so respectable at home and abroad, so loyal to the Grand Master and his officers, so generous in support of the fund of charity, and so indefatigably zealous for the welfare of the Craft, even admitting the entering of that Caveat (which Mr. D - - - - himself has declared no ways hurtful or prejudicial to the intended measures) to be such a hainous crime as he has been induced to believe it.

The unmerited hard treatment the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE have met with of late, would be an apology for enlarging upon this subject, and representing every transaction in a stronger light; but they will always avoid making any more reflections upon the conduct of their superiors, than are absolutely necessary to justify themselves in the eyes of the whole Society: or if this attempt should be thought too bold, and they should fail in it through the powerful influence of dignity and titles; yet they hope the most sensible part of the Fraternity will not think them deserving the punishment wherewith they are threatened, and, if over-ruled, pity their case.—They mean still to entertain due respect to authority, convinced that the Deputy Grand Master will soon see through the mean, selfish, and despicable arts of evil designers to Masonry in general, and inveterate enemies to the CALE-DONIAN LODGE in particular, who endeavour to make them despised by their Noble Chief and his Deputy, by misrepresenting facts, by perverting words and sentiments, and painting, in the most odious colours, every step taken to preserve the ancient constitution, freedom, and independency of the Society from a total destruction,

The *Memorial* referred to in the opening paragraph of this *Case* was subsequently printed for circulation, together with an Introduction and a somewhat lengthy Postcript, as follows:—

(As the affairs of Masonry have hitherto, for the most part, been determined in an amicable manner within the walls of the Grand Lodge, the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE are heartily sorry, that, by some late arbitrary measures, such fraternal and harmonious determinations are at present rendered absolutely impracticable.—At the last Quarterly Communication the Brethren of the said Lodge presented the following Memorial, in the humble expectation that the same would be read in the Grand Lodge, and deliberated upon by the Brethren, as it contained nothing but remarks for the good of the Society in general; but they were greatly surprised to find it absolutely refused, and they thereby deprived of their undoubted privilege of offering what occurred to them for the benefit of the Fraternity. As the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE have ever studied the welfare of the Craft, and always wish

to preserve the Society from innovations, especially when these endanger its very existence, by an almost total revolution of its ancient form of government, they have resolved to lay their rejected Memorial before the Brethren in their several Lodges, and only wish them to receive it with the same degree of brotherly sincerity and affection with which it is offered.)

MEMORIAL

of the

CALEDONIAN LODGE,

No. 325.

held at the HALF-MOON Tavern, CHEAPSIDE.

Humbly addressed to the Most Worshipful the Grand Master of Masons, the Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master, and the Members of the Grand Lodge, in Quarterly Communication assembled.

Right Worshipful SIR, and Brethren,

The intended New Regulations and Incorporation are, in our opinion, of so dangerous a nature to the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, that we, relying on your gracious promise, that every member should have a right to complain to your Grace about innovations, think it our duty to lay before your Grace, and all the Brethren, those considerations which hinder us from accepting your Grace's intended generous offer, and concurring with other Lodges in the pursuit of it.

The Incorporation being the chief object on which all the other New Regulations and Taxations depend, we shall make it our first care to shew your Grace and the Brethren the inconsistency of an Incorporation of Masons, and the dangerous effects it would have on the Craft in general, and the fund of Charity in particular; and afterwards prove in as few words as possible, how unnecessary many of those New Regulations are, and how odious the name of a taxation is amongst a body which calls itself free.

Of what utility an Incorporation would be to the Society of Masons, the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE are at a loss to know. It is apparent, that Masonry never shone with a brighter aspect; vast numbers are yearly associated in every part of the globe to that free body; it owes its being at present so extensive to its freedom; and would inevitably decay in a short time, if, by being incorporated, the members of the Society far removed from this metropolis (where, in our opinion, the Incorporation ought to centre) should be subject to laws only consistent with the custom and forms of government of this country, and perhaps entirely opposite to their usages. any utility accrues from being incorporated, which they are far from thinking, it is only appropriated for the benefit of the Lodges held in London and its suburbs; as it certainly is a matter of no consequence to a Lodge at Amsterdam, Berlin, Frankfort, or Calcutta, whether the inhabitants of London enjoy some privileges attached to an Incorporation, of which they have no idea, and which they should not even wish to But it is evident to all the world, that Incorporations are detrimental and prejudicial, witness the flourishing trade of Liverpool, Birmingham, and Manchester, and foreign ports, where no associations are allowed, and every one enjoys the full exertion of his native freedom, compared with the languishing commerce of those towns where trade is confined to an united body.

It has been alleged, in support of the Charter, that legacies may and will be left to an incorporated body, according to the laws: but why cannot they be left as well to a society not incorporated? surely several hospitals, and other public charities, are not incorporated; and yet daily experience proves, what vast sums are left to those associations of individuals.

The advantage which may be reaped from suing and being sued, they cannot conceive: they never had as yet any occasion for it, and hope they never will. If the Grand Treasurer should prove deficient in refunding the capital in his hands, you can prosecute him in law when incorporated; but if he and his sureties should be unable

to pay, the Society, though provided with a Charter, might lose its capital: But the manner in which that capital is at present secured, or perhaps some other more convenient method which might be fallen upon, leaves no room to fear any such danger.

They think an Incorporation inconsistent with the mere idea of being a free Society, in three several respects, 1st, As it lays the same, and all even its greatest mysteries, under the inspection of government: for they believe nobody so presumptuous as to imagine, that his Majesty or the ministry would grant a Charter to a body which pretends to have unknown mysteries, without being minutely informed whether those mysteries are in any shape prejudicial to the established form of government in church and state. 2dly, As the word *Incorporation* implies a trade, art, or profession, by which a set of people earn their maintenance; whereas it is well known that Free Masons are, of all professions, and Masonry, only cemented by friendship, without any views of lucre, profit, or gain. 3dly, As it intitles to the same privileges with the native or naturalized inhabitants of this country, foreigners who, by the laws of the land, are debarred from the enjoyment of the said privileges.

They imagine it to be in a manner impossible; because the benefit (if any) arising from an Incorporation will (as already hinted) be confined to the inhabitants of this metropolis, and all the other Masons residing in distant places, cannot be imagined willing to contribute, not for the good of the Fraternity in general, not for the relief of poor or distressed Brethren in particular, certainly the only motive of their former free donations, but merely for the vain-glory and parade of a few individuals, (the extent of Masonry considered), or at best for a shining lustre to the London Lodges. In this manner the universality of Masonry will be destroyed, the strong tie of friendship broken, and every Lodge, even in and about this metropolis, not directly dependent on the Grand Lodge, or receiving some benefit by the Incorporation, will, if not instantly, at least in time, throw off all allegiance to the GRAND MASTER, all correspondence with the Quarterly Communication, and be a separate body of itself; or, associating with other Lodges under the same circumstances, form a new set of Masons, independent of the present Grand Lodge, to the great detriment of the same.

An Incorporation, they are morally certain, will be of the most dangerous consequence to the fund of Charity, as the obtaining of a Charter will come at least to L.500; and how to procure such a sum they do not know, unless by touching the same fund, entirely appropriated for a much nobler end, and consecrated to the relief of the distressed.

The New Regulations chiefly consisting in taxations, they think it not a great difficulty to show your Grace and the Members of the Grand Lodge, (the inutility, inconsistency, impossibility, and danger of the Charter being demonstrated), how unnecessary and odious they are.

The Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE think them unnecessary, as they hope, (the reason for which they were intended being removed), the Society stands in no need of such a supply; besides, hitherto, every thing concerning Masonry has been transacted with the greatest harmony and decorum; the fund of Charity has yearly increased, and not a single well-deserving Brother in distress has met with the least refusal of assistance on proper application: Why then an imposition of taxes at the same time, when an application for a voluntary subscription is made? Why a nomination for Provincial Grand Masters, in London, when we meet under the immediate inspection and protection of your Grace, or your Deputy? Who can, with any ground or reason, suppose that a set of men hitherto free from all taxes. (except such as are necessary to defray the expences of their private meetings), will cheerfully submit to taxations hitherto unknown, and at the same time generously make free donations? the latter will, we suspect, be but of very little consequence. And what right an incorporated body in London has to tax even Lodges in country-towns, not to speak of those in foreign countries, we cannot guess. They may be threatened with the loss of their Constitution; but being initiated in all the mysteries of Masonry, and when they can shelter under other Constitutions, they will not lay great stress upon such

menaces, and, we fear, if too rudely attacked, really separate themselves. The Lodges then remaining under your Grace's protection will find the burthen too heavy, follow the example set them, and, in time, few will remain to answer for a debt too rashly contracted, and never payable.

Upon the whole, we humbly intreat the Right Worshipful GRAND MASTER, and Brethren, to take the above reasons into consideration, candidly weigh their import, and by revoking the proceedings of the Committee and Quarterly Communication of the 21st, 24th, and 28th of October last, preserve the Society from the danger which at present threatens it.

By Order of the LODGE,

P - - - - R - - - - Secretary.

POSTSCRIPT

As the several Lodges in this metropolis have now the plan of the intended Charter under their consideration, the Brethren will be enabled to judge what mighty advantages will accrue to the Society from its being incorporated, and whether these advantages will in any degree compensate for the disturbance and animosity it has already occasioned in the Fraternity, not to mention the danger of losing some of the most respectable Lodges in this city, who have already remonstrated against such an unnecessary proceeding, and will undoubtedly second in case it should be carried into execution. The Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, however, are unwilling to slip this opportunity of making some observations on the address and letter that accompany the said plan, and on the new and unprecedented manner of collecting the votes of the constituent members of the Grand Lodge.

The address, (which is signed by the Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master), begins with a profession of his attention to the real interests of the Society, and of his intention of restoring it to its primitive lustre. We believe that this attention of late has been less directed to the real than to the ideal interests of the Craft; and we defy even the most intelligent Brother, he who is best acquainted with our annals, to mention any period in which we shone with greater lustre: When were we more numerous, more universally spread over the face of the globe, or more nobly patronized by the illustrious and great, than we are at this day? and all this without the aid of a Royal Charter. We are sorry to find that the Deputy Grand Master could be induced to lend his name to any assertion calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary. Will any Mason of common sence believe, that the Society, regulated as it is at this day, has suffered such a vigourous exertion of superior power, as is there alledged? least application to the history of the Craft contained in our book of constitutions will shew the foundation of, and at the same time obviate this assertion. And we believe it will be difficult to condescend on any instance of the Society being disturbed in their associations for want of legal authority since the year 1716, the earliest period of our meeting under the sanction of a Grand Lodge, that we can write of with any certainty. If this be the case, as it certainly is, we may confidently deny the utility of such a charter, at this time, without incurring the imputation of being void of candor and Before finishing this article, we beg leave to remind the Deputy Grand, that though the Brethren thought themselves obliged to their Noble Patron for his kind intention, yet his generous offer did not give that universal joy he is pleased to insinuate.

How keen the promoters of this plan are to hurry it into execution, is evident from the new and unheard of method of voting which they have invented, in direct opposition to an express law in the constitution-book, which says, that all votes shall be collected by each person holding up one of his hands, which, if the division should be doubtful, are to be counted by the Grand Wardens. Besides this, it counteracts another of our ancient laws, by which the Stewards Lodge is intitled to twelve votes in the Grand Lodge; whereas, by this new mode of voting, it is only considered as a common Lodge, and by that means deprived of no less than nine votes. However, the intention of it is easily seen through; the promoters of this plan, being well apprized that the Stewards Lodge disapproves of their proceedings, are willing to cut off all

possible opposition to a measure which they are determined to carry into execution, in spite of all reasoning, and the most solid arguments: nay, they have taken care to leave room for neither of these, by demanding only a simple affirmation or negative; by which means the right of representatives is taken away; so that hereafter we shall have no occasion for a fair convassing in Quarterly Communications; when any thing of consequence to the Society is in agitation, the Masters of the several Lodges have no more to do than collect the opinions of the majority of their Lodges, which they transmit by letter to the Grand Secretary, who presents it to the Deputy Grand Master, and he to the Right Worshipful Grand Master, whose single authority may hereafter (by an equal stretch of power) be thought sufficient to give such resolution the sanction of a law. Such are the proceedings of our new Reformers. But it is hoped, the Brethren will take more time than is at present allowed them, maturely to deliberate upon an affair of so much consequence to the Society in general.

As the Caledonian Lodge *Memorial* and *Case* are somewhat lengthy documents, an attempt to summarise the arguments against Incorporation, and the alleged grounds of complaint, may prove acceptable to readers.

Summary of the arguments advanced by the Caledonian Lodge against Incorporation.

- 1. That Incorporation was inconsistent with the nature of a Society denominated "Free."
- 2. That Incorporation was inappropriate to a Society composed of men of all trades and professions.
- 3. That Incorporation would necessitate the exposure of all masonic secrets.
- 4. That Incorporation would result in members of the Society of foreign nationality acquiring rights and privileges in this country denied to foreigners.
- 5. That Incorporation, intended primarily for the benefit of Lodges in and around London, would impose upon Lodges abroad rules and regulations inappropriate to them by reason of their location.
- 6. That Trade flourished most in those centres of industry where the workers were not incorporated.
- 7. That the legal effect of Incorporation in connection with the ownership of property would prove no more advantageous than the existing method of vesting property in trustees.
- 8. That the acquisition of the right to sue and to be sued in a corporate name would not prove beneficial to the Society.
- 9. That the cost of Incorporation was prohibitive, and would invite misapplication of the Fund of Charity.
- 10. That an incorporated Society quartered in London would possess no right to impose taxation upon Lodges situated abroad.
- 11. That the universality of the Craft would be jeopardised with the consequent risk of secession.

Summary of the complaints of the Caledonian Lodge.

- 1. The meeting held on January 26th, 1769, was unconstitutional for the following reasons:—
 - (a) the meeting was convened at one day's notice published in the Press;
 - (b) the meeting was confined to Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges;
 - (c) notice of the business to be discussed had not been given;
 - (d) the method of voting was contrary to the established practice.

- 2. The conduct of the Deputy Grand Master who presided at this and at subsequent meetings was biased, particularly in the following respects:—
 - (a) after the majority of those present on January 26th had expressed disapproval of the proposed Incorporation, the Deputy Grand Master, by deliberately confusing the issue, induced the meeting to agree to a letter being addressed to the Grand Master praying him to proceed with the execution of his plans;
 - (b) the Deputy Grand Master declined to receive a formal written protest, signed by the Masters of fifteen Lodges, and tendered to him at this meeting;
 - (c) the Deputy Grand Master sought to take disciplinary action against the Caledonian Lodge without giving the Lodge an opportunity of being heard in its own defence.

It was also argued by the Caledonian Lodge:-

- 1. That, apart from the question of Incorporation, the financial proposals were unnecessary in that, if additional charitable funds were needed, an appeal for voluntary contributions was likely to prove more effective than a compulsory levy.
- 2. That no need had arisen for the appointment of Provincial Grand Masters in London, where Lodges met under the immediate inspection of the Grand Master and his Deputy.

The consideration of these various arguments is postponed in order to avoid interruption of the narrative.

The official account of this dispute with the Caledonian Lodge is thus recorded in the Minutes of the Committee of Charity and of Grand Lodge. It will be observed that there is no official record in either set of Minutes of the irregular meeting held on January 26th, 1769:—

Committee of Charity.

Committee Meeting Horn in Fleet Street Friday 24 February 1769.

resent

Pres	ent	
The Honble, Chas. Dillon	D.G.M.	as G.M.
Rowland Holt Esqr.	S.G.W.	as D.G.M.
Richard Ripley Esq ^r .	P.S.G.W.	as S.G.W.
Peter Edwards Esqr.	P.S.G.W.	as J.G.W.
Thos. Dunckerley Esqr.	P.G.M.	
James Galloway Esqr.	P.G.M.	
J. J. De Vignoles Esq ^r .	P.G.M.	
Rowland Berkeley Esqr.	G.T.	
Thomas French	G.S.	
Tho*. Dyne	G.S.B.	

(together with the representatives of 67 Lodges, including the Master of the Caledonian Lodge)

The Deputy Grand Master acquainted the Committee, that, to his very great surprise, he was informed, the Caledonian Lodge, No. 325, held at the Half Moon Tavern, Cheapside, had, in express violation of that allegiance due to the Grand Lodge, entered a Caveat in the Attorney Generals Office, with the ungenerous view of opposing that noble intention of our Grand Master, in having the Society incorporated, and that, before the said Lodge, or any other, had been acquainted with the proposed plan. His Worship, convinced that so arbitrary and illegal a proceeding could result only from the spirit of party and faction, and knowing these to be inconsistent with the established end of our Institution, did impeach the said Lodge, the same being an insult, not only on the Grand Master, but the whole Craft.

Grand Lodge.

28 February 1769 (The D.G.M. in the Chair)

The Caledonian Lodge No. 325 held at the Half Moon Tavern Cheapside having been impeached by the D.G.M. of entering a Caveat in the Attorney Generals Office to oppose the Incorporation of the Society, it was proposed & agreed to that the Consideration of this Affair be deferred to next Communication.

The three following Lodges presented to the Right Worshipful G.M. Memorials against the Incorporation, Viz.

No. 26 held at the St. Alban, St. Alban Street,

No. 70 Stewards Lodge, held at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street,

N°. 313 Royal Lodge, held at the Thatch'd hos. Tavn. St. James' St. 28 April 1769.

The Impeachment laid by the D.G.M. against the Caledonian Lodge N°. 325 for entering a Caveat against the Incorporation was taken into Consideration and the Brethren being of Opinion that this Lodge had been guilty of a great Offence against the Society by presuming to oppose the resolutions of the Grand Lodge a Motion was made and the question put for its being erased out of the List of Lodges; but on Bror. E. G. Muller Master of the said Lodge publickly asking pardon in name of himself & his Lodge, the Offence was forgiven.

Prior to the meeting of Grand Lodge held on April 28th, 1769, a printed letter was circulated to all Lodges by the Grand Secretary. This letter set out the full text of the proposed Royal Charter, and concluded with Voting Forms for the use of Lodges. A copy of this document is preserved in our Lodge Library—Q.C.L. "Masonic Miscellanies," Volume 32, No. 3918:—
BRETHREN.

The Most Worshipful GRAND MASTER, ever attentive to the real Interest of the SOCIETY, and willing to pursue every Measure that might bring it into Esteem, took into serious Consideration the most effectual Means of restoring to our Royal Order its primitive Lustre. He searched into the Annals of the CRAFT, and saw that this SOCIETY had formerly obtained a free Charter from King Athelstan, Since the Loss of this Charter, in particular Periods of different Reigns, our Assemblies have suffered the utmost Rigour of superior Power. His Grace consulted with many respectable Brethren, by whose Advice he was induced to communicate to the Fraternity his Intentions of endeavouring to procure a CHARTER OF INCORPORATION, if agreeable to the several Lodges; which, if obtained, will screen us for the Future from the like Persecutions; the Utility and good Effects of a Royal Sanction to our Assemblies must be evident to every Mason of Candor and Integrity. I made known to the Brethren, assembled in quarterly Communication, the Intentions of our Most Worshipful GRAND MASTER, and saw with Pleasure they accepted the Offer with universal Joy and Gratitude.

It is now, in Consequence of their Request, that his Grace has ordered the following Plan to be printed, and sent to all the Lodges, that, in a Matter of so public a Concern, every Individual may have an Opportunity of delivering his Sentiments.

CHARLES DILLON,

Deputy Grand Master.

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

GEORGE THE THIRD, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, TO ALL to whom these PRESENTS shall come, Greeting, WHEREAS the SOCIETY of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, have for

Ages held frequent Meetings within this Realm, and have ever demeaned themselves with Duty and Loyalty to Us and Our Predecessors, with Reverence and Obedience to the Laws, and Kindness and Good-Will to their Fellow-Subjects; And whereas, the said Society appears to have been originally instituted for humane and beneficent Purposes, and have distributed from Time to Time to all without Distinction, who have had the single Claim of Wretchedness, Sums to a great Amount, collected by voluntary Contribution among themselves. And whereas, Our entirely beloved, &c. &c.

Members of the Society of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, under the Constitution of England, in Behalf of themselves and many others of the said Society, by their Petition humbly presented to Us, have most humbly besought Us, to grant Our most gracious LETTERS PATENT to INCORPORATE the said SOCIETY, and make them a Body Politic and Corporate forever. NOW KNOW YE, That We, out of our Princely Regard to a Body of Men, associated for such laudable Purposes, willing to manifest to the World our entire Approbation of their past Conduct, and desirous to enable them to answer more effectually the humane Ends of their Institution, of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have ordained, given, and granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do ordain, give, and grant, That for the Future there shall be a PERPETUAL SOCIETY, which shall be called by the Name of THE SOCIETY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND. And We do hereby declare, That the said Society shall consist of a Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, Grand Wardens, Past Grand Officers, Provincial Grand Masters, Grand Treasurer, Grand Secretary, Grand Sword Bearer, Twelve Stewards, and of the Masters and Wardens of the several subordinate Lodges, who, together with those already numerated, compose the GRAND LODGE, who by the Name of THE SOCIETY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND, shall for ever hereafter be a Body Politic and Corporate, in Deed and in Law, and that, by the same Name, they and their Successors, shall have perpetual Succession; and that they and their Successors, by that Name, shall and may, for ever hereafter, be enabled, and rendered capable, and have power (notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain) to purchase, have, take, acquire, receive, possess, enjoy, and hold, to them and their Successors, Manors, Messuages, Lands, Rents, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, Annuities, and Hereditaments, of whatsoever Nature or Kind, in Fee and Perpetuity, or for Terms of Life or Years, or otherwise. And We hereby give and grant unto the said Society and their Successors, by the Name aforesaid, Our special Licence, full Power, and lawful Authority, to hold and enjoy Lands and Hereditaments, which may be hereafter devised, granted, or sold to the said Society; And also, to purchase, hold, receive, and possess, in Mortmain, in Perpetuity, or otherwise, to, or for the Use of, or in Trust for them and their Successors, and for the Use and Benefit of the said Corporation, from any Person or Persons, Bodies Politic or Corporate, their Heirs and Successors, respectively, such Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, and Hereditaments, as they shall think fit to purchase, or shall be given, granted, devised, or conveyed to them by Deed, or otherwise, not exceeding the Yearly Value of over and above all Charges and Reprizes, so far as they are not restrained by Law; And also, to sell, grant, demise, exchange, and dispose of any of the same Manors, Messuages, Lands, and Tenements, whereof or wherein they shall have an Estate of Inheritance for Life or Lives, or Years, as aforesaid. And We further grant, That the said Society and their Successors, by the Name aforesaid, may and shall by the said Name of THE SOCIETY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND, be able to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all Courts and Pleas whatsoever, of Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, before any of Our Judges and Justices, and other Officers of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, in all and singular Actions, Suits, Plaints, Causes, Matters, Demands, and Things whatsoever, and to do and act in all Matters and Things relating to the said Corporation, in as ample a Manner and Form as any other Our Liege Subjects, being Persons able and capable in the Law, or any other Body Politic or Corporate, in this part of our Kingdom of Great Britain, called England, lawfully may, or can act or do: And that the said Corporation for ever shall and may have and use a Common Seal, for the Causes and Businesses of them and their Successors, and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their Successors, to change, break, alter, and make new the said Seal, from Time to Time, as they shall think fit. And We do hereby give and grant unto the said Society a Coat of Arms; that is to say,

And, for the better Execution of this Our Grant, We do nominate, constitute and appoint Our Right Trusty and dearly beloved Cousin and Counsellor Henry Duke of Beaufort to be the First Grand Master, Our Trusty and Wellbeloved the Honourable Charles Dillon to be the First Deputy Grand Master,

each of them respectively to be and continue in their several and respective Offices of Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, &c. &c. &c. until the Feast of St. John the Evangelist which shall happen next after the Expiration of One Year from the Day of the Date of these Presents, and from thence until other fit and able Persons be chosen into the said Offices in their respective Rooms. Provided always, That all the Persons so appointed, or hereafter to be appointed, Members of the Grand Lodge shall, in all Things, aid, advise, and assist in conducting the Business, and in all Matters relating to the Regulation and Government of the said Society of FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND. And We do give and grant unto the said Grand Master, or his Deputy, his or their Successor or Successors for the Time being, full Power and Authority, by Virtue of these Our Letters Patent. to issue Warrants for the constituting of subordinate Lodges; and the said Lodges, warranted as aforesaid, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be legal and regular. furthermore, We do give and grant to the said Society that they shall and may hold Meetings of themselves, for the better Management of their Funds, and the Application of them to proper Purposes, and the Transaction of all other Business relating to the Society when and as often as it shall be necessary, in any place within the City of London, or Ten Miles thereof. And it shall be lawful for the said Society from Time to Time to nominate and chuse, once in every Year, one fit and able Person to be Grand Master, and one other to be Grand Treasurer of the said Society; the other Officers to be appointed in the Manner and Form heretofore established by the long and uninterrupted Usage of the Society, to continue severally until the Feast of St. John the Evangelist next after the Expiration of One Year from the Time of their respective Elections or Appointments (if they shall so long live, or not be removed for some just or reasonable Cause), and from thence till another be chosen. And in case the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, &c. &c. &c. or any of them shall die, recede or be removed from any of the said Offices respectively, then and in such Case it shall be lawful to chuse or appoint (according to ancient Usage) a fit and able Person to fill up such Office as shall become vacant. And the Person or Persons so chosen or appointed shall continue till the Expiration of the Year for which their Predecessor in such Office had been chosen or appointed. And if it shall happen that the Election of the Grand Master, and Grand Treasurer, and Appointment of the other Grand Officers, cannot be perfected on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, We do hereby grant, that the Grand Master may lawfully assign or appoint any other Day as near as may be after the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, for the perfecting such Election or Elections, which shall always be in the Manner and Form heretofore observed by the said Society, and for the Nomination and Appointment of such Officers as by the ancient Usage of the said Society are not elective, and so from Day to Day, till the said Elections and Appointments shall be completed. And We further give and grant to the said Society, that the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, and constituent Members of the Grand Lodge for the Time being, shall and may, from Time to Time, assemble together in such convenient Place in London, or within Ten Miles thereof, as the Grand Master or Deputy Grand Master (by the Grand Master's Authority) shall appoint, by Summons or other Notice, which he is by these Presents impowered and required timely to issue for that Purpose to all the said Members; and that they being so met, shall have full Power to make, constitute and ordain such Statutes, Bye-Laws and Ordinances as shall appear to them to be good, and necessary and

expedient for the Government, Order and Regulation of the said Society, and every Member thereof; which Statutes, Bye-Laws and Ordinances, not being repugnant to the Laws of this Realm, shall and may be effectually observed and kept; and to do all other Things concerning the Government, Estate and Revenues of the said Society. Provided nevertheless, and Our Will is, That no Bye-Law, Statute or Ordinance, so to be made by this Corporation, shall be binding upon the said Society, until the same shall have been read over and approved of by the Majority of the Society assembled together for that Purpose.

In Witness whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made-Patent. Witness Ourself at Westminster.

WE the MASTER and WARDENS of the LODGE, No. held at having communicated to our Members, the intended CHARTER of INCORPORATION, transmitted to Us by the Most Worshipful GRAND MASTER, and collected their Opinions thereon, do hereby signify their Approbation of the proposed Plan, and earnestly request that the most effectual Means may be immediately used, to compleat so salutary an Undertaking.

Master.
Wardens.

Witness

Secretary.

WE the Master and WARDENS of the LODGE, No. held at having communicated to our Members, the intended CHARTER of INCORPORATION, transmitted to Us by the Most Worshipful GRAND MASTER, do, by their Authority, signify our Disapprobation of the proposed plan.

Master.

Wardens.

Witness

Secretary.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

ON Receipt of this You are requested immediately to issue out Summons (particularly specifying the Purpose) to convene all the Members of your Lodge, in order to collect their Opinions concerning the inclosed PLAN of INCORPORATION; and in consequence of their Determination, please to transmit to me (at least Ten Days before the ensuing Communication) one of the above Forms, properly filled up, and signed by the Master, Wardens, and Secretary of your Lodge.

By Order of the GRAND MASTER,

THO. FRENCH,

New Bond Street.

Grand Secretary.

This printed circular bears no date; but the letters of acknowledgment indicate that the circular was issued on various dates towards the end of March, and at the beginning of April, 1769.

According to the draft of the Grand Secretary's report, dated April 25th. and intended no doubt for communication to Grand Lodge on April 28th, favourable replies had already been received from the following fifteen Country Lodges:—

		\mathbf{N} umber
Town.	Name of Lodge.	(1755 enumeration).
Bristol	_	165
Bristol	Union	372
Cambridge	Scientific	182
Carmarthen	Perfect Friendship	167
Dartmouth	Castle	405

		Number
Town.	Name of Lodge.	(1755 enumeration).
Deal	Royal Navy	282
Falmouth	Love and Honour	146
Holyhead	Mona	415
Ipswich	British Union	270
Lowestoffe		191
Lyme Regis	Royal Edwin	311
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	St. John	225
Plymouth Dock	<u> </u>	67 (or 237)
Stockton-upon-Tees	Philanthropy	23
Whitehaven	_	261

Fifteen may appear to be a small number. But only a few weeks had elapsed since the issue of the circular letter; in each case a Lodge meeting had to be convened, after due notice specifying the nature of the question to be considered; while it must not be forgotten that the postal facilities of this period were not those of the twentieth century. It is also probable that many Lodges, instead of forwarding the printed forms of assent or dissent by post, entrusted these forms to those members who were to attend the approaching meeting of Grand Lodge in person.

At this meeting of Grand Lodge, held on April 28th, 1769, according to the official minute,

The D.G.M. informed the Brethren that in consequence of the Orders he had received from the G.M. he had sent a Plan of the intended Charter of Incorporation to the several Lodges for their Approbation and that the following return had been made.

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For the Incorporation ... ... ... ... 168 Lodges. Against it ... ... ... ... ... ... 43 —
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A Motion was then made & the Question put, whether the Society should be Incorporated or not, when it was carried in the Affirmative by a great Majority.

At this period there were apparently 437 Lodges on the roll. Of this total the contributing Lodges numbered "above 390," if we may accept the estimate of the then Grand Secretary. The total number of votes cast at this meeting of Grand Lodge was 211, to which must be added the "70 or 80" further votes in favour of incorporation received subsequently, as mentioned by French's successor in a letter addressed to the Provincial Grand Secretary of Barbados on November 13th, 1769. Many of these later votes were probably received from Lodges situated abroad. It is therefore apparent that close upon 300 Lodges recorded their votes—that is to say, 75 per cent. of the total number of active Lodges—and, of those voting, the majority in favour of incorporation was nearly 6 to 1.

In an Appendix will be found details of certain Lodges the records of which disclose formal votes or resolutions in favour of, or against, the proposed incorporation. It is to be hoped that the researches of other Brethren will enable these tables in the Appendix to be considerably extended before final publication of this Paper in the printed Transactions of our Lodge. In the meantime it is interesting to observe that of the ten Lodges known to have opposed incorporation nine were London Lodges, the tenth being located no further afield than Wapping; while of the 27 Lodges known to have favoured the project as many as 21 were Country Lodges. It seems clear, therefore, that the opposition came principally from Lodgees in and around London; but the proportion of Lodges whose votes are known is so small that no safe deductions from these figures can be made.

At this stage of our enquiry it is proposed to quote a number of extracts from Lodge Minutes, and from such official correspondence as has survived, in the hope that readers of this Paper enjoying access to local contemporary records will feel prompted to furnish further references extracted from similar sources at their disposal. It is true that some of the Minutes and letters quoted below do not add much to our store of knowledge, but to ignore such sources of information altogether would be inexpedient:—

Jerusalem Lodge.

1769 April 5

By order of the right Worshipful the Master this Lodge was Summoned by virtue of a Letter rece^d. by him from the Grand Secretary, with a form of a Copy of Letters Patent inclosed, purporting that the Body of Free and Accepted Masons of England were intended to be incorporated into one Body, and the same to be carryed into a Law for the Benefit and Utillity of Masonry And desiring the Opinion and Concurrence of this Lodge; if agreeable to them that the same may be carryed into a Law if the same sho^d, meet with the Approbation of other Lodges and Brethren, And upon reading the said Copy and the Question being put, it was carryed in the Affirmative, the Numbers were for the Question 27 and agst, it 4.

Royal Cumberland Lodge.

1769 April 10

The Charter of Incorporation was read and approved of N.C.

St. George's Lodge No. 315, Taunton (extinct)

1769 April 10

In obedience to an order of ve Grand Lodge dated the 21st March last, for convening the members of this Lodge to collect their opinions concerning a plan of a Charter for incorporating this Society . . . the Right Worshipful Master having communicated to ye said Brethren the intended Charter of Incorporation transmitted to himself by the Most Worshipful the Grand Master, and collected their opinions thereon, the Lodge signified their approbation of the proposed plan and unanimously resolved that the following certificate should be forthwith transmitted by the Right Worshipful Master in a letter to the Right Worshipful Brother Smith, Provincial Grand Master of Somerset, viz.:-"We, the Master and Wardens of the Lodge No. 315, held at the Fountain in Taunton, in the County of Somerset, having communicated to our members the intended Charter of Incorporation transmitted to us by the Most Worshipful Grand Master, and collected their opinions thereon, do hereby certify their approbation of the proposed plan, and carnestly request that we most effectual means may be immediately used to compleat so salutary an undertaking."

St. Paul's Lodge No. 43, Birmingham.

1769 March 31

Lodge of Emergency.

The Lodge assembled this night in consequence of a Letter received from the Grand Lodge with a plan for Incorporating the Society. The matter was duly considered, and it was unanimously agreed to transmit our approbation of the same.

1769 April 21

Stated Lodge.

A Letter from the Caledonian Lodge, London, representing their disapprobation of the Charter of Incorporation and their being refused to be heard by the Grand Lodge, was read and referred to a further consideration of the members who are desired to report their opinion on the case next Lodge night.

The Lodge closed in Unity in due time.

Cambridge 31 March 1769

Sir,

We the members of the 182 Lodge held at the Three Tuns Tavern have since the arrival of yours held a Lodge when every member was present. The plan for Incorporation was read, and I need not say we were unanimous in our approbation when every member has subscribed his name, and the Grand Master may always depend on our Lodge at all times in doing every thing which shall be for the good of the Craft.

I am. Sir,

Your Humble Servant.

EDWARD BARNES.

Dartmouth 31 March 1769

Brother French.

I received yours and according to the directions of the Grand Master have collected the opinions of our members concerning the intended plan of Incorporation and by their desire I now signify to you their entire approbation.

HOLDSWORTH NEWMAN.

Master of the Castle Tavern Lodge.

Deal 4th April 1769

We acknowledge the receipt of the Grand Masters plan for Incorporating the Society, and do most heartily join with the Grand Lodge in wishing all success may attend their endeavours for the good of the Craft and herewith enclose you our resolutions in that behalf signed by our Master and Wardens and witnessed by Sir

Your Affectte. Bror. & very Humble. Servt.

JNO. OAKLEY.

No. 263 to Bror, French.

We hereby acquaint your Honours that all our Members are unanimous in consenting to and approving of the intended Incorporation of the Society.

Bristol, 4 April 1769

At a Meeting (last night) of our Society, the members thought, there could be no objections made to the propos'd Plan of Incorporation handed them by you; but unanimously approved of so noble a design, and wished for the speedy execution of it.—The acquisition of this Charter must certainly be of singular service to the fraternity in general, and which must appear evident to every faithful Brother.

I am (By order of the Master) &c.

JOHN MORGAN Secy.

Carmarthen 4th April 1769.

Dear Brother,

Your favour of the 21st ult covering a Plan of Incorporation for your Antient and Honble. Society of free masons was duly received and last night read in our Lodge; it was unanimously approved of by the Members and visiting Brethren that appeared on the occasion who expressed their utmost gratitude to the Most Worshipful Grand Master and all others concerned in promoting so great and landable a design, and you may assure them of our due obedience to all Laws they may agree to.

Lodge of Perfect Friendship

- WILLIAMS.

Dear Brother,

Having received the proposed plan of Incorporation and convened the Lodge at the Angel, agreeable to the directions of the plan, and collected their opinions thereon, the members have requested me to write you to intreat the favour of your resolving them, whether after this Charter is obtained

(if it can be so) we shall not be obliged to have a new Constitution to become Masons, according to the stile and title given them in the Charter, and whether we shall be at liberty to make our own Bye Laws for the regulation of our own Lodge as by the present Constitution we may do, And further to ask what the expence of such new Constitution (if we must be obliged to have one) will amount to.—I hope you'll be kind enough to send me your sentiments on this head in time that the doubts of the Brethren concerning this matter may be removed.

I must confess I much approve of the Scheme, and hope it will meet with every desired success; but as our members are very few, I hope every method will be taken to render the execution of this Charter as little expensive as possible—And I am with all due respect

Crediton.

Your affectionate Brother

5 April 1769.

SAML. RUDALL.

To this enquiry the Grand Secretary replied as follows:-

Right Worshipful,

I rec^d, yours of the 5th inst, and beg leave to resolve your Doubts concerning the plan of Incorporation. If it succeeds it will not make any alteration in the present Constitution of Masonry nor will it require fresh warrants to be taken out by the several Lodges—Your present Warrant will still continue in force and every Lodge be at liberty to make its own Bye Laws, as heretofore—The money arising by the new Regulations will defray all charges, so that no private individual nor particular Lodge can be affected.

I am with sincerity

Your very affectionate Bror.

New Bond Street. 19 April 1769. THO. FRENCH,

G. S.

In the Grand Secretary's draft report, dated April 25th, 1769, there is nothing to indicate either the number or the nature of the unfavourable replies. That forty-three Lodges resolved to oppose the scheme is shown by the Grand Lodge minute already quoted; but so far no trace has been found of any letter addressed to the Grand Secretary containing expressions of disapproval. To ascertain the nature of some of these unfavourable replies, other sources of information must be explored.

In the Minutes of the Old Dundee Lodge the following entries occur:—

1769 March 9

Visitor-Ephraim Gotlieb Muller, Master of the Caledonian Lodge No. 325.

1769 April 13

Resolved that the Affairs concerning the Incorporation should be Postponed to next Monday Night to consult about the same and that y" Tyler send Notice to all the Members of this Lodge.

1769 April 17

A Special Lodge was held this night when a Ballot was taken in regard to Incorporation, when there was 30 against it and 8 for it, whereupon this Lodge according to the Majority Resolved that they would not be Incorporated and that the following Resolution be sent to the Grand Secretary:—

April 17 1769

We the Master and Wardens of the Lodge No. 9 held at our own Private Room in Red Lion Street Wappin, having communicated to our members the Intended Charter of Incorporation transmitted to us by the Most Worshipful Grand Master, do by their Authority signify our Disapprobation of the proposed Plan.

 $\begin{array}{ccc} TIM & CURTIS & Master. \\ JNO & STRAY \\ FRANCIS & HOLMAN \end{array} \right) Wardens.$

Witness

FELL PARKER Secretary

Mourning Bush Lodge No. 13 (now Lodge of Emulation No. 21). 1768 November 29

Considering that the Society of Free and Accepted Masons are not yet incorporated, and that the Voluntary Subscription towards a fund for the laudable Scheme for building a Hall, &c., might not be hindered thereby, a motion was made, and seconded, That (notwithstanding the Grand Secretary's Letter directed that all Subscription money should be quarterly paid into the hands of the Grand Treasurer) such Subscription money should be kept in the hands of the Treasurer of this Lodge till an Act of Parliament for the incorporation of Masons should be obtained, except a Determination of a Quarterly Communication should otherwise direct. And it was carried by a great majority that the money should be so kept, till otherwise determined by the Qua: Com. or by this Lodge.

1769 March 13

A Pamphlet addressed to the Master of this Lodge was, at the request of the Members, read; and a motion thereupon made by Bror. Adams, Past Master: That as the said Pamphlet made public the Proceedings of a Grand Lodge, contrary to the Laws of Masonry, and as it was an anonimous performance, it should be burnt by the Tyler of the Lodge, which motion was carried in the Negative, with this proviso, That the Pamphlet might first be reconsidered the next Lodge night.

1769 March 27

The Reconsideration of the Anonimous Pamphlet, mentioned in the Minutes of the last Lodge Night was this Night deferred *sine die*, by the unanimous consent of the Brethren present.

The Lodge of Antiquity.

1768 December 14

Two Letters were received from the Deputy Grand Master one in Answer to that sent to inform him of the Removal of the Lodge in which he says we have the Grand Masters Consent for so doing. The other informing us that the Grand Master had thought proper to appoint Officers to inspect our Proceedings, investing them with the Name as well as the full Power and Authority of Pro(vincial) Grand Masters and thereby willing and requiring us to receive the worthy and well beloved Hen⁵. John Marshalls as our Provincial during OUR Pleasure.

1769 February 1

(Minute already quoted-vide unte)

1769 April 5

The R.W.M. acquainted the Lodge that he had Recd. a printed Draft of the Intended Charter of Incorporation

Signed Chas. Dillon Deputy Grand Master.

The Lodge in generall Agreed to Postpone the Consideration of the aforesaid Charter of Incorporation till the next Lodge Night.

Our R.W.M. next moved to the Lodge whether the Grand Mar. consistent with the Constitution had the Appointment of Provincial Grand

Masters within the District of London and wher, such Officers are Beneficial or not. Resolved (with only one Dissenting Vote) that Provl. G.M. in Town are not necessary. The Or. Questn. was postponed.

1769 April 19

The Question wher, the G^d. Master has the Power of Appointing Provincial Grand Masters in London is now resumed, when it was the unanimous Opinion of the Members present that he has not such Power but that the Appointment of such Officers was confined to the Country and distant Parts only.

The proposed Charter of Incorporation was again taken into Consideratⁿ. And it was the Opinion of the Majority of the Members that the Society's being Incorporated will tend to render us more respectable, and was approved of according to the Plan laid before us.

These Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity introduce the subject of the short-lived Provincial Grand Masters for London—a matter of interest to-day, at a time when the question of dividing London Lodges into a number of Metropolitan Grand Lodges is again being keenly debated.

The earliest mention of this Office, so far traced, is that to be found in the Minutes of the Moira Lodge No. 92 for December 5th, 1768, when the Lodge, then numbered 200, was meeting at the King's Arms, Seven Dials. It is clear, however, from the passage which occurs in the opening paragraph of the Caledonian Lodge's printed Case, that the appointment of Provincial Grand Masters for London may be traced back at least to November 16th, 1768, on which date the Deputy Grand Master wrote to the Caledonian Lodge instructing them to receive as their Provincial Grand Master Brother H. J. Maskall, presumably identical with the Master of the Ark Lodge, and variously described throughout these records as Maskall, Maskell, and Marshalls.

The Minutes of the Moira Lodge, referred to above, record that:-

This Night the R.W.M. rec^d a Letter from the D.G.M. to Will and Require him & the Breathren of the Lodge to Receive our Worthy and Well Beloved Brother James Gallaway as Provincial Grand Master.

A similar reference to the Office is to be found in the Minutes of the London Lodge, dated December 17th, 1768, in which connection it is worthy of note that at the meeting of this Lodge at which Galloway had announced his intention of attending in his capacity as Provincial Grand Master, only three members put in an appearance!

In the "Minuet & Quart Book" of the now extinct London Lodge, numbered 91 at the 1755 enumeration of Lodges, "Br. Galloway Provintial G:M" is shown as having visited the Lodge at its regular meeting held upon an unspecified date in January, 1769.

The Minutes of the Mourning Bush Lodge (now the Lodge of Emulation No. 21) record:—

1768 December 12

A Letter to the Master of this Lodge being received from the D.G.M. requiring the Lodge to receive Bro. Henry John Maskell as Provincial Grand Master the said Letter was read, and the consideration thereof was postponed till after the next Quarterly Communication.

1769 March 27

A Motion was made and seconded: That the matter of Provincials for this Metropolis be maturely considered the next Lodge night, in order that the R.W.M. may know with certainty the opinion of the members concerning it so as to be able to speak agreeable thereto at the next Committee of Charity or at any other time or place he may be legally called upon by the Grand Master or his Deputy for that purpose.

On holding up of hands the Brethren were for the R.W.M. and Wardens voting against the appointment of Provincials for this Metropolis.

On page 167 of the 1812 Edition of Preston's Illustrations of Masonry this passage occurs:—

Another new appointment likewise took place during his Grace's administration, viz. the office of General Inspector or Provincial Grand Master for Lodges within the bills of mortality: but the majority of the Lodges in London disapproving the appointment, the authority was soon withdrawn.

The Grand Lodge Minutes contain no allusion to the appointment, although on April 29th, 1768, Richard Ripley, J.G.W., in the chair, moved a resolution with reference to the fees payable by Provincial Grand Masters in these terms:—

That for the future each Brother who shall be appointed a Provincial Grand Master shall (unless he has before served the Office of Steward at a Grand Feast) pay the sum of £10-10-0 into the Hands of the G. Treasurer to be applied to the use of the Grand Fund of Charity on such his appointment or before he received his Apron.

Time and space will not permit of any more detailed review of this temporary appointment, or of the holders of the office. It seems probable, however, that the office was introduced, and the appointments made, with the object of furthering the Duke of Beaufort's design to have the Society incorporated by bringing official pressure to bear upon London Lodges and by raising further sums of money to finance the Grand Master's various proposals.

It will be recollected that at the meeting of Grand Lodge held on April 28th, 1769, Thomas French reported progress in the capacity of Grand Secretary. Within a week he had been superseded in that office by James Heseltine, a Proctor of Doctors' Commons. A fresh Letter Book, begun on May 5th, 1769, opens with this brief announcement: "Mr. French has unfortunately become a Bankrupt and is at present gone out of the way." On this very date, however—May 5th, 1769—Thomas French was present at a Convocation of the Royal Arch Chapter then meeting at the Turk's Head Tavern, Gerrard Street, Soho, where he proposed as a Candidate for Exaltation Sir Watkins Williams Wynn, Baronet—an individual destined to figure prominently amongst the supporters of the Grand Master's scheme for the incorporation of the Society. Sir W. W. Wynn had been initiated in the Lodge of Friendship on February 24th in the preceding year.

The bankruptcy of "Mr. Thomas French, Linnen Draper, of New Bond Street," was recorded in the June number of *The Gentleman's Magazine*; while in a letter addressed to William Collins, Whitehaven, on June 27th, 1769, James Heseltine referred to his predecessor as "having lately left England, as supposed, or at least is not to be met with."

In July the same periodical contained the report of a street accident in London, as a result of which the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort were thrown out of a phæton and injured. The Duke escaped with little more than a shaking, but the Duchess sustained a compound fracture of the leg.

Heseltine's term of office opened at a difficult period, and the holder was soon to be involved in much correspondence on the subject of the proposed Incorporation.

The Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, hitherto the scene of meetings of those who supported the Grand Master, became the venue of an Opposition gathering on May 24th, 1769, when, according to the Minutes of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 99, Brother Richard Ripley presided over a meeting of Masters and Past Grand Officers, who resolved to support the Caledonian Lodge in its recent action in the matter of the caveat. This meeting of dissentients had been summoned by letter.

This Opposition Meeting led to the issue of a printed statement of the case in favour of Incorporation, dated June 10th, 1769. Addressing himself to G. Stable, Whitehaven, on July 12th, the newly-appointed Grand Secretary wrote:—

There are some few things still in the possession of Mrs. French belonging to the Society which will be given up shortly.

.

As various disputes have arisen in the Society here, relative to an Incorporon, and as the conduct of the Grand Officers has in many respects been misrepresented, the inclosed state of the case, has by the G.M's, directions been printed for the informon, of the Society in general, wen, I have therefore the honor, to transmit and am with respect. Sir

Yours &c.

Drs Comons

JAS. HESELTINE, G.S.

12 July 1769

The "inclosed state of the case" referred to above was a printed 3-page folio letter reading as follows:—

Right Worshipful Master, and Brethren.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, our present Most Worshipful Grand Master, determined that the Lodges under the English Constitution in distant parts, should not only enjoy the common patronage and protection of the Grand Lodge (as heretofore), but also be informed of every important transaction therein; has directed the following proceedings to be laid before you.

When his Grace entered upon the office of Grand Master, desirous of pursuing every measure that could promote the prosperity and dignity of the Craft, he consulted the Annals of our Order, and found, that the fraternity had in former periods, acted under the sanction of *Royal Charters*; as in the reign of King Athelstan, and so lately as that of *Henry* the VIth. But he observed with concern, that those records had been unfortunately lost, through the intestine evils and confusion which happened afterwards.

Those observations excited in his Grace a design of obtaining a new Charter of Incorporation from our present Most Gracious Sovereign; firmly pursuaded that such Charter could not fail of producing the most advantageous consequences to the Craft; for though he observed that the Society had flourished of late years, and augmented its fund by degrees, to a capital of about 1500l, yet he could not doubt of its increase having been greatly retarded, through the insufficiency, and instability of the security on which such Fund depended; which objections, he apprehended, would, in future, be totally obviated by a Charter of Incorporation: as it would raise us from a self created body, to a legal permanent establishment; would put us on a more respectable footing in the eye of the public; would enable us effectually to secure our property, and recover legacies, and other donations with authority, consequently to enlarge our contributions to the distressed, and render our Charity more generally beneficial; circumstances abundantly sufficient to evince the necessity and utility of a Royal Charter.

His Grace's kind intentions having met with the general approval of his Grand Officers, he desired the Deputy Grand Master to acquaint the Society therewith. Accordingly, at a Committee of Charity, held on the 21st of October last, the design was communicated to the Masters of Lodges then present, who highly approved of such a measure: but thought it would be proper first to consider of the means for raising

a fund to build a Hall, purchase Furniture and Jewels, &c, for the use of the Grand In consequence of their determination, a scheme was formed for raising money to answer these purposes, exclusive of the Grand Fund of Charity, and a Meeting of the Grand Officers, with the Masters of Lodges was called by advertisement, in order to settle such scheme, which, after various alterations and amendments, was then unanimously approved of. Notwithstanding the most perfect harmony and cordiality appeared at the several meetings before mentioned, and the Craft in general seemed pleased with the Conduct of the Grand Officers, and highly applauded their endeavours to serve the Society; yet this harmony was of short duration, for before the next Grand Lodge, a set of brethren, some of them past Grand Officers, (whether from an envious apprehension that the measures at this time pursuing would eclipse everything that passed in their administrations, or from pique and disappointment at their not being continued in office, is uncertain) formed an opposition to every act of the brethren then in office: and at the quarterly communication held the 29th of that month, various debates ensued relative to the scheme: but on putting the question for confirmation, it was, by a very great majority, approved of.

Disappointed in this attempt, the opposers took every Method to inflame the minds of the brethren by artful insinuations against the intended Charter; which they apprehended would be the next consideration of the Society. They accordingly visited Lodges in all parts of London, and endeavoured to persuade them that the freedom and universality of the Society would be destroyed by a Charter of Incorporation, and that they were determined to support its liberty and independance. But these insinuations, however artful and plausible, were not attended with any great success: the brethren in general, saw through the mask, and treated them with proper contempt; fully convinced, that nothing more was meant by the Incorporation, than to render the Society more respectable and permanent, without affecting the universality, or the fundamental laws thereof, in any manner whatever.

By insinuations, however, of this sort, a report prevailed, that a great number of the Society disapproved of an Incorporation, which induced the Grand Master to call a meeting of the Grand Officers, and Masters of Lodges, to know their final sentiments on the point; when, out of near 100 present, there appeared only 12 or 15 who dissented: The rest applauded the measures taken, and signed a respectful letter to the Grand Master, returning him thanks for his past conduct, and requesting him to proceed, so far as to have a form of the intended Charter drawn up, and sent to the several Lodges for their approbation; which the Deputy Grand Master assured them should be done, before any farther steps were taken; alledging that the Grand Lodge only could determine, whether the Society should be Incorporated or not.

But how vain were all those efforts to preserve peace and harmony; disappointments in succession, drove the discontended to desperate means; desperate indeed they were: for immediately after the last public meeting, the Master, and Past Master of a Private Lodge, in the name of that Lodge, caused a carcat to be entered in one of the Offices, through which the Charter was to pass; with a view, if possible, to deter the Society from prosecuting their laudable intentions; thereby creating a necessity to have a hearing before the Crown Lawyers, as to the utility of a measure, which could only be argued with propriety, in the Grand Lodge; and this step was taken, even before any plan of the Charter could be prepared, and before they knew, whether by the tenour thereof, the Society would have the least reason to regret what had been done. This audacious proceeding, did not, however, pass unnoticed: a complaint was made against the Lodge, for daring to enter such a careat, and thereby counteracting the authority and determination of the Grand Lodge.

At the Quarterly Communication, held the 28th of April last, the brethren voted this Lodge was guilty of a high offence; and a motion was made, that their constitution should be taken away, which would undoubtedly have been the case, so incensed was the Society at their proceedings; had not the Master desired permission, (as an atonement for the offence), to ask public pardon, which he accordingly did; and the Lodge was thereupon restored to favour.

At the same Grand Lodge the Deputy Grand Master informed the brethren, that, agreeable to his promise, a plan of the intended Charter of Incorporation had been sent to the several Lodges for their approbation, and that the following return had been received: For the Incorporation 168 Lodges, against it 43. A motion was then made, and the question put, whether the Society should, or should not be Incorporated, and it was again carried in the affirmative, by a very great majority.

After this fresh check, the party had recourse to their usual mode of proceeding. A private meeting was called, to consider of the steps necessary to be taken in support of their Cause; when some few Enthusiasts proposed an attempt to divide the Society; but this Motion was over-ruled by the more moderate part of the Company, who it seems were of opinion, that the Caveat, already entered, should remain (notwith-standing the determination of the Grand Lodge) and the Charter be opposed; and in Case their Objections should be over-ruled, and set up a new (pretended) Grand Master; with which Resolution the Meeting broke up. Yet in this they will probably be deceived, as no Nobleman or Gentleman can approve of behaviour, so directly repugnant to the Laws and Principles of our Order, calculated to suppress all party Cabals, and to encourage Harmony and Peace.

In this situation Affairs remain at present, and as they are of the utmost concern to the Society, the Grand Master was unwilling to omit this opportunity of transmitting you an account thereof.

I shall only add, that as Transactions of the best tendency, may (by a disappointed Party) be represented as fraught with the blackest and most pernicious consequences; the most Worshipful Grand Master trusts, that if any applications should be made to our brethren in the country, they will be treated with proper contempt, and that the respective Lodges will transmit to me the purport of such applications. Be assured the present Grand Officers have ever had the real interests of the Society at heart; and it is expected, notwithstanding all opposition, that the Charter of Incorporation will be obtained, (of which you shall have proper notice) and that it will tend to the general good of the Craft; for with that view, and that alone, it was first proposed. Your contributions as usual, will be received with due respect. I wish the brotherhood every happiness, and remain with sincere regard,

Right Worshipful Master, and Brethren,

Your most Affectionate Brother,

Doctors Commons

JAMES HESELTINE, G. S.

June 10, 1769.

This statement of the case in favour of Incorporation would appear to have been circulated generally amongst all the *Modern* Lodges both at home and abroad. Heseltine's Letter Book bears evidence of official communications addressed during the latter half of the year 1769 to the Provincial Grand Masters of America. Canada and Bengal, and nearer home to the Provincial Grand Master of Scilly, similar communications being addressed during the same period to private Lodges at Gibraltar and St. Christophers, in the Barbados and Antigua, and in North and South Carolina. Two of these letters may be quoted as fair specimens of the remainder, which are all couched in the same strain:—

Doctors Commons 11 Aug^t. 1769.

Isaac Head Esqr. P.G.M. Scilly. Sir,

I have just received your favor of the 7th Instant and should have had much pleasure in furnishing you with the particulars you request, had it been in my power; But for various reasons, the Charter of Incorporation is at a stand, till the next Quarterly Communicon, when the final Determination of the Grand Lodge will be had—after which, you may depend on hearing from me as soon as possible in answer to your Request.—The Charter remains at present with the Blanks unsupplied.

I am Sir, Your most affectionate Bror. & Obedt. Servant

JAS. HESELTINE G.S.

Bro. George Errington, P.G.S. Barbadoes.

of an Incorporation. Since the printing of that Letter, divers other Lodges to the number of 70 or 80, have sent their approbations, and the opposition seems to be nearly annihilated; so that in my next, I hope to have the pleasure of acquainting you that the Charter is obtained; which I think cannot fail of answering many advantageous purposes to the Society as a charitable institution, by giving energy to its excellent Laws, and dignity to the whole order. Our most Noble G.M. and his Deputy are adored by the Society in General, and I trust will not quit their Stations, till they have accomplished many advantageous regulations.

J.H.

Doctors Commons (&c.)

13 Novr. 1769.

The Grand Secretary's expectation that Grand Lodge at its approaching meeting would reach a final determination on the question of Incorporation was not to be realised, for at the meeting of Grand Lodge held on October 27th, 1769 (Rowland Holt, S.G.W., on the Throne as G.M.) a resolution was moved by Brother Maskall, Master of the Ark Lodge, with the object of ensuring that the funds of the Society should be at the disposition of the Grand Officers of the year, by means of a series of annual transfers. This proposal met with stout opposition, particularly on the part of those who resisted the scheme for Incorporation, fears being entertained by these brethren that such funds, if transferred, would be utilised in financing the Grand Master's project.

According to the Grand Lodge Minutes:-

The G.T. delivered in his Account which was read and approved of, and there appeared a Ballance in his Hands of £1-19-1 exclusive of £204 collected this Night, and £1300 Bank Annuities Consolidated with £ * Subscription towards the Grand Lodge Fund.

Brother Berkeley then resigned his Staff of Office, and was unanimously re-elected Grand Treasurer for the ensuing Year.

Brother Maskall Master of the Ark Lodge then made some observations upon the nature of the Security given by the Grand Treasurer for the Fund of the Society, and thought it would be for the benefit of the whole Body, to have such Fund Annually Transferred into the names of the Grand Officers for the time being, and concluded with a Motion That the Money standing in the Bank of England in the Names of Mr. Berkeley and his Sureties, on behalf of and in Trust for this Society, should be immediately Transferred into the Names of the present Grand Officers, which was duly seconded, and after mature deliberation

Resolved

That the Sum of £1300 standing in the Names of Mr. Rowland Berkeley as Grand Treasurer, together and his two Sureties Mr. Arthur Beardmore and Mr. Richard Nevison, in the 3 pr. Cent Consolidated Annuities of the Bank of England, being the Property of and held in Trust for this Society, be immediately Transferred into the Names of the present Grand Officers. And that the Grand Secretary do in Writing acquaint the said Mr. Rowland Berkeley, Mr. Arthur Beardmore, and Mr. Richard Nevison with this resolution and desire the Transfer to be made accordingly.

All Business being over the Grand Lodge was Closed in due Form.

* Blank in the original.

In pursuance of this resolution the Grand Secretary on October 31st wrote the following letter:—

Mess^{rs}. Berkeley, Beardmore & Nevison Gentlemen,

At a Quart^{ly}. Commⁿ, of the Society of Free & Accepted Masons, held at the Crown & Anchor Tavern in the Strand on Friday last the 27th Instant, it was resolved That the money standing in the Names of M^r. Rowl^d. Berkeley, M^r. Arthur Beardmore and M^r. Richard Nevison, in the Bank of England on behalf of and in trust for the s^d. Society should be forthwith Transferred into the names of the present Grand Officers—I am therefore directed to acquaint you with such resolution and to desire you will immediately Transfer the same into the names of His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, The Hon^{ble}. Charles Dillon, Rowl^d. Berkeley Gent. James Heseltine Gent. and William Smith Bridle Cutter as the present Grand Officers of the said Society, pursuant to the above mentioned resolution. Your speedy ans^r. will oblige.

Gentlemen

Your most obedt. Servt.

Doctors Commons

31 Octr. 1769.

J.H.

G.S.

Beardmore must have promptly raised objections to this proposal, for these three letters were addressed to him within the next few days. Beardmore's letters in reply have not been traced, but their nature is sufficiently indicated by the letters addressed to him:—

To Mr. Beardmore

Sir,

M^r. Berkeley having this day acquaint^d, me that you wished to see a Copy of the minute of the Grand Lodge relative to the transfer of the Fund of the Free Masons Society by the late Grand Treasurer to M^r. Berkeley &c I accordingly inclose you a copy thereof and am Sir Your humble Servant

Doctors Commons

JAS. HESELTINE. G.S.

2d. Novr. 1769.

Arthur Beardmore Esqr.

Sir,

I am informed by the G.S. that you refuse to Transfer the Stock belonging to the Society to the prest. Grand Officers, after the resolution of the Gr^d. Lodge at the last Quartly. Comⁿ. Since that resolution is passed I am obliged to inforce the Execution of it, and hold myself accountable, to the Society in this business by virtue of my office. I therefore hope you will comply without delay, as this affair must absolutely be settled previous to measures of the utmost importance, or that you will favor me with your reasons for this denial, that I may take the Opinion of the Society, to determine upon proper methods to recover and secure its property. I am Sir Your very humble Sery^t.

Hertford Strt.

CHAs. DILLON.

4th. Novr. 1769.

To Arthur Beardmore Esqr.

Sir

Your aversion to Compliments proves your modesty, which generally accompanies superior merit—those I paid you in my Letters were only the tribute due to that merit; but since you refuse even the praise you justly deserve. I shall without any more Compliments take the liberty to make some observations on the Letter I rec^{ed}, from you yesterday. I have read it several times with great attention and think it above the comprehension of those who cannot reconcile contradic^{ns}. You first say the Secr^{ys}, information to me, of your refusing to comply wth, the resolution of the G.L. is false, & in the next Line, you tell me you will not transfer the Stock till you have

met, consulted and advised. You will be pleased to take notice that the Society has nothing to do with your Consultations the Craft has certainly a right to entrust its property to whom it pleases you are not left to Judge whether such Disposition be proper or not, but are bound in Duty to obey the resolution of the G.L. as well as myself, which order has occasioned this agreable correspondence. I must therefore repeat my request that you will before next Sunday name a future Day as early as possible for finally settling this business otherwise I will call a G.L. when you may rest assured your Letters shall fairly be produced, that you may not be deprived of that share of praise, (notwithstanding your blushing merit) you are so justly intitled to; by your elegant performance

Your hble. Servant

Novr. 9th 1769.

CHAs. DILLON.

This refusal on the part of Beardmore led to the summoning of an Extraordinary Grand Lodge at the Crown and Anchor on November 29th, 1769, at which Charles Dillon presided as Grand Master, when

The Most Worshipful Grand Master acquainted the Brethren that in pursuance of the resolution of last Q.C. Mr. Rowland Berkeley Grand Treasurer, Mr. Arthur Beardmore, and Mr. Richard Nevison his two Sureties, had been applied to, and required to Transfer the £1300 Bank Ann⁸. Consolidated, standing in their Names on behalf of, and in Trust for, this Society, into the Names of the present Grand Officers—That Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Nevison had agreed to comply therewith, but that Mr. Beardmore had refused to join in the Transfer—The G.M. also produced sundry Letters that had passed between himself and Mr. Beardmore relative thereto, which were read.

Brother Edwards P.G.W. then spoke in justification of Bro. Beardmore's conduct, and alledged that he could not safely comply with the resolution of the G.L. for Transferring the Stock, as he would thereby subject himself to Actions at the Suit of the Obligees.

In answer to this assertion the G.S. read the Bond given for securing the Fund. By the condition of which it appeared—That on compliance with the resolutions of the G.L. such Bond would become void.

The G.M. hereupon observed—That it was his sincere wish to have the Matter settled in an amicable manner, and that every possible lenient Measure might be persued on this Occasion—For which purpose he proposed that a Letter should be wrote to The Right Honorable Lord Blayney, Colonel John Salter, Richard Ripley, and Charles Tuffnall Esquires, as Obligees in the Bond, to request their concurrence in the Measures taken—which was duly Seconded—

And on putting the Question—it passed in the Affirmative—Whereupon a Letter was prepared by a Committee of Five Brethren nominated for that purpose—And the same was read, approved of, and directed to be Signed by each of the then acting Grand Officers—

All Business being over the Grand Lodge was closed in due Form.

Letters written by the Grand Secretary during the month of December indicate that the Obligees were in no hurry to reply to this official communication. Of these letters, two may be quoted with advantage:—

To Br. McCoul Secry, of the Lodge at Darlington. Sir & Bror.

I duly rec^d, y^r, favor of the 23^d. Nov^r, and am authorized by the G.M. to return your Lodge thanks in the names of all the G. Off^{rs}, for the great regard & confidence reposed in their honour & justice by granting a Deputation for the appointm^t, of such Brethren to attend the last G.L. as they sh^d.

approve of, but it was judged unnecessary to appoint any representatives for you on that occasion. In order to give you a regular acet, of the intention of that meets. I must begin by telling you that at the last Q.C. in October last, it was resolved that the Sum of £1300 stands, in the Bank in the names of Mr. Rowld. Berkeley, Mr. Arthur Beardmore & Mr. Richd. Nevison as his two Sureties on behalf of and in Trust for the Society of Free Masons shd. be immediately Transferred into the names of the prest. G.O. Mr. Berkeley & Mr. Nevison accordingly declared they were ready to Transfer, but Beardmore refused. The last Extra Grand Lodge was therefore called to consider of the measures necessary to be taken for the recovery of this It is secured to the Society by a Bond, which was in the yr. 1766 given by the 3 beforement^d. Gent^a. to Lord Blayney Col^l. Salter M^r. Ripley & Mr. Tuffnall, then G.O. The G.L therefore resolved that a Lr. shd. be wrote to those Gentlemen, desiring their concurrence in the measures taken, as by that means the Bond may be put in force at Comon Law, and the money be easily recovered—but shd, they, or any of them, refuse to concur, the Society will be under the disagreable necessity of Fyling a Bill in Chancy. against the parties, as the only method left them for the recovery of their property. What will be the event of these Letters a little time must shew. The party I ment^d, in my circular printed Letter transmitted you some time since, who were endeavouring to foment a Division, are the sole abettors of this infamous detention. When anything further is done you will be acquainted wth. it.

The Gr^d. Treas^r, is now out of Town, so that I am unable at pres^t, to give you any ans^r, to the money you remitted in Dec^r, last, but you may depend upon hear^g, from me on that head shortly I was not Sec^{rg}, in Dec^r, last.

The next Comittee of Charity will be held at the Horn Tavern Fleet Str^t, on Wednesday the 31st Jan^{ry}, next—and the Q.C. on the Wednesday following (the 7th Feb^{ry}, before w^{ch}, time be pleased to make y^r, intended remittance.

I am &c.

Drs. Comons 23rd Deer. 1769

J.H.

To Edwd. Bacon Esqr. P.G.M., Norwich.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

In my last I acquainted you with the reasons for calling the late extraordinary G.L. at which it was resolved that every possible Lenible measure should be pursued for the recovery of our Charitable Fund rather than go to extremes (Mr. Beardmore having refused to Transfer pursuant to the resolutions of the former G.L. as I also informed) And therefore a Lr. was wrote to Lord Blayney and the other Obligees in the Bond requesting their concurrence in the resolutions, as by their assent the Bond may be inforced at Common Law & the property easily recovered, which otherwise cannot be done without a Bill in Chancery. To this Lr. we have not yet received any Answer and therefore cannot say what will be the event.

I am Sir &c.

Drs. Comous 19th December 1769.

J.H.

The reply, when it did arrive, was in these terms:—

7 Jany. 1770.

 S^r .

Having received a letter signed by the Grand Officers of an extraordinary Grand Lodge held 29th Nov. 1769 requesting us to signify our concurrence to the measures therein mentioned by a line addressed to you. In answer thereto, we desire to enjoin them, that as Obligees of the Bond given for securing the 1300£ 3 pr. Cent Ann Consold. We look upon ourselves Trustees for the Society at large, and cannot give our assent to the measures at present proposed, which we think neither legal constitutional or tending to the general Good of the Craft: & more especially, as we are at a loss to know what Construction to put on a Declaration made by the Deputy Grand Master in a Letter to Brother Beardmore on this subject, by which he informs him, that the Transfer of the Annuities must be absolutely made previous to measures of the utmost importance.

We are Sr.

Your affectionate Brothers

JOHN SALTER P.D.G.M.
RICHD. RIPLEY P.S.G.W.
CHAS. TUFNEIL P.J.G.W.

To

Mr. James Heseltine.

In the meantime the Opposition had not been idle. Towards the end of December, 1769, Lodges received a lengthy anonymous pamphlet dealing with these financial proposals. This pamphlet read:—

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MASTER and BRETHREN,

As an extraordinary Grand Lodge has been lately held for the purpose of settling affairs of the utmost importance to the Craft, it surely cannot be thought improper or unconstitutional to transmit to the different Lodges a true and faithful account of its proceedings; for though it may be true that veritas odium parit, it is equally certain that truth will stand firm on its own basis, while misrepresentations need the support of those in power.

Prior to the recital of what passed at the Grand Lodge above mentioned it will be necessary to take a retrospect of the conduct of our present Grand Officers for a short time before.—Our Most Worshipful Grand Master, with the greatest good-will to the Craft, proposed some time ago to provide us with a Charter, as the means of rendering us a legal and permanent body, from one self-created, and having no legal existence: -the thoughts of being thus sheltered under the wings of royal authority, were too flattering not to produce the most pleasing ideas in the mind of every zealous Mason, who did not maturely deliberate on what might be the consequences of such a change in our constitution: a scheme was produced, and, after much opposition and alteration, agreed to for raising a fund to defray the expenses of erecting a hall, dec.; but however great was the majority in favour of the scheme, the articles of which it consisted were nevertheless several of them of the most dishonourable kind; some being of a most extortionate nature, others setting the prerogative of the Grand Master to Things seemed now in a prosperous train, and the Craft were in expectation that their next meeting would have been by incorporation; but unfortunately, some thinking Brethren, finding how absurd it would be to attempt the incorporation of a body of people, natives of all nations, and resident in all countries; and further considering, that as the power of the crown extends no farther in the business of incorporation than to its own natural subjects, or those who are become so by naturalization, (and not unto them unless resident in Great Britain); so if the Charter proposed should be obtained, it must necessarily cut off from our body all foreigners not already naturalized, as well those in our own country as those belonging to Lodges abroad; these Brethren, I say, finding the absurdity of the attempt, determined to use their utmost efforts to prevent it; and in consequence of these considerations, a caveat was regularly entered against it in the proper law-office by the Caledonian Lodge, the members of which (being principally foreigners, and consequently incapable of becoming participants of any advantages which might arise from the acquisition of a Charter, or even of being considered at any rate as members of the body when corporate) were not only justifiable in, but commendable for their behaviour on this occasion: this, however, appeared to the Deputy-Grand-Master as so beingus a crime, that he, without much candour, ordered them to be IMPEACHED (a new word in the Masonic language); and when the matter came judicially before the Grand Lodge in Quarterly Communication assembled, they were voted guilty of an offence, (though not at the motion of the Deputy-Grand-Master, who was desirous of proceeding to extreme punishment before it was known that the Grand Lodge held them guilty); however, the necessary question being put, the Lodge declared them guilty; and then the Deputy-Grand-Master (sure of a triumph) proceeded to wreak his vengeance on them, by moving the Lodge to take away their constitution; but a great majority appearing against it, he insisted upon a SCRUTINY (another novelty!) though being at length dissuaded from so rash an attempt, he was graciously pleased (because it was the pleasure of the Lodge) to accept their submission.

This being the true state of the case (notwithstanding the notorious falsehood in the letter to which the Grand Secretary, I suppose imprudently, subscribed his name) the Charter came again upon the tapis; and we were given to understand, that as soon as the affairs of the Craft could be properly prepared to receive it, a Charter could be obtained in three days;—a speed which considering all things, is not very credible: but since that time we have heard nothing more concerning it, except in distant hints; and there is much reason to suppose, that the impetuosity of the incorporating party tired them before they reached the goal, and caused them to finish their career too soon. However

All on a sudden the Craft were alarmed by a violent suspicion that those obstinate people, to whose trust the fund of Charity was committed, had no intention of surrendering it to the order of the Grand Lodge: and in consequence thereof a motion was made, that the money in the funds should annually be transferred into the hands of the Grand Officers for the time being; which being carried in the affirmative, the Deputy-Grand Master wrote to the trustees to inform them of the resolution of the Grand Lodge, and to require a transfer accordingly; but received in answer from Mr. Beardmore (one of them) that he could not comply with his request, till he should have consulted those Past Grand Officers to whom he gave his bond, nor could he with safety to himself transfer the same without their consent. This was the general purport of a correspondence, the rest of which, on the part of the Deputy-Grand-Master, consisted of little more than such sneering compliments, as can by no means tend to make his person beloved, though they may make his pen feared: the following passage in one of the Deputy-Grand-Master's letters seems worthy of observation, viz. "as this affair must absolutely be settled previous to measures of the utmost importance"; and here-I must observe, that it would have well become him to have acquainted the Grand Lodge what were those mighty affairs whose execution depended on, and which were of necessity to be preceded by a transfer of the stock.—Alas! Alas! thus to treat us is attempting to deceive us with our eyes open: and only drawing a cobweb veil over the plan, which the brush of candid enquiry must soon sweep down.

It is very remarkable, that hitherto the Craft has never been informed how the expence of obtaining a Charter was to be defrayed: the scheme before mentioned might indeed at one time be speculated upon, as sufficient to answer all demands; but experience seems to find the scheme rather Utopian: it may with propriety be conjectured, therefore, that the money is wanting to purchase the Charter; and that if you give up your fund into the hands of the Grand Officers, without security for its application to charity only, great part of what was meant for the relief of distressed Brethren, will be made use of to feed the luxury of court-drones, and gratify the ambition of those who mislead our rulers. A strong argument in support of this conjecture is, that unless the 1300l. was wanted for the purpose of obtaining a Charter, our incorporation need not be retarded; seeing that though the Charter should be obtained previous to the transfer of the stock, yet the body corporate would by means of their Charter, be enabled to compel the trustees to deliver up their trust to the Grand Officers, or such of their members as they should appoint to receive it: but "it is necessary that the stock should be transferred previous to measurees of the utmost importance ":- and so it is, if it be thought a matter of utmost importanceto make dupes of so large a body of people as Masonry is composed of; which, I trust, will not be the case, if you will think for yourselves a moment; but at present decipinar specie recti.

In consideration of Brother Beardmore's refusal to comply with so unconstitutional a proceeding, an extraordinary Grand Lodge was called, with extraordinary precipitation, to consider this matter; and was opened by a speech which the Deputy-Grand-Master read to the assembly, and which some called a pathetic, others a virulent composition: It must be allowed, that he expatiated with much and most sympathetic energy on the many hardships to which the petitioning members of our Fraternity were reduced by the Charity being with-holden from their relief; but as it is well known, that no petitioner has ever yet failed of receiving whatever relief the Grand Lodge has thought fit to grant him, I shall leave this stubborn fact to reply to that erroneous part of the Deputy-Grand-Master's declamation. After much debate, the managers of this farce, finding themselves to have made an egregious mistake, by applying to the three Trustees for the transfer, when they should have demanded it of those to whom the bond of the said Trustees was given, came to a resolution to make application to the proper persons; and a letter was immediately composed for that purpose: -and Thus this extraordinary Grand Lodge was only held to there the matter now rests. be witnesses of the inability of their Officers to judge, whether it were proper to make their application, for the ultimate compliance with the obligation of a bond, to its Obligees or its Obligors.

As this epistle has unavoidably reached a length much greater than was at first intended, I shall quit the debate concerning the transfer (which, I think, is so plain as to need no comment) and conclude with a few cursory remarks on some parts of that night's conference, which were merely incidental.—In the course of the debates, an accusation was laid against a Past Grand Officer then present, alledging, That he had proposed a division of the Craft, and the setting up another Grand Master. accusation the Deputy-Grand-Master (who it must be understood all through this letter sat as Grand Master unless in the impeachment of the Caledonian Lodge, when the Grand Master himself was present, and distinguished himself by the uprightness of his behaviour) listened with great attention and apparent pleasure: but when the accused desired to be heard in his defence (which if heard, would have been plain, and must have acquitted him totally) the Deputy-Grand-Master stood up with seeming warmth, and declared. That the business of that meeting was of such consequence, that he would not suffer it to be interrupted by any thing whatever that did not come immediately to the point.—Why then was the accusation heard?—When the extempore committee was withdrawn to form the letter of application, a motion was made, that the future advertisements for the meeting of Grand Lodges should be addressed To the Free and Accepted Masons, and that the words under the constitution of England should be thenceforth omitted; but here the Deputy-Grand-Master suffered an altercation to ensue, which was quite foreign to the motion, and indulged it as much as possible; the reason seemed to be because it was an accusation against a Brother (who had rendered himself obnoxious to the Deputy-Grand-Master by being instrumental in entering the caveat against the Charter) saying, that he was the means of withdrawing the Dutch Lodges from their allegiance to our constitution; but as this matter is to be again rehearsed at the next Quarterly Communication, I shall not seek to prejudice your opinions; though I cannot help remarking, that the favour in which the accuser is held, and the evil eye with which the accused is regarded, give room to suppose, that candour will have but little share in the debate, if influence can possibly To elucidate this affair still further, be it observed.—That the accuser stands indebted to the Grand Master for conferring on him a dignity of a very extraordinary nature, that of Provincial Grand Master of all such foreign Lodges as had not already a Provincial Grand Master of their own before his appointment; and this same Provincial Grand Master (whose jurisdiction may, for aught I know. extend to the Antipodes) resides in London.—Risum teneatis amici!—A Provincial Grand Master for Lancashire has also been appointed, whose residence in that Province is only three months in the year; and that in the summer, when Lodges meet less frequently; so that it should seem as if those appointments were only meant to increase their partizans, and make us relish unwelcome measures whether we will or no.

The vast multiplicity of absurdities, and their daily increase, give room to fear, that the Grand Lodge will shortly become an Augaean stable, which nothing less than a Masonic Hercules will be able to purge from its corruption:—Be it then, my Brethren, our business to support the dignity of the Grand Officers, and to aid them in all undertakings which we shall find laudable and salutary, after judging them by the criterion of our constitution: but let me intreat you, to consider well what may be the consequences of transferring your stock; and to debate, with that calm impartiality which the seriousness of the subject requires, the two following questions:

1st, Whether to transfer the stock into the hands of the Grand Officers for the time being without any stipulated security, be not absolutely repugnant to our Constitution-laws?

2^{dly}, Whether there be not room to apprehend (in case the proposed transfer should succeed) a misapplication of the fund of the Charity?

And should it appear to you, from a discussion of these two questions, that the proposal for the transfer is unjust, you will, no doubt, give proper instructions to your representatives at the next Grand Lodge to oppose the measure, that we may be able to withstand all sinister attempts, and having done all, TO STAND.

On receipt of this anonymous circular, Lodges at Deal, Swansea, Whitehaven and Richmond (Yorks) communicated with the Grand Secretary on the matter.

At a meeting of the Lodge of Friendship No. 3 on January 10th, 1770; at which only three members were present,

. . . the letter, being anonimous, insidiously reflecting on the present Grand Officers in respect of the fund of Charity; and several late proceedings of the Grand Lodge, was deem'd an infamous, false & inflamatory, as well as paultry production. Therefore it was moved, seconded & order'd, that it be, and the same was accordingly, burnt.

The Grand Secretary, in replying to the Lodge at Whitehaven, wrote:—
To Lodge at Wt.haven.

. The Anonymous Lr. you mention has been sent to all the Lodges in Town as well as Country so that you need not give yourself the trouble of remitts, the Copy sent to Wt.haven. Your P.G.M.'s opinion of it is very just. It is the production of the same set of men who have so long disturbed the harmony of our G.L. and of whom mention is made in my Printed Circular Lr. some time ago-there is hardly a circumstance throughout that is not a Most Gross falsehood and calculated to ansr. the most pernicious purposes particularly wth. respect to the Fund of Chaty, the authors are well known to have intentions of dividing the Society and they have repeatedly declared previous to the Measures now in agitation that the £1300 Bank Annuities should never be given up to the Society. that if they cod. accomplish the proposed division-A New G.L. shd. be formed & the money shd. be appropriated to its use. Declarens. of this nature were some time since made by Beardmore and another of the Party to me, and various other Brn. but were not credited as we apprehended no Bror. who wd. wish to be esteemed an honest man cd. be guilty of an action so base—but at last the report became Universal and it was then judged necessary by sev1. Masrs. of Lodges to move for a Transfer into the names of the present G.O. wen, was agreed to unanimously in G.L. and a Lr. was sent to the Parties concerned I mean the G.T. and his Sureties (in whose Names the Anns. stand) requiring the Transfer to be made accordly, when the Treas, and one of his Sureties imediately declared their readiness to complybut Beardmore refused alleges, he cd. not do it with safety, witht, the concurrence of the Obligees in the Bond given for Securing this Money notwithstands, by the condition of the Bond it is expressly declared that if the G.T. & his Sureties shall transfer the Stock & comply wth, the resolutus, of the G.L. respects, the same then the oblig", is to be void &c. obligees are some P.G.O.8 of the same Kidney who refuse to put the Bond in Execution agst. Beardmore, and therefore no remedy remains but by a Bill in Chancery & that step must no doubt be taken, so that you see from hence one of the most infamous Schemes adopted by the Consciencious Authors of the Anonymous Lr. that ever disgraced Free Masons. Honble, Mr. Dillons behaviour is much condemnd, by the Authors and their Friends, perhaps in all 10 or a Dozen-but the rest of the Fraternity applaud & adore him and certainly no D.G.M. ever did more honour to the Office. The Fund of Charity was never meant to be touched on acct. of the Incorporation and as to the rest of their Declamons, it is equally false consequently Youll hear from me again soon after the 7th Felry. unworthy notice. have not time to say more that I am most truly

Dr. Sir &c.

Drs. Comons, 18th Janry, 1770. J.H.

In Heseltine's second Letter Book, between the copies of two letters each of which is dated January 2nd, 1770, there appears this undated communication addressed to the Deputy Grand Master:—

Honble. Chas. Dillon. Hon^{ble}. Sir,

You will herewith receive an anonymous Lr. which has been Sent to all the Lodges in England by the Party in opposition to Our measures. the greatest reason to believe it the work of that ingenious Gentlⁿ. Mr. Arthur Beardmore wth, the assistance of Messrs, Edwards, Tenbroke & a little man whose name is Massey, and who spoke in opposition to the Advertizement for the last G.L. relative to the words "under the Constitution of Engld." I have had the pleasure of hears, it voted a scandalous false and inflamatory production in several Lodges lately—and of seeing it Burnt by the Tylers at the directions of those Lodges & doubt not it will meet wth. the same Fate in many more. I am really at a Loss to determine whether the ignorance or impudence of those authors is most conspicuous for it is an unpardonable piece of folly to suppose the Masons in London who have been witnesses to every Transaction of the G.O. will be imposed upon by such flimsy Assertions-and it is on the other hand a piece of impudence no other set of Men than those I have before mentioned could be capable of to offer ffalsehoods the most glaring to the Society by way of exculpating themselves from the charges lately brot. agt. them.

I have lately been informed that many of the Lodges entertain doubts about the intentions of the G. Officers with respect to the Fund of Charity; and alledge that they cannot see any reason for prolonging the application for an Incorporation, till the final settling of matters as to the Transfer. In order to satisfy every one, I would humbly submit to your consideron, whether it would not be most adviseable to apply to Parliam^t, for an Act of Incorporation rather than by Petition to the King, as I am informed Foreigners may in that case be included without difficulty, which is a point the opposition have urged on all occasions as an effectual Bar Ag^t, an Incorporation. If this mode sh^d, be approved of would it not be proper to have a Bill prepared as soon as possible with proper Clauses as to Foreigners by w^{ch}, means every doubt might be obviated in that respect at

the next G.L. and would it not be adviseable to move that the money in the Treasurers Hands on Acc. of the late regulations Sh. be appropriated to the purposes of obtains, the Act of Incorporation &c. w., w. satisfy every one that the G.O. have no intention of approps, any part of the Fund of Charity to improper uses?

I have got a case ready for the opinion of M^r . Yorke relative to the Transfer agreeably to your directions w^{ch} , cannot I presume be made use of till y^r , return.

I have the Honour to be with the most perfect respect, Sir, Your most obliged & most obedient Serv^t.

This letter to the Deputy Grand Master foreshadows that complete change in the method of procedure which was shortly to occur in the attempt to secure Incorporation. Instead of relying upon a Royal Charter, which it was hoped to obtain by prerogative of the Crown, the Deputy Grand Master and his supporters eventually determined to proceed by way of Petition to the House of Commons. Many months, however, elapsed before any concrete steps were taken in this direction. In the meantime stormy scenes continued at meetings of the Committee of Charity and at the Quarterly Communications of Grand Lodge.

At the meeting of the Committee of Charity held on January 31st, 1770, attended by the Masters of sixty-eight Lodges, and presided over by the Deputy Grand Master, according to the official minute,

Brother Muller who avowedly attended this Evening as Master of the Caledonian Lodge No. 325, recommended Bror. Gottverfrouw Holtzhuysen as an Object of Charity. Upon which Bror. Dunckerley Provincial Grand Master for Hampshire observed That the Caledonian Lodge had not contributed any thing to the Fund of Charity for upwards of 12 Months past. And that he had been informed the Brethren of that Lodge had declared they never would contribute any thing more than was absolutely necessary to preserve That by a Law of the Grand Lodge relative to the their Constitution. Committee of Charity-it is declared "That no Master of a Lodge shall be a Member of the said Committee whose Lodge has not contributed to the general Charity during 12 Months past "-That therefore he apprehended Brother Muller had no right to attend that Comittee; and moved that the Law by him quoted might be read-The Law was read accordingly.-Whereupon a Motion was made that Bror. Muller should be ordered to quit the room, which was seconded-But previous to the putting this question The Grand Masr, observed that as the poor Petitioner appeared a deserving object he thought it would be hard to deprive him of relief on account of Brother Muller's irregular recommendation—and therefore put the Question for relieving him-with £5-which passed in the affirmative. The Question relative to Brother Muller's quitting the Comittee was then immediately put and passed in the affirmative by a great majority. In consequence of this resolution the Grand Master desired Brother Muller to quit the room, which he refused, but after various remonstrances he, by the desire of his Friends, left the room.-Brother Tenbrooke who appeared as Master of the Steward's Lodge, now made a motion that Brother Muller should be readmitted as a member of the Stewards Lodge, as had always been the custom. Upon which Brother Bowman Master of the Lodge No. 14, moved that the Law for the admission of Stewards might be read. But on enquiry no such Law existed. Bro". Tenbrooke again observed that ancient usage in those cases, he apprehended, amounted to a Law. In answer to which Bror. Bowman declared he thought Customs only became Laws by usage Time imemorial and that the Custom for the admission of Stewards at the Comittee had no such

This was immediately succeeded by a motion from Bror. Durham Masr. of the Lodge of Alfred, in the University of Oxford, That on account of Brother Muller's misbehaviour, and refusal to leave the room when ordered by the Grand Master he should not be readmitted in any capacity, which was seconded—And the Question being put it passed in the Affirmative by a very great majority-Bror. Tenbrooke then quitted the room, and the usual Business of the Evening was resumed but was soon interrupted by the Entrance of Bror. Muller in capacity of Masr. of the Stewards Lodge. was hereupon acquainted by the Grand Master-That the Comittee had resolved he should not be admitted in any capacity-and commanded him to quit the room; which he peremptorily refused—and after having been many times, in vain, admonished to depart, the Tylers were directed to turn him out of the room, and he was turned out accordingly-Bror. Haywood then made a motion that Bror. Tenbrooke on Masr. of the Lodge No. account of his misbehaviour, by delivering up his Jewel as Masr. of the Stewards Lodge, to Brother Muller, as an authority to appear in the Comittee; in defiance of the resolutions thereof, should not be permitted to Enter the room again that Evening-which was seconded-and the Master of a Lodge who happened to be out of the room when Br. Tenbrooke quitted it-informed the Comittee that he saw Br. Tenbrooke deliver his Jewel to Bro. Muller -and heard him say at the same Time-put on this Jewel, and go into the room in spite of 'em-or he used words to that effect. Question was thereupon put as to Bror. Tenbrooke's non admission, which passed nemine contradicente.

The remainder of the necessary Business was then most harmoniously completed—and the Lodge was closed in due form.

At the meeting of Grand Lodge a week later (February 7th, 1770), at which the Deputy Grand Master presided, again according to the official record,

A complaint was made by Brother Maskall Master of the Ark Lodge against Brother Muller Master of the Caledonian Lodge for having most grossly misbehaved at the last Comittee of Charity, and for having subsequent thereto brought an Action against Brother Preston Master of the Ionic Lodge (who assisted in turning him out of the said Comittee) by which means the Proceedings thereof would necessarily be exposed in a Court of Law. which ought never to be done till all other Constitutional Methods of redress prove fruitless, the consideration whereof he submitted to the G.L.

Upon which a Motion was made by Brother Bottomley of the Lodge of Antiquity, that Br. Muller for such his misconduct should be Expelled the Society, which Motion was seconded. But the G.M. desirous of reconcileing Matters, if possible, requested Br. Muller, who was then present, to drop the Action, and make a Concession to the G.L. Brother Muller however persisted in what he had done and would not accede to the Grand Master's proposal. Whereupon the Question as to his Expulsion was put & it passed in the Affirmative by a very great Majority.

The G.M. then acquainted the Brethren that in consequence of the Letter drawn up and approved of at the last Extraordinary G.L. a Copy of which signed by all the Grand Officers then present, has been sent to each of the Obligees in the Bond for securing the Property of the Society, he had received an Answer from Colonel John Salter. Richd. Ripley & Chas. Tuffnall Esqrs. three of the said Obligees, whereby they had refused to comply with the resolutions of the Grand Lodge, with respect to the Transfer of the Stock into the Names of the present Grand Officers—But as they had not given any satisfactory reasons for their non compliance and no answer had been received from Lord Blayney the other Obligee in the Bond—He proposed to the Brethren to postpone the further consideration of that Point to the

next G.L. And offered in the mean Time to wait upon Coll. Salter, Mr Ripley, & Mr Tuffnall in order to know their particular Objections—which Proposition was approved of.

As the right of Members of the Stewards Lodge in general, to attend the Comittee of Charity appeared doubtfull, in consequence of what had passed at the last Comittee on account of Brother Muller. A Motion was made that such right should be taken into Consideration. And it was considered accordingly—And as no mention is made thereof in the Laws of the Society—The G.L. was of Opinion that they had not a general right to attend. But in order to prevent disputes in future and to make a proper distinction between that and other Lodges—A Motion was made that the Stewards Lodge should be allowed the privilege of sending a number of Brethren equal to any other four Lodges—and as the Master alone, of each private Lodge had a right to attend, so the Master and three other Members should attend on behalf of the Stewards Lodge, at every succeeding Comittee—which Motion was duly Seconded—And on putting the Question it passed in the Affirmative.

In connection with the undignified incidents which occurred before the Committee of Charity on January 31st, 1770, the late Brother Makins extracted the following relevant passage from a pamphlet entitled "Masonic Anecdotes—A Caution to the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of England":—

In 1768, an Intention of Incorporating the Society was in agitation and was proceeded in; but a Caveat being entered at the Attorney General's Office against such Incorporation, among others who opposed it was the Master of the Caledonian Lodge, then held at the Half-Moon Tavern in Cheapside, which brought on an altercation in the Grand Lodge; and so Strenous was LITTLE SOLOMON in Support of that Grand Lodge (which he now despises) that he had the Assurance and Impudence to take the Master of that Lodge by the Collar, and, with Assistance, dragged him over the Table. A Suit at Law was instituted against him for the Assault, but by the Mediation of Friends the Matter was dropped.

This pamphlet was published circa 1787-88. "Little Solomon" was clearly William Preston.

Thomas Dunckerley, who was not amongst those present at the meeting of Grand Lodge held on February 7th, 1770, was acquainted with the events of the day by the Grand Secretary, who, in the course of his letter dated March 3rd, stated:—

With respect to the Quartly. Comⁿ. I can only inform you we had much noise and confusion, but did nothing material. M^r. Dillon undertook to wait on Coll^l. Salter & to know the reason of their refusal, as to the Transfer. What will be the result I know not.

You must, I presume, have heard of Mr. Dillons having been elected Memr. of Parliament for Westbury in Wiltshire last week, for web, place he has now taken his Seat. This gives great Spirits to the Society in general, who hope of the Incorpⁿ from this circumstance; and he is resolved to use his utmost endeavours for that purpose.

The extent of the opposition at this period is indicated by expressions contained in another letter written by the Grand Secretary at about this time. Addressing himself on February 15th to "Henry Price Esquire at Boston," Heseltine wrote:—

There are not at this time more than 12 or 14 Lodges who dissent but those dissentients give a great deal of Trouble owing to their having the property of the Society so much in their power that I'm afraid we shall be obliged to file a Bill in Chancery for the recovery thereof. This property stands in the Bank, amounting to £1300 and is there invested in the Names of the Treas^r. and his two Sureties—one of those Sureties refuses to give up the Money accord^g, to the directions of the G.L. and as the Obligees are of the same Opinion a Bill in Equity is our only remedy. The Incorpor^{on} is therefore at a Stand till the determ^{on} of this point and is the principal obstacle to its Execution. As soon as any thing farther is done you may depend on hearing from me.

The nature of the reception accorded by Lodges in America to the proposed Incorporation is revealed in an abstract of letters received by the Grand Secretary between the meetings of the Committee of Charity held in February and April, 1770. This abstract records the receipt of:—

A Lr. from H. Price Esqr. P.G.M. for North America acquaints. me that the G.M.s intention to have the Society Incorpord. had given high Spirits to the Fraternity in gen! in that part of the world. That a Comittee from sev! Lodges were preparing a proper answer on the subject declaring in favor of a Charter as a thing they had wished for these 20 years past. That they were of opinion the opposing Brn. had a design to destroy all Charity & then farewell that Brotherly Love wch, had so long subsisted. That I might be assured all the Brethren in America wd. * for a Charter. That a strict watch shd. be kept on the Opposers shd. they make any attempts on the Lodges there. He begs to have Copies of the Charter sent as soon as completed & desires that the sentiments of the American Lodges may be communicd, to the G.M.

In ans. I acquainted him with what had been done relative to the Incorpor. & also relative to the Detention of the Fund of the Society by the late G.O.s.

A Lr. from the Lodge at Deal complains, that the Caledonian Lodge had been rather troublesome to 'em, as well as Expensive. That they were determined to desire the C.L. would not trouble them any more wth, their Memorls., Cases, Caveats, &c., in order to poison their Minds & draw them from the duty they owe the G.M. & his officers. That such Endeavours wd. prove vain & that they cd. wish to see them behave as men & masons wth. proper respect to the G.M.

Another Lr. from H. Price Esqr. P.G.M. for America acquaints me that the Lodges in & near Boston had in Quaterly Comn. unanimously approved of an Incorporon, as a matter likely to prove exceedingly beneficial to the Order.

A non-committal reply was received from the Lodge of Amity at Poole (now No. 137), the members of which had clearly been taught to be cautious:—

Pool February 1770

Permitt us also to express our Concern at the unhappy Division occasion'd by the Charter: As we were not long enough establish'd to be proper Judges we chose to be Silent and to wait the Event; which we are Sorry has produc'd so much Animosity, and disturbance so contrary to the Genius & Spirit of Masonry we could wish that such conciliating Measures might be pursued as to prevent the fatal Effects impending on the best of Institutions.

(six signatures)

It will be remembered that the only reply received by the Grand Secretary to his formal demand for the written consent of Lord Blayney. Colonel Salter, Richard Ripley and Charles Tufnell, as Obligees in the Bond, was a letter of refusal from the three last named more than a month after the receipt by them

[&]quot; Original torn, and one word indecipherable-presumably the word "vote."

of the request for their consent. Lord Blayney ignored the demand for nearly three months, and then pleaded "a tedious fitt of the Gout" as his excuse for not replying earlier. The two letters on this subject which passed between Heseltine and Lord Blayney were worded as follows:—

Crown & Anchor Tavern

My Lord,

London 29th Novr. 1769.

At a Quart^{ly}. Commⁿ. of the Society of Free & Accepted Masons held here the 27th Oct^r. last it was resolved . . .

In consequence of this resolution Brothers Berkeley, Nevison and Beardmore were requested to make a Transfer of the Stock w^{ch}, the two former readily consented to, but Bro^r, Beardmore refused.

At another G.L. held this Day the above Resolⁿ. was confirmed when it was alledged on behalf of Bro^r. Beardmore that he cou'd not with safety join in the Transfer but must subject himself to an Action at the Suit of the Obligees (of whom your Lordship is one) however futile this objection considering that by the condⁿ. of the Bond a Copy of which is inclosed it will become void upon compliance with any order of the G.L. concerning the Fund. Yet the present G.L. wishing to have your Lordships approbation of every essential measure respecting the Society have directed us to signify the above to your Lordship, and your Co-obligees; and to request your concurrence by a Line addressed to the G.S. in Doctors Commons—We are, My Lord,

Your Lordships Most Affecte. Bren. and

Lord Blayney.

Obedient Servants.

Gentlemen,

Dublin Feby. 23d 1770.

Sometime since I was honor'd with your Letter, but a tedious fitt of the Gout, with the expectance of a Letter from the late Grand Officers who served with me, obliged me to defer giving a hasty answer in a matter of so much consequence to the Craft in General. This I hope will plead my excuse.

Your application to me as one of the Obligees for my consent to give up to the present Grand Officers, or Grand Treasurer intended the sum of £1300, now standing in the Names of Mr. Rowland Berkeley present Grand Treasurer and his sureties, I should most cheerfully comply with, if it were in the least likely to conduce to a thorough reconciliation of the Disputes at present subsisting among the Craft: but I am apprehensive it might widen the Breach, and make many worthy Brethren withdraw themselves from the Society: as the objections of the late Grand Officers seem chiefly to be founded on the apprehension of this money being appropriated to the expense of obtaining a Charter for Incorporating the Craft in a Body, which of course excludes all foreigners, who were contributors also to this Charity and must have a voice in the disposal of it, as well as our own Lodges, besides I am apt to think that the universality of Masonry may suffer through the Limitations of a Charter, for these reasons I think I cannot with propriety give my consent to Transfer the £1300 without proper security, and without the approbation of all the Lodges in general who have contributed to this Charity.

It is with great concern I hear of the Divisions & Disputes that have lately arose in a Society so remarkably distinguished for Charity, Brotherly Love & every Virtue—That Harmony & Unanimity may again be settled among you is the sincere wish of

Gentlemen

Your most affecte. Brother and most obed^t. H^{ble}. Servant,

James Heseltine Esq., Doctors Commons.

BLAYNEY.

Dillon presided over Grand Lodge on April 25th, 1770, and

. . . acquainted the Brethren that since last Grand Lodge a Letter had been received from Lord Blayney, by which he refused to comply with the resolution of the Grand Lodge, with respect to the Transfer of the Stock into the Names of the present Grand Officers.—And therefore

A Motion was made by the Grand Master that a Comittee of all the present and past Grand Officers, together with the Masters of all regular Lodges in and near London should meet at such time and place as should be appointed at the next Grand Feast, in order to consider of the steps necessary to be taken for the recovery of the Money standing in the Names of Messieurs Rowland Berkeley as Grand Treasurer, and his Sureties Arthur Beardmore and Richard Nevison in three per Cent Consolidated Bank Annuities on behalf of and in Trust for this Society—and which said Annuities had at a former Grand Lodge been directed to be Transferred Annually into the Names of the Grand Officers for the Time being, and in consequence of which resolution they the said Rowland Berkeley, Arthur Beardmore and Richard Nevison had been required to Transfer the same into the Names of the present Grand Officers, but had not complied therewith. This Motion was duly Seconded and on putting the Question it passed in the Affirmative by a very great Majority.

Another Motion was then made by the Grand Master that such Comittee should be authorized to pursue such Legal Methods as they should judge requisite in order to inforce a compliance with the resolutions of the Grand Lodge and to procure the Transfer of the said Annuities into the Names of the Grand Officers for the Time being; to be by them held on behalf of and in Trust for this Society, and to be appropriated to the purposes of Charity only, in such manner as the Grand Lodge should from Time to Time direct. This Motion was duly Seconded, and on putting the Question it passed Nemine Contradicente.

A Motion was made by Brother Brooke of the Stewards Lodge that Brother Muller who had been Expelled the Society, should be reinstated, upon asking pardon of the Grand Lodge, which he was ready to do, upon condition that Brother Preston (who, he alledged, had assaulted the said Brother Muller at the Comittee of Charity, in January last) would ask his Pardon. This Motion was Seconded But on putting the Question, it passed in the Negative by a very great Majority.

At the Annual Grand Feast, held at Merchant Taylors' Hall on May 7th, 1770, the Duke of Beaufort himself presided. At this gathering

The D.G.M. acquainted the Brethren that a Comittee of present and past Grand Officers with the Masters of regular Lodges in and near London, would meet at the Crown & Anchor Tavern in the Strand on Wednesday the 15th of May Instant, pursuant to the resolutions of the last Q.C.

The official Minute of this Special Meeting reads: -

At an Extraordinary Comittee held at the Crown & Anchor in the Strand London Wednesday the 15th May 1770

The Honble. & Most Worshipful Charles Dillon, D.G.M. as G.M.

The Grand Lodge was opened in due Form.

The D.G.M. acquainted the Comittee with the nature of the Business on which it was called.

Whereupon

The Comittee proceeded to consider what steps would be most adviseable to be taken in order to secure the Property of the Society, and to inforce a compliance with the resolutions of a former Grand Lodge, directing the

Money standing in the Names of Mess^{rs}. Rowland Berkeley Arthur Beardmore & Richard Nevison, to be Transferred into the Names of the Grand Officers for the Time being. And, after mature deliberation; was of Opinion, that as by the Book of Constitutions the G.T. is to be chosen by the G.L. the first Q.C. after each Grand Feast, and is to give a joint Bond with two other Brethren who shall be approved of by the G.L. to the G.M. the D.G.M. and G.W.^s for the Time being, in such Penalty and with such Condition as shall be approved of by the G.L. for the due performance of his Trust, it would be most adviseable to suffer Matters to remain in their present state till such Q.C. when it would be in the power of the G.L. to have satisfactory Security, and be furnished with a more certain mode of redress in case of any subsequent opposition to its Measures.

Ordered—That such Opinion be communicated to the G.M. All Business being finished the Lodge was duly closed.

Five days previously Lord Blayney had written to the Deputy Grand Master:—

Dear Sir,

Last week I was honor'd with yours, & as I wish to contribute every thing in my power to establish our Fraternity upon their Original Institution, whatever is agreed, or determin'd by y^e Quarterly Communication in consequence of y^e application made to me, & y^e late Grand Officers for y^e disposal of y^e 1300 P^{ds}. I shall most cheerfully concur in—& am at all times with y^e highest regard & most acceptable Comp^{ts}. to y^e present Grand Master & Officers—Dear Sir—Your most Obed^t. & most H^{ble}. Servant,

Blayney Castle,

BLAYNEY.

May ye 10th -70.

Lord Blayney's capitulation was complete. How the opposition of his coobligees was eventually overcome is not clear, but the desired transfer of the funds followed closely upon the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge held on November 23rd, 1770, when

Brother Massey Master of the Lodge of Freedom thereupon represented that at the Comittee of the 15th of May, the Character of Brother Arthur Beardmore had been attacked with respect to the Fund of the Society remaining in the Bank, and that the Grand Secretary had on that occasion, in his Opinion, imposed upon the Fraternity. He therefore handed two Motions in Writing to the Grand Master in the Words following:—

- 1st. That it is the Opinion of this Grand Lodge, that the G.S. has been guilty of a flagrant Imposition on the Fraternity.
 - 2d. That he be publicly reprimanded for the said Imposition.

Such Motions being seconded; the Question was put as to the first of them, and it passed in the Negative by a very great Majority—Whereupon Bror. Massey thought proper to withdraw his second Motion.

Brother Berkeley then resigned his Staff of Office; and was Unanimously re-elected G.T. for the ensuing Year, and proposed Brothers Arthur Beardmore and Richard Nevison to become his Securities. Whereupon the Grand Master put the Question to the Brethren for their approbation of Brother Beardmore as one of the Grand Treasurer's Securities, which passed in the Negative by a great Majority—Another Question was then put to the Brethren for their approbation of Bror. Nevison as one of the Grand Treasurer's Securities which also passed in the Negative.

Brothers Peter Parker & John Townson Esquires then offered themselves to become Securities for Bror. Berkeley the Grand Treasurer, who proposed them as such accordingly, and on putting the Question they were approved of, one Brother only dissingting.

The Resolved and Ordered That upon a proper Bond being Executed by the Grand Treasurer and his New Securities, to the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Wardens for the Time being the Grand Secretary do wait upon the said Brothers Arthur Beardmore & Richard Nevison, in the Name of this Grand Lodge, and require them to Transfer the sum of £1300 three per Cent Consolidated Bank Annuities the Property of this Society, standing in the Names of them the said Rowland Berkeley, Arthur Beardmore, and Richard Nevison, into the Names of the said Rowland Berkeley, Peter Parker, and John Townson and that upon such Transfer being made (which the Grand Treasurer, being present declared himself ready to join or assist in as far as necessary) the Grand Secretary do deliver up to them the said Rowland Berkeley, Arthur Beardmore & Richard Nevison, their Bond to be Cancelled.

Bror. Massey informed the Grand Lodge that Bror. Muller who had been Expelled the Society was ready & willing to ask pardon of the G.L. for his Offence, provided Bror. Preston (who he alledged, had assaulted the said Bror. Muller) should be ordered to ask his pardon in G.L. for such Assault—And on these Conditions made a Motion that Brother Muller should be reinstated, which was Seconded, but on putting the Question it passed in the Negative.

All Business being over the Grand Lodge was duly Closed.

An undated copy of the fresh Bond has been preserved in the Grand Lodge Library. In spite of the absence of date, it is clear from the recital that the instrument was intended for execution on November 13th, 1770, immediately after the Quarterly Communication held on that date:—



KNOW ALL MEN by these Presents that we Rowland Berkeley of Stevenage in the County of Hertford Esquire Peter Parker of Queens Square Westminster in the County of Middlesex Esquire and John Townson of Grays Inn in the said County Esquire are held and firmly bound to the most puissant & noble Prince Henry Somerset Duke of Beafort &c. &c. The Honourable Charles Dillon of the Parish of Saint George Hanover Square in the County of Middlesex Rowland Holt of the Parish of Saint James in the said County Esquire and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne of Grosvenor Square Baronet in two thousand pounds of good and lawful Money of Great Britain to be paid to the said Henry Somerset Duke of Beaufort Charles Dillon Rowland Holt and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne or their certain Attorney Executors Adminstrators or Assigns for which Payment to be well and faithfully made we bind ourselves jointly and severally and our and each and every of our Heirs Executors and Administrators firmly by these Presents Sealed with our Seals the twenty third Day of November in the eleventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. And in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and

WHEREAS the above bounden Rowland Berkeley was at a Quarterly Communication held this Day unanimously elected and chosen Treasurer of the ancient and honourable Society of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS AND WHEREAS the Sum of one thousand three hundred Pounds three per Cent consolidated Bank Annuities the Property of the said Society now stands in the Names of the said Rowland Berkeley and Arthur Beardmore of Walbrooke Gentleman and one Richard Nevison now or late of the Parish of Saint Catherine Cree Church London Haberdasher in the Books of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England which said Rowland Berkeley Arthur Beardmore and Richard Nevison are ordered and directed to transfer into the Names of the said Rowland Berkeley Peter Parker and John Townson as soon as conveniently may be AND WHEREAS the said Rowland Berkeley hath now in his

Hands the Sum of One Hundred and Fifty five Pounds and also one hundred and twenty golden Mohurs of the Value of one hundred and seventy Pounds or thereabouts also belonging to the said Society NOW THE CONDITION of this Obligation is such that if the said Rowland Berkeley his Heirs Executors or Administrators shall and do from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter well and truly account to and with every Quarterly Communication of the said Society for all & every the Dividends and Produce of the said one thousand three hundred Pounds Annuitys and also for all such further Sum and Sums of Money as shall at any Time or Times hereafter by Order of any Quarterly Communication be vested in the same or any other Fund or Funds as the same shall grow due and be received AND ALSO if they the said Rowland Berkeley Peter Parker and John Townson shall and do in Pursuance of any Order of any such Quarterly Communication of the said Society sell transfer or assign the said Sum of one thousand three hundred Pounds or any Part thereof as shall be so ordered and also the whole or any Part of any such other Sum or Sums as hereafter shall be directed or ordered by any such Quarterly Communication to be laid out and invested in the said three per Cent Consolidated Annuities in the Names of them the said Rowland Berkeley Peter Parker and John Townson or in any other Fund or Funds AND ALSO if the said Rowland Berkeley his Heirs Executors or Administrators do and shall from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter well and truly account with the Quarterly Communications for the said Sum of one hundred and fifty five pounds also for the said Golden Mohurs and also for all such Sum & Sums of Money and all other Property as shall come to his Hands by means of the said Office and shall pay all such Monies as shall remain or be in his Hands being the Property of the said Society in such Manner as the said Quarterly Communications shall order or direct and observe perform and keep all such Order and Regulations as shall from Time to Time be made by the Quarterly Communications respecting the said Rowland Berkeley and his said Office then this Obligation to be void or else to remain in full Force

Soaled and delivered (being first duly stamped and the Words "Hertford Esquire" in the second line and the Word "George" in the seventh line being written upon Erasure in the Presence of JAS. HESELTINE

ROWLD. BERKELEY P. PARKER JNo. TOWNSON

With the execution of this Bond the financial difficulty was successfully overcome.

Heseltine's optimism throughout this period, in spite of all the opposition which he encountered, is reflected in a letter addressed by him to a Royal Arch Chapter at Bristol on July 14th, 1770, in which he wrote:—

With respect to the Incorpon. a Bill is to be brought into the House next Sessⁿ. of Parliament, for the purpose of carrying it into Execution on a much more extensive plan than at first proposed—and we have the greatest reason to think it will pass, which must be of infinite service to the whole Body.

Justification for this optimism on the part of the Grand Secretary may perhaps be found in the fact that in March of this year the Deputy Grand Master had been elected Member of Parliament for the Westbury Division, in which capacity it was no doubt anticipated that he would be able to promote his fresh proposal to proceed to Incorporation by Act of Parliament.

According to the Parliamentary Agents' Bill of Costs (to be set out presently in full) the initial steps in this direction were taken on November 12th, 1770, when at a meeting held at an unspecified address in Bond Street instructions were given for the preparation of a Petition to be presented to the House of Commons. In this Bill of Costs the first few items all fall within the month of

November, 1770, at which point the statement of account breaks off abruptly until January 30th, 1772—some fourteen months later—on which date a charge is made for an attendance upon Dillon "to consult as to carrying in the Petition."

The reason for this long delay is not altogether apparent; the period which elapsed, however, was by no means devoid of incident. At a meeting of the Committee of Charity held at the Horn Tavern on Friday, April 19th, 1771, the Deputy Grand Master

informed the Brethren that the Marquis De Gages, P.G.M. for the Austrian Netherlands, had transmitted the Copy of a Letter in the French Language, say'd to have been received by him from the Caledonian Lodge held at the Half Moon Tavern in Cheapside, reflecting upon the Grand Lodge in the grossest terms with respect to the intended Incorporation of this Society a Translation of which Letter was ordered to be read, and it was read accordingly—Whereupon a motion was made that such Letter with the Translation should be printed for the use of such Brethren as might attend the next Grand Lodge, and that the Brethren whose names appeared subscribed to such Letter should each have a copy thereof sent to them and be summoned to attend at the Grand Lodge on the 26th Instant to answer for their Conduct on account thereof, which motion was seconded and duly agreed to.

Accordingly the Grand Secretary circularised the Lodges as follows:-

At a Committee of Charity held the 19th of April 1771, the following Letter, in the French language, transmitted from the Marquis De Gages, P.G.M. for the Austrian Netherlands, was ordered to be printed, with a Translation thereof, for the information of such Brethren as may attend the next Grand Lodge.

TRANSLATION. .

From the East of London, and of our Caledonian Lodge,

the 11th Jan. 1771.

SIR, and RIGHT WORSHIPFUL G.M.

You have undoubtedly been informed that our Most Worshipful Grand Master, the Duke of Beaufort, at the instigation of certain persons, not friends to the common good and interest of our Society, formed a design some time since to get all the Masons incorporated, under the English constitution, by an Act of parliament, or by his Majesty's council. The plan thereof was distributed, and the means proposed, by which they hoped to raise the necessary funds for defraying the enormous expence of such Incorporation.

Our Lodge, seconded by many others, the most respectable in this city, having maturely weighed the reasons for and against such a novelty, thought it their duty to present their humble remonstrances to the Grand Lodge, and to show the dangers and disagreeable consequences which must be the event of pursuing this design.

The unfavourable reception our proceedings met with, has not shaken us. By force of arguments we have convinced many, formerly dazzled by the flattering promises of an imaginary grandeur: they confess their error, and find the objections made to their heretofore favourite plan well founded. And it is with a very sensible pleasure we can assure you, R.W.G.M., that, except the inventors of the novelty, this infraction upon the rights of Free Masons is not at present supported, except by the vulgar and uninformed; who, in our Society, as well as in all others, are the greatest number, but are of no areat consequence in the execution of a design like the present.

The affair has been agitated and debated for above two years past, and remains yet very far from being decided, though the favourers of the

Incorporation have had recourse to all sorts of art and finesse, unworthy of true Masons, to carry their point.—Such a meanness (as we have reason to think it) furnishes us with a reason to commence a correspondence with you R.W.G.M. and we are bold enough to hope, that you will be pleased to grant a favourable answer to our request.

One Mr. De Vignoles, who calls himself P.G.M. of all Foreign Lodges, or such as work in Foreign Languages, (though many dispute this title, and treat it as a chimera) has positively alleged, that you, and all the Lodges in the Austrian Netherlands under your direction, approve an Incorporation.

The COUNT DE NERAC (to whom we are obliged for your address) assures us of the contrary.—We beg of you for the common good of the Society, to inform us of the truth.—We have no reason to doubt the Count De Nerac's relation, but should be happy to be enabled to overturn the allegations of a man, who creates differences every where, and avails himself of the insinuation of his stile to mislead those who are not upon their guard.

We take the liberty to refer, for our address, to the conclusion hereof: in making use of it, as we request, you will infinitely oblige those who wish to you R.W.G.M. and to the Brethren under your administration, all possible happiness in this new and many succeeding years: and have the honour to subscribe ourselves, with perfect attention, sincere distinction and fraternal friendship,

SIR. and R.W.G.M.

Your most obedient and most humble Servants, and devoted Brethren,

A. TEN BROEKE,

Master in the Chair.

B. P. DE LA COSTE,

Sen. Warden, P.T.

JOHN VESTENBURG,

Jun. Warden, P.T.

J. VIEREL, Sec.

This Letter agrees with its Original, Mons. the 18th March 1771

Le Marquis DE GAGES, P.G.M.

To the Grand Secretary's summons the alleged offenders replied: -

To the Most Noble HENRY SOMERSET, Duke of Beaufort.

Grand Master of Masons,

The Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens, and the Brethren, Members of the Grand Lodge,

Right Worshipful Sir and Brethren,

We have soverally received the Grand Secretary's Letter of Yesterday, by Direction (as is said) of the last Committee of Charity, inclosing a French printed Copy, and Translation of a Letter of the Caledonian Lodge, No. 263, to the Marquis De Gages, P.G.M. of the Austrian Netherlands, dated the 11th January, 1771, and requiring our Attendance this Day, at the Quarterly Committee, in order to answer to a Complaint then to be made against us, on account of said Letter, as our Names appear thereto.

Being all of us engaged in the Mercantile Business, we could not possibly without great Loss, attend on a Foreign Post Night at so very short a Notice, therefore we plead the Benefit of the Law Article, 11 Page No. 321, which enacts, that "All Differences or Complaints that cannot be made up or accommodated privately, not by a particular Lodge, shall be reduced into Writing, and delivered to the Grand Secretary, who shall summon all Parties concerned to attend at the next Committee of Charity, where the same shall be seriously considered and finally decided."

Our Summonses are of Yesterday for toDay, "to answer to Complaints then to be made," we hold therefore, that we are not legally summoned, and that the Order for our Attendance ought to be postponed at least to the Time given us by Law. We beg Leave further to observe, that

in affixing our Names to the said Letter, we acted merely officially for the Caledonian Lodge, in our several Capacities annexed to our Names, which Capacities are only temporary, and that we hold ourselves not answerable in our private Persons for a public Act of the Lodge. We could have no private Emoluments from it, nor had we any bad Design, when we acted as we have done, for the Lodge; and therefore, if it should be found a punishable Act by our Laws, it is that of the Brethren of the Caledonian Lodge collectively, and not ours separately; and we ought in this case to bear no greater Share in the Punishment of such an Act, than we would have in the Merits of publishing this Correspondence, if it should happily have the good Effect amongst the Craft which was intended: On this Ground we hold that the said Order for our Attendance, merely because our Names appear to the Letter in question, ought to be entirely dismissed. The Letter is from the Lodge, not a private one of ours; were it otherwise, the Grand Lodge surely would not spare Time in prosecuting and punishing every Brother who might happen in private Correspondence to censure their Proceedings to a Friend abroad, at least from the Candour they profess they would scorn to admit such Evidence against any Brother, as must have been procured by the foul and dark Means, of betraying Brotherly Confidence, and obtaining and publishing private Correspondence, In a Society that really acts in the Principles of Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth, Inadvertencies and Transgressions ought to go unpunished, when it cannot be done, but at the Expence of encouraging Treachery. Depending on your brotherly and impartial Consideration in this Affair, we are, with the utmost Respect,

Your Grace's and the rest of the Brethren's

Most obedient Servants,
and affectionate Brethren,

A.T.B.

B.P.L.C. J.V. J.V.

London, 16 April. 1771.

The Grand Master himself presided at the meeting of Grand Lodge held on April 26th, 1771, when

The D.G.M. acquainted the Grand Lodge that he had received a Copy of a Letter in the French Language dated 11th Jan. last, from the Marquis De Gages P.G.M. for the Austrian Netherlands-the Original whereof had been transmitted to the Marquis, and was signed A. Tenbroeke, John Vestenburg, B. P. De la Coste, I. Vierel, as Master Wardens and Secretary of the Caledonian Lodge No. 263 held at the Half Moon Tayern Cheapside. Letter reflected upon the Proceedings of this Grand Lodge in the grossest Terms, and tended to render its Authority contemptible and ineffectual-That in consequence of a resolution of the last Comittee of Charity such Letter, with a Translation thereof had been printed for the information of this Grand Lodge, and that a Copy had been sent to each of the Parties whose Names appeared thereto, with a Summons to attend this Grand Lodge to answer to a complaint then to be made against them-The D.G.M. then moved that the Letter should be read-And it was read accordingly, as was likewise a paper signed by the said Brothers Tenbroeke, Vestenburg, De la Coste, and Vierel, wherein they acknowledged having signed the Letter complained of-Whereupon a Motion was made by Brother Allen, Provl. Grand Master for Lancashire that Brothers Tenbroeke, Vestenburg, De la Coste, and Vierel should, for having wrote and transmitted such Letter to the Marquis De Gages, be Expelled the Society, which Motion was duly Seconded, and the Grand Lodge having considered the whole Affair maturely, the Question was put, and it passed in the Affirmative.

Notification of the expulsion of these Brethren was duly circulated amongst the Lodges in the following form (extracted from the Minute Book of the short-lived Lodge at Coventry, then numbered 279 and meeting at the Rose and Crown):—

R.W. Masr: & Brethren-

At the Quarterly Communication held the 26th of April last Brors. Anthoney Ten Broeke, late Masr., De La Coste, Senior Warden, John Vestenburg, Junior Warden, and J. Vierel, Secry. of the Caledonian Lodge, No. 263, held at the Half Moon Tavern, Cheapside London, were expelled the Society, for having in a most illiberal and unjust manner traduced the Grand Lodge in a letter signed by them and transmitted to the Marquies De Gages, Provincial Grand Master for the Austrian Netherlands.

You are therefore hereby particularly injoined not to admitt them or any of them into your Lodge either as Members or otherwise.

By direction of the Grand Lodge,

JAS. HESELTINE, G.S.

References to this letter are also to be found in the contemporary records of the St. Paul's Lodge No. 43, Birmingham, of the Lodge of Friendship No. 3, London, and of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 99, London, which last-mentioned Lodge on March 13th, 1771, resolved that no member should attend the meeting of Grand Lodge summoned for April 26th, and that all charitable contributions should be withheld.

The members of the Moira Lodge No. 92 (then numbered 164 and meeting, unnamed, at the Royal Oak in Great Earl Street, London) appear to have been in two minds over the questions at stake, for after voting two guineas towards the expences of the Opposition at one meeting, the members non-confirmed this resolution a fortnight later. This vacillation on their part is revealed in the two following Minutes:—

1771 March 18

Motion was this Night Made by Br. Hawkins & 2d. & 3d. by Br. Lidia & Br. Garrett, & carried by Mejority for the Lodg to pay two pounds two shillgs. for Opposing the Incorporation of Masons.

1771 April 1

The Minutes of the Last Loge Night being recv^d, and Not confirm^d, it was put to vote & caried by Mejority for the Incorporation.

On May 1st of this year Brother Jeffreys, Master of the Beaufort Lodge No. 443, Swansea, wrote to the Grand Secretary asking to be supplied with a further copy of the Plan of Incorporation, as

the late Master, Richard Lloyd, who has been turned out of our Lodge for doing things not fit to transcribe possessed himself of most all the papers, and left them in his own house for his family or any one else to peruse them, for which reason they have declared him a common Cowan; and having in his Custody the Plan for Incorporating the Craft, which I have never seen, should be glad if you would send me one by the return of the post.

It will be remembered that Heseltine as far back as July, 1770, in a letter which has already been quoted, indicated the intention of the promoters to drop their original plan and to proceed to Incorporation by Parliamentary Bill. This proposal is mentioned in a piece of intelligence published in Ireland—The Belfast News Letter—on May 16th, 1771.

We hear that the Society of Free and Accepted Masons intend to apply to Parliament for an Act of Incorporation, the majority of that Society having already given their votes in favour of that scheme; and so zealous are they in the prosecution of the measure that they have already expelled several of the dissenting members, and are determined to quash the opposition by proceeding in like manner with all their opponents, until the resolutions for the said application shall pass numine contradicente!—risum teneatis amici!

Is it mere coincidence that this newspaper paragraph concludes with the same Latin expression as is to be found in the anonymous circular of December, 1769?

The earliest Grand Lodge Minute relating to the contemplated proceedings in Parliament is that dated November 29th, 1771, which reads:—

Brother Farmer of the Stewards Lodge moved that Brothers John Allen and John Rigge the Solicitors appointed by the Grand Master to prepare and Solicit a Bill in Parliament for the purpose of Incorporating this Society, be authorised to draw upon the Grand Treasurer for such sums of Money as may be necessary towards procuring such Incorporation; and that the Grand Treasurer be directed, as occasion may require, to pay the same to Brothers Allen and Rigge, so far as the Money already collected on account of the Scheme for Building a Hall, purchasing Jewels, Furniture &c for the use of the G.L. and now in his possession, will extend, but by no means to affect the Fund of Charity—This Motion was duly Seconded, and on putting the Question, it passed in the affirmative.

Rowland Holt, whose name figured so prominently in the records of 1768, in which year he was Senior Grand Warden, was prevented from attending this meeting of Grand Lodge for the reason stated in the letter quoted below:—

Redgrave

Decr. 22d., 1771.

Sir

I fully intended being in London last Communication But an unexpected event happened woh, you will guess at by the outside of my letter, and of consequence detained me here. I shall be in London before the meeting of Parliament, and hope if Mr. Dillon is not returned from Ireland, care will be taken that the next Communication is appointed, as I am ignorant what has been done since I saw you. I should be glad of some Information how matters stand at present, and am

Sr. Yr. Hle. Sert.

R. HOLT.

Doctors Commons London

The unexpected event, referred to above, was presumably a bereavement.

The announcement of the intention to introduce into the House of Commons a Bill for the Incorporation of the Society led to further determined opposition and ill-feeling. Several Lodges voted sums of money to defray the expences of opposition, amongst them the Shakespeare and the Mourning Bush Lodges, each of which voted five guineas. The Royal Lodge, which in 1769 had presented a Memorial against the proposal to incorporate, again forwarded a resolution to the Grand Master couched in the following terms:—

To His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, The Right

Worshipful Grand Master of free & accepted Masons. Right Worshipful Sir,

By Order of the Royal Lodge, I have as Secretary, the Honor to lay before You, the following Resolution, with the most respectfull Compliments of the Lodge.

At a Special Lodge held 13th February 1772 The Subject of Incorporation upon which this Lodge was Specially convened; being maturely considered, & discussed; it was resolved Nemini Contradicente, that this Lodge

do not join, in the Petition to Parliament for Incorporating the Society of free and Accepted Masons; being unanimously of Opinion, that an Incorporation will be highly Injurious to the Society; as being Subversive of its Universallity, and totally inconsistant with every principle of Masonry.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Your Graces

Most Obedient Humble Servant

JOHN CROFT Secretary.

As the steps taken to promote this Parliamentary Bill are clearly reflected in the Solicitors' Bill of Costs, it will not be inappropriate to set this out in detail.

It will be observed that the Petition to Parliament, drafted as early as November, 1770, was not in fact presented until February 18th, 1772.

Deserving of special note are the "innumerable extra attendances" on Dillon, Holt, Brickdale and others, for which no charge was made.

It would be interesting to know whether the senior partner in the firm of Allen and Rigge, namely, John Allen, was the Brother John Allen appointed Provincial Grand Master of Lancashire in 1769 and stated to have been in the habit of residing out of his Province except for three months in the summer when Masonic activities were, as now, at their lowest ebb. The name of John Allen occurs amongst those of members attending a meeting of the Royal Arch Chapter at the Turk's Head Tavern, Gerrard Street, Soho, on June 12th, 1765, others present on this occasion including James Galloway and Thomas French; while in 1769 a Brother Rigge was Master of the London Lodge.

The antient & Honorable Society of Free & Accepted Masons.

1770	Novem ^r 12 th —Attend ^g . Meeting in Bond Street to consult on an intended Application to Parliament for a Bill to incorporate the Society—Several Hours—and Attends to advise with M ^r . Dillon and others		
	respecting the same	1 1	0
	Taking Instructions for and Draws. Petition to Parliament—and Copy	1 1	0
	Attends. Mr. Dillon in Hertford Street to settle same	13	4
	The like on Mr. Bacon in Bruton Street	13	4
	Ingross ^g . Petition on a large Skin to sign	10	0
	Paid for Parchment	2	0
	Ingross ^g , another Part thereof—and Parchm ^t ,	12	0
	Many Attendds, to get same signed	1 1	0
1772	Janry, 30-Attends. Mr. Dillon to consult as to carrying in the Petition &c.	13	4
1,,2	Attends, at Mr. Bacon's to consult him in this Business	13	
	Mr. liber on Mr. Walningham	13	
	Draft Bill—fo.80	8 0	
			100
	Several Attendas. on Mr. Rigge Mr. Heseltine and others to settle same	1 1	
	Fair Copy for Mr. Dillon	1 6	8
	Several Attendes, on him to settle and consult on same	13	4
	Attends. Mr. Brickdale thereon when he promised to confer with	Page 100	
	the Speaker	13	4
	Mr. Brickdale having left Copy of the Bill with the Speaker-Two		
	other fair Copies thereof	2 13	4
	Two fair Copies of Petition for Mr. Dillon	5	0
	Fair Copy Draft of the Bill for Counsel	1 6	8
	Paid Mr. Lee to peruse and settle—and Clerk	3 5	6
	Several Attends, on him	13	4
	15th. ffebry—Attends. Mr. Dillon and Mr. Brickdale when it was fixed to carry in the Petition the 17th	13	4
	17th—Attends, at the House of Commons—when Mr. Brickdale being engaged in a Committee and Mr. Dillon not attends—the 18th was		
	appointed	13	4

Letters & Messengers to Mr. Dillon at Boodles and afterwards to his House	s	5	0
Attending him respecting the l'etition being presented to morrow and consult who shod, be named of the Committee	l	13	4
18 th —Attends, the House of Commons when Petition presented and Leave given to bring in a Bill		1	0
Attends. Meeting at Mr. Dillons to read over Draft Bill and further			4
Attending Mr. Rigge, Mr. Heseltine & Mr. Preston at the Feathers on	1	10	4
further Considerat ⁿ . of Draft and giving Directions for printing the Bill		13	4
23d. Attends at the Feathers to examine & correct Proof Sheet		13	4
Paid Expences		3 6	8
25th. Attends. to examine and correct 2d. Proof Sheet		13	4
Attends. Mr. White and Settling Bill to be brought into the House when he made some Alterations which required to be reprinted	e	13	4
26th. The like on further Alteration		13	4
Attendes. on Printer thereon		6	8
Attends. Mr. Dillon to acquaint him the Bill wos, be carried in the 27th And to request his Attendec		6	8
The like on Mr. Brickdale		6	8
Filling up Blanks of Six Bills for Mr. Dillon Mr. Brickdale &c	. 1	1	0
Attends. to deliver same		13	4
27th. Attends at the House when Mr. Brickdale engaged in a Com	ı -		
mittee &c.—so that he fixed to morrow to carry in the Bill Filling up the Blanks of four more Bills		13 14	4
Filling up the Blanks of four more Bills		1.1	Ů.
Time	. 1	1	0
3d. March-Filling up the Blanks of two more Bills		7	0
Attends, the House when Bill read a 2d. Time	. 1	1	0
Making three fair Copies of Petition		7	6
Attends. Mr. Brickdale on the Speaker's recommending two additiona Clauses—and taking Instructions for same—Vizt.—One to restrain the Society from purchass, or retains. Lands &c. above a certain limittee Quantity—and the other to oblige the Society to invest such Cash a they shod, place out at Interest in the Public Funds	e d	13	4
Making three fair Copies of the additional Clauses proposed togethe	Г	10	•
with that enabling the Society to hold Lands &c	•	10	(),
Attends. Mr. Brickdale thereon		13	4
6th-Filling up the Blanks of 2 more Bills		7	0
Attends. Mr. Brickdale again when he desired a Copy of the Statut 3d. Henry 6th, to prevent Masons from confederating in Chapters		13	4
7th. Two Copies thereof		5	
10th Attends. Mr. Dillon to take Instructions what Members to write	e		
to and advise on conducting the Business of the Committee	•	13	4
The like on Mr. Holt		13	4
Attends, the Speaker respecting the Mortmain Clause, when he directed me to come again to morrow		13	4.
Attends. Clerk of the Commee with Bills filled up for the Committee and to confer with him thereon	e	13	4
Attends, the House to search if counter Petn, presented as expected	 d	13	4
and bespeaks. Copy thereof	1		or
Attends, to consult with Mr. Dillon Mr. Brickdale &c. thereon		13	4.
11th Filling up the Blanks of 4 more Bills		14	0.
Writing Cards to 34 Members requesting their Attender, at a Committee of the whole House on the third reading of the Bill—Pair	1- d		
carrys. out same—Wax &c	2	16	0,
Attends. the Speaker by Appointms. further to inform him as to the Grounds of the Applicats. &c	••	13	4
12th Attending twice at the Speaker's when I had fur. Conversativith him on the Bill and he desired a Meeting with Mr. Dillon &co.	n. e.	13	4.

Translating Act of 3d. Henry 6th						6	8
Two Copies thereof with Translation						7	6
Draws. Briefs—9 Sheets					2	ā	0
N.B. In this M ^r . Rigge assisted ar Therefore I charge only half.	d drew	near			-	Ü	
Fair Copy for Counsel			***		2	5	0
Paid Mr. Day therewith and his Clerk	•••				16	5	6
Attends, him sev!. Time consults, &c.						13	4
Another Copy for Mr. Dillon		• • • •		• • •	2	5	0
Attends. him thereon						13	4
20th Attends, with Mr. Dillon on the Speak	eı;	•••				13	4
26th Attends. the House to get Commee adj	ourn'd		•••		1	1	()
Six Copies of Observations on the Petition of	f Coll. S	alter a	and oth	ers—			
5 Sheets		•••		***	3	15	Û
The like of Observations on and Arguments	in supp	port of	the B	ill.—			
8 Sheets	•••		•••	•••	. 4	16	0
28th Attends. to confer with Mr. Dillon	•••	•••		• • •		13	4
30th Attends him again	•••	•••	•••	•••		13	4
31st Filling up the Blanks of 2 more Bills	•••	•••	• • •	•••		7	0
Cards for the Members of the House to atten and paid carrys, them out	d the C	ommee 	to mor	rrow	2	16	0
Attends. Mr. Dillon when he directed me to	wait o	n Mr.	Onslow			13	4
Attends. Mr. Onslow to state the Intention Application						13	4
1st April-Attends, the House when Commee	adjouri	ı'd till	to mo	rrow	1	1	0
2d. Attends, the House when Commee adjou					1	1	()
Innumerable extra Attendes, on Mr. Dillon &c. &c. &c. in the course of this Business	Mr. Ho			dale,	_	_	_
Pd. Coach Hire for Self & others to the Members &c						0	0
Pd. Porters to and from the House &c. and			Evnene		1		0
Novr. 4—Draws. Bond from Rowland Berkle					1	0	U
elected Grand Treasurer) and John Townson his Sureties to Lord Petre and the other Graceounting &c. with the Society—and fair	on & Thrand Of	ios. Pa ficers f	arker E for his	sq ^{rs} . duly			
being long & special	•••	•••	• • •	•••	1	1	4)
Ingross ^g , same and paid Duty			•••	•••		12	6
Attends. Execution at Garraway's when the into the names of the Obligors	ne Stock	was	transfe 	erred		6	8.
Draws. Bond from Lord Petre and the Gran Beaufort and others for their putting the T necessary and that they wod, not release a thereon &c.—fo. 18	reasurer	s Bon	d in Su	it if	1	1	n
	•••	•••	•••	•••	1	3	Ü
Fair Copy for their Perusal		•••	•••	•••		-	-
Ingross ^g , and paid Duty	•••		• • •	•••		12	8
					£105	6	2

In connection with the proceedings in Parliament one might well imagine that Hansard would prove informative—and yet this series of Parliamentary Reports maintains a complete and aggravating silence on the subject of Incorporation, for not a single reference to the proposed Charter is to be found. A careful search through the appropriate volumes of The Annual Register and of The Gentleman's Magazine has proved equally fruitless. This absence of information may be attributed to the fact that at this period the question of the admission of Press reporters to either House was being keenly contested. The Daily Advertiser of March 10th, 1772, mentioned that "no persons were admitted into the House of Commons yesterday but Members: the Gallery was locked, and notwithstanding several Noblemen made Application for Admittance, they could not obtain it."

In spite of this exclusion of reporters, brief references to the proceedings in Parliament were published in contemporary newspapers. The Norwich Mercury furnished its readers with the following reports, which Brother Daynes rescued from oblivion:—

(Norwich Mercury-Saturday, February 29th 1772)

London, Saturday, February 22nd

A Petition of the Duke of Beaufort, and other honourable Gentlemen, belonging to the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, has been presented to the House of Commons, setting forth, that they have given, from voluntary Contributions, to their distressed brethren annually upwards of 600l for some years past, and are possessed of a fund of 1300l Bank Annuities, besides ready money not invested, and the Grand Fund for building a hall: that the Society have it in Contemplation to build a hall, and also alms-houses, for necessitous people: and in order to prosecute that good end, have prayed that leave may be given to bring in a Bill for incorporating and making a body politic the said Society. The House has granted their request, and a bill is ordered in.

Last night the Quarterly Committee of Charity of the Antient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons was held at the Horn Tayern, in Fleet Street, where eighty pounds were distributed out of the general fund to the relief of Twelve distrest brethren.

(Norwich Mercury-Saturday, March 7th 1772)

London, Thursday, March 5th

The Mason Society petitioned the House of Commons to be incorporated. Ordered a bill in accordingly.

(Norwich Mercury-Saturday, March 14th, 1772)

London, Tuesday, March 10th

Last night was held at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, a numerous and respectable meeting of the Free and Accepted Masons (Major General Salter in the Chair) who unanimously resolved, That the present application to Parliament, for an incorporation is absurd, and has a direct tendency to the total ruin of that ancient and honourable fraternity: in consequence there: a petition is now prepared, and ready to be presented to the House of Commons, to pray their rejection of the bill now depending.

London, Thursday eveing, March 12th

A Committee of the Whole House is appointed for Thursday next, on the Question of in-corporating the Free Masons, when it is expected there will be warm debate.

(Norwich Mercury-Saturday, March 28th, 1772)

London, Thursday evening, March 26th

This day the following Bills were taken under further Consideration in the H. of Commons. . . . A Bill for the well-governing and regulating the Society of free and accepted Masons.

(Norwich Mercury-Saturday, April 4th 1772)

London, Thursday evening, April 2nd

Yesterday the bill for incorporating the Society of Free Masons, which was to have been taken into consideration of the whole House, was deferred.

(Norwich Mercury-Saturday, April 11th 1772)

London, Saturday, April 4th

The Free and Accepted Masons' Bill is deferred for three months.

For the benefit of those unacquainted with Parliamentary procedure it must here be explained that the passing of a resolution to defer further consideration of the Bill for three months implied that the measure was dead.

In the Official Records of Parliament (Commons Journals, vol. xxxiii., pp. 484-5) there occur the following entries relating to the proceedings in the House of Commons:—

1772 February 18th

A Petition of Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, &c. &c., the Honourable Charles Henry Dillon, Rowland Holt Esquire, Sir Watkins Williams Wynn, Baronet, and other Persons whose Names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and many other Persons, was presented to the House, and read: Setting forth, That a Set of Men, who call themselves the Society of Free and Accepted Masons (whereof the Petitioners are Members) have, for Ages past, associated themselves within this Realm, for the carrying on the good Purposes for which their said Society was originally instituted; and have ever demeaned themselves with Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty and his Predecessors, with Reverence and Obedience to the Laws, and with universal Benevolence to all Mankind; and that, the said Society being founded upon humane and charitable Principles, the Members of it have from Time to Time, by voluntary Contributions, raised considerable Sums of Money; and have, for several Years past, applied to the Amount of £600 and upwards, annually, upon an Average, to the Relief of the Distressed; and that the said Society are now possessed of a Fund, which they call the Fund of Charity, consisting of One Thousand and Three Hundred Pounds Three per cent Consolidated Bank Annuities, together with Ready Money not yet invested in any Savings; and they are also possessed of other Monies, which they call the Grand Fund, for the building of a Hall and other Purposes; and that the said Society have it in Contemplation to purchase Lands, in order to build themselves a Hall, or convenient Place, wherein to assemble, and transact their Business; and also Almshouses for the Reception of necessitous People; and that the said Society cannot so effectually carry their said Designs into Execution, nor render their said Funds so secure and extensively useful, or otherwise prosecute the good Ends of the said Charitable Institution, as if the same was incorporated: And therefore praying, That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for incorporating and making a Body Politic the said Society of Free and Accepted Masons: or that the Petitioners may have such other Aid in the Premises as to the House shall seem meet.

Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, pursuant to the Prayer of the said Petition; and that Mr. Brickdale, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Holt, and Mr. Bacon do prepare and bring in the same.

This entry was printed verbatim in *The London Evening Post* on February 27th, 1772. The four members last named represented the following constituencies prespectively:—Bristol, Westbury, Suffolk and Norwich.

1772 February 28th

Mr. Brickdale presented to the House, according to Order, a Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; and for other Purposes therein mentioned: And the same was received; and read the first time.

Resolved. That the Bill be read a Second Time.

1772 March 4th

A Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; and for other Purposes therein mentioned; was read a Second Time.

Resolved, That the Bill be committed.

Resolved, That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House.

Resolved, That this House will, upon To-morrow Seven-night, the 12th Day of this Instant March, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, upon the said Bill.

1772 March 11th

A Petition of Major General John Salter, Past Deputy Grand Master of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, Richard Ripley, Esquire, and Fleming Pinkston, Esquire, Past Grand Wardens, and other Persons, Members of the said Society, was presented to the House and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners observe by the Votes, that a Bill has been presented, for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, and for other Purposes; and that, in the Opinion of the Petitioners, the said Bill, if it should pass into a Law, will not in any respect contribute to the well governing of the Society to which the Petitioners belong; but, on the contrary, will be very detrimental and oppressive to them and many others of the Society, and cannot possibly beattended with any good Consequences to the Public: And therefore praying, That the Petitioners may be at Liberty to be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against the said Bill; and that the same may not pass; or that the Housewill grant such other Relief as shall seem meet.

Ordered, That the said Petition do lie upon the Table.

* * * * * * * *

Ordered, That the Order made upon the 4th Day of this Instant March, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, upon the 12th Day of the same Month, upon the Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, and for other Purposes therein mentioned, be now read.

And the said Order being read accordingly;

Ordered. That the said Order be discharged.

Resolved, That this House will, upon this Day Fortnight, the 26th Day of this Instant March, resolve itself into the said Committee.

1772 March 24th

The House was moved, That the Order made upon the 11th Day of this Instant March, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House upon Thursday next, upon the Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons and for other Purposes therein mentioned; might be read.

And the said Order being read accordingly;

Ordered, That the said Order be discharged.

Resolved, That this House will, To-morrow Seven-night, the First Day of April next, resolve itself into the said Committee.

1772 April 1st

Ordered, That the Order of the Day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, upon the Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; and for other Purposes. therein mentioned, be now read.

And the said Order being read accordingly;

Resolved, That this House will, upon this Day Three Months, resolveitself into the said Committee.

The Bill, as printed, read as follows:—

A BILL for Incorporating and well Governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; and for repealing an Act made in the Third Year of the Reign of our late Sovereign Lord King Henry the Sixth, to prevent Masons from confederating themselves in Chapters and Assemblies, and for other Purposes therein mentioned.

Preamble

WHEREAS, for many Ages past, a very numerous Society of Men, calling themselves Free and Accepted Masons, many of whom have been, and are of Quality and Distinction; have held frequent Meetings within this Realm, and have demeaned themselves with Duty and Loyalty to his present Majesty, and all his Predecessors; with Reverence and Obedience to the Laws, and Kindness and Good-will to all Mankind: Which Society appears to have been originally instituted, and to be still continued upon Charitable, Humane, and Beneficent Principles; having, from Time to Time, as Occasion offered or required, distributed and given to the Necessitous and Distressed. Sums of Money to a large Amount, raised amongst themselves by voluntary Contributions:

AND WHEREAS the said Society are possessed of a Stock or Fund, called *The Fund of Charity*, consisting of One Thousand Three Hundred Pounds Capital Stock, in the Three *per Centum* Consolidated Bank Annuities; together with Ready Money not yet invested; and are also possessed of another Stock or Fund, which they call their *Grand Fund*, intended to be applied to the Building a Hall, and other Purposes of the said Society, independent of the said Fund of Charity:

AND WHEREAS the said Society are desirous of rendering them selves more extensively Beneficial, by erecting Almshouses for the Reception of the Indigent, and a Hall or convenient Place to assemble in for managing and transacting the Business of the said Society:

AND WHEREAS it is apprehended that many well-disposed Persons, who are acquainted with the generous and beneficent Principles upon which the said Society is founded, and with the Practice thereof, would, by their last Wills and otherwise, contribute liberally thereto, if the Members were incorporated, and thereby enabled to accept Donations, and to take and hold Lands and Tenements:

AND WHEREAS the annual Income of the said Society, by voluntary Contributions for the Purposes of Charity, and which hath been constantly applied to that Purpose, amounts to several Hundred Pounds, exclusive of considerable Sums of Money distributed amongst the Poor and Needy, by several Associations or Subordinate Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons, held at different Places:

AND WHEREAS the several Funds before mentioned, and such Sums of Money and other Property as the said Society may hereafter acquire, for and towards the better executing their pious Intentions, have been, and may be in great Danger, unless the said Society shall be made a Body Politic and Corporate:

NOW, in order to promote and effectuate the good Designs of the said Charitable Institution.

May it please your MAJESTY,

That it may be ENACTED, AND BE IT ENACTED, by the KING'S Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same. That from and after the passing of this Act, there be, and shall be, a Corporation, to continue for ever, which shall be called by the Name of The Society of Free and Accepted Masons; and shall consist of 1

Incorporation of the Society

Of whom it shall consist

other Members or

Brethren, regular Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of England, who shall desire to be Partakers of the Benefits of this Act:

¹ A space ten lines in depth in the original text.

Of whom the Grand Lodge shall consist

And that the principal Body of the said Society shall be called The Grand Lodge, and shall consist of 1

which said last enumerated.

Power to purchase and take Lands by Devise, &c.

Officers and Brethren, so composing the Grand Lodge, by the Name of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, shall for ever hereafter be a Body Politic and Corporate in Deed and in Law: And that, by the same Name, they and their Successors shall have perpetual Succession: And that they and their Successors, by that Name, shall and may for ever hereafter be able and capable, and have full Power (without Licence in Mortmain) to purchase, have, take, acquire, receive, possess, enjoy, and hold, to them and their Successors, Manors, Messuages, Lands, Rents, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels, Annuities and Hereditaments, of any and what Nature or Kind soever, in Fee Simple and Perpetuity, or for Term of Life or Lives, or Years, or otherwise; and have full Power and lawful Authority to take, hold, and enjoy, all Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, and all and every Sums and Sum of Money, Goods, Annuities, Effects, or other Property whatsoever, which Chattels, shall or may at any Time hereafter be devised, given, granted, sold, or demised to the said Society for the Purposes of the said Institution, not exceeding in the whole, the yearly Value of over and above all Charges and Reprizes: And also, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Body Corporate, to sell, grant, demise, exchange, and dispose of any of the said Manors, Messuages, Lands, Rents, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and other Kind of Property whatsoever, wherein they shall have any Estate. Right, Title, or Interest.

Authority to sue and be sued.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Society or Corporation, and their Successors, shall and may, by the Name aforesaid, he able to sue and he sued, plead and he impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all Courts of Record and Places of Judicature within this Kingdom, to all Intents and Purposes, in as ample Manner and Form as any other Body Politic or Corporate in this Part of our Kingdom of Great Britain called England, lawfully may or can act or do; and that the said Corporation for ever hereafter shall and may have and use a Common Seal for the Causes and Businesses of them and their Successors; and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their Successors, to change, break, alter, and make new the same from Time to Time, as they shall think fit.

and to have a Common Seal.

Appointment

of first Grand

Officers;

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That for the better Government and Regulation of the said Corporation, and carrying their laudable Designs into Execution.

shall be, and is hereby appointed the first Grand Master, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of Most Worshipful Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons;

shall be, and is hereby appointed the first Deputy Grand Master, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons;

shall be, and is hereby appointed the first Senior Grand Warden, by the Stile. Title, and Denomination of Worshipful Senior Grand Warden of Free and Accepted Masons;

shall be, and is hereby appointed the first Junior Grand Warden, by the Stile. Title, and Denomination of Worshipful Junior Grand Warden of Free and Accepted Masons; shall be, and is hereby appointed

¹ A space fourteen lines in depth in the original text.

the first Grand Treasurer, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of Worshipful Grand Treasurer of Free and Accepted Masons:

shall be, and is hereby appointed

the first Grand Secretary, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of Worshipful Grand Secretary of Free and Accepted Masons; and

shall be, and is hereby appointed

to continue till the Grand Feast

Power to constitute Subordinate Lodges,

Lodges, &c. to be deemed legal Assemblies.

Grand Master to convene Chapters.

first Grand Sword Bearer, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of Worshipful Grand Sword Bearer of Free and Accepted Masons; which said several Persons shall be and continue in their said several and respective Offices until the Feast of Saint John the Evangelist, next after the passing of this Act, or until the next General Annual Meeting of the said Society, commonly called The Grand Feast of Free and Accepted Masons, which shall be annually appointed by the Grand Master, and held on, or as near as conveniently may be to the said Feast of Saint John the Evangelist; and from thence, until other fit and able Persons, Members of the said Corporation, shall be duly chosen or appointed in their respective Places, if the said several Persons shall so long live: But if any of the said Officers shall happen to die, before another or others shall be elected or appointed in his or their Place or Places, then the Office or Offices of such Person or Persons so dying, shall be filled up in the Manner practised by the said Society on such Occasions: And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Grand Master of the said Society for the Time being, the Deputy Grand Master for the Time being, in the Name and by the Authority of the Grand Master, or any Provincial Grand Master for the Time being, within his Province or District, from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter, to issue Warrants and grant Authority to such other Person or Persons as they, either or any of them, shall think proper for the constituting as many Subordinate Lodges, Assemblies, or Conventions of Masons, and at such Place or Places as to them, either or any of them, shall, from Time to Time, seem fit and expendient: And such Lodges, Assemblies, or Conventions, so to be constituted, are hereby declared to be, and the same shall be, adjudged, deemed, taken, and allowed to be legal and regular, as are and shall be all the Meetings, Assemblies, and Conventions of the said Grand Lodge, and of all inferior or subordinate Lodges, already constituted under the Authority of the Grand Masters of England, desiring to partake of the Benefits of this Act as aforesaid: And such Meetings, Assemblies, Lodges, and Conventions, shall be 1 to the Visitation, Controul, or Inspection of the Grand Master, or Deputy Grand Master, for the Time being, or such Person or Persons as shall, from Time to Time, be authorised by them, or One of them, for that Purpose.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That the Grand Master, or the Deputy Grand Master, for the Time being, (by the Grand Master's Authority) shall and may, from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter. as often as the Grand Master shall think proper or necessary, issue forth Summons or Notices to convene and call together the Members of the Grand Lodge, to meet at a Chapter or Communication, to be held at a Time and Place to be mentioned in such Summons or Notice, in London, or within Ten Miles thereof; such Summons or Notice to be delivered, or sent by the Post, at least Days before the Time so to be appointed for any such Chapter or Communication; and the Brethren or Members, assembled in consequence of such Summons or Notice, if they amount to or more in Number, and if the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, Senior Grand Warden, or the Junior Grand

¹ Blank in the original, but the word "subject" presumably intended.

Warden for the Time being, or if any Person who shall have before filled any of those Offices, and continuing a Member of the said Society, be One, shall have full Power and Authority to make, constitute, and ordain such Orders, Constitutions, Statutes, Bye Laws, and Ordinances as shall appear to the Majority, so assembled, to be necessary or expedient for the Government, Order, and Regulation of all the Members and Affairs of the said Society; which Orders, Constitutions, Statutes, Bye Laws, and Ordinances, not being repugnant or contradictory to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, shall and may be effectually observed, performed, and kept: And such Grand Lodge, so to be assembled, or the major Part thereof, shall also have full Power and Authority to withdraw and take away the Constitution or Warrant granted to any Subordinate Lodge; and to expel and punish any Member of the said Society as to them shall seem meet: and to do all other Things relative to the Government, Estate, Revenue, and Effects of the said Corporation, and the Members thereof, any Thing herein contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

withdraw Constitutions and expel or punish Members.

Bye Laws not to be binding till confirmed at a subsequent Chapter. PROVIDED ALWAYS, That no Order, Constitution, Statute, Bye Law, or Ordinance, so to be made, shall be binding, or in force, unless the same shall be made and agreed to at One Chapter or Communication, and until it shall have been read and again agreed to and confirmed by a Majority of the Members present at the Chapter or Communication that shall be held next after such Order, Constitution, Statute, Bye Law, or Ordinance shall be first proposed and agreed to: And that the same Method shall always be observed in abrogating, altering, or repealing any such Order, Constitution, Statute, Bye Law, or Ordinance.

Repeal of the Act 3 Henry VI.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, by the Authority aforesaid, That an Act. made in the Third Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King *Henry* the Sixth, to prevent Masons from confederating themselves in Chapters and Assemblies, shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

Public Act.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED. That this Act shall be taken and allowed in all Courts as a Public Act, and all Judges and Justices are hereby required to take Notice thereof as such, without specially pleading the same.

It will be observed that the text of this Bill followed fairly closely that of the draft Royal Charter circulated in 1769. In each case, provision was made for the meetings of Grand Lodge to be held in the City of London or within ten miles thereof; the annual election of officers was to take place on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, or as near thereto as convenient; and power was granted to constitute subordinate Lodges. But there are certain major points of difference deserving of special notice.

The draft of the proposed Royal Charter sought to confer upon the intended Corporation the title of "The Society of Free and Accepted Masons of England," whereas the Parliamentary Bill made provision for the Corporation to be styled "The Society of Free and Accepted Masons"—without the addition of any words of territorial limitation.

Again, according to the proposed Royal Charter (1769), the Corporation was to consist of

a Grand Master. Deputy Grand Master, Grand Wardens, Past Grand Officers, Provincial Grand Masters, Grand Treasurer, Grand Secretary, Grand Sword Bearer, Twelve Grand Stewards, and of the Masters and Wardens of the several subordinate Lodges, who, together with those already numerated, compose the Grand Lodge.

That is to say—Grand Lodge, and not the whole Society, was to be incorporated; the rank and file, accordingly, would not have been members of the Corporation although furnishing the source from which, by election and appointment, the Corporate Body might be maintained.

In the corresponding passage in the Parliamentary Bill (1772), the clause declaratory of whom the intended *Corporation* should consist contained a space ten lines in depth, left no doubt for the insertion of detail not then settled, and presumably intended to include a number of specified Officers, followed by

other Members or Brethren, regular Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of England, who shall desire to be Partakers of the Benefits of this Act.

The framers of this Bill would therefore appear to have contemplated a wider scope for the intended Corporation by embracing as members thereof any regular brethren who might "desire to be Partakers of the Benefits of this Act."

This issue, however, is somewhat confused by the next clause in the Bill, marginally stated to be declaratory of whom the *Grand Lodge* shall consist, but which, in effect, first of all sets out the composition of the Grand Lodge, and then goes on to provide that these "last enumerated Officers and Brethren, so composing the Grand Lodge . . . shall for ever hereafter be a Body Politic and Corporate in Deed and in Law."

It will be observed that in this instance the space left for the insertion of details not then settled amounts to fourteen lines, instead of the space ten lines in depth to be found in the earlier passage of the Bill. If this difference was intentional, it is a little difficult to appreciate the reason; but careful consideration of the measure as a whole leads to the inference that the Corporate Body contemplated by the framers of the Parliamentary Bill was intended to comprise the Society at large, provision being made for the government of the Corporation by a select body to be called "The Grand Lodge."

The proposed repeal of the Statute 3 Hen. 6 cap. 1 will be noted. This enactment, which prohibited the holding of Chapiters and Congregations of Masons, remained on the Statute Book until 1825.

The intended grant of arms, mentioned in 1769, finds no place in the Parliamentary Bill, the right to grant arms being a prerogative of the Crown, exercisable only by the King and those persons to whom the right to grant arms has been delegated by the Crown by Letters Patent, i.e., the Kings of Arms. Enquiry at the College of Arms has elicited the reply that no trace can be found of any formal application on behalf of the Society for a grant of arms at the period in question.

While the Bill was under consideration in the Lower House each party convened a meeting by public announcement in the Press, the Opposers at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, on March 9th, and the Promoters at the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, on March 25th, 1772.

Three days before the Opposition Meeting was held there appeared in *The Public Advertiser* this anonymous letter pouring contempt and ridicule upon the proposed Incorporation:—

The Public Advertiser.

Friday, March 6, 1772.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

Sir,

I have been ever fond of innocent Past-time and harmless Jokes, as they serve to relax the Mind from severer Applications, and let its Vigour rise again from Repose with additional Strength; but as Study when too intense causes the Scholar to degenerate into the Pedant, and Serenity of Temper into a morose Habit, so does an uncurbed Dissipation make the Wit a Libertine, and his Joke licentious. There is hardly in this Country a Character of any distinguished Power or Fame that has not been the Butt of Satire or the Object of Ridicule at one Time or other; for it is not the Brilliancy of a Diadem, or the Reverence due to a legislative Authority, that can guarantee them from those Attacks; But of all the ridiculous Whims ever offered to Parliament, none has ever yet appeared to me to be so fully fraught with Ridicule as the Petition which has been offered to them to incorporate the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; a Society which has no commercial Art to plead in its Behalf, nor any national Advantage to recommend itself to this solicited Mark of Parliamentary Favour; besides. Sir, a Society of which every Member is bound, nay sworn, most solemnly sworn, to keep profoundly secret every Transaction of their Art and Mystery, as they call it, can never with Propriety urge the Parliament to incorporate them, unless they unfold their mighty Secrets to all its Members, which they cannot do without perjuring themselves, unless they can persuade the whole Legislature to be made Masons, which would be an Acquisition to the Society of much greater Value than an Incorporation. I have great Hopes that the House of Commons will so immediately perceive the Absurdity of this Scheme as to reject the Bill, otherwise they will entail upon themselves a vast Increase of Business, as I am told the Albions, Bucks, and Antigallicans only wait the Issue of this Affair to petition for separate Charters for themselves, and that these will speedily be followed by the Lumber Troop, and a Multitude of Box-clubs, and other Alehouse Societies, who have already, upon the Strength of this Petition being favourably received, begun to toss up their Caps against the Cieling, huzza, and cry out, "God bless the Parliament and Incorporation for ever!"

HIRAM.

The place of meeting first appointed for the gathering of those who supported the Bill was the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand; but on the very date of the meeting a further announcement appeared in the Press substituting the Mitre Tavern as the appointed place. The two announcements, as they appeared in *The Daily Advertiser*, read as follows:—

Monday, March 23rd 1772.

Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

The Present and such Past Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges, as have signified their Approbation of an Application to Parliament for Incorporating the Society, are desired to meet at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on Wednesday the 25th Instant, at Seven in the Evening, on Special Affairs.

By the Grand Master's Command.

JA. HESELTINE, G.S.

Wednesday, March 25th 1772.

Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

The Present and such Past Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges, as have approved of an Application to Parliament for Incorporating the Society, are desired to take Notice, that the Meeting advertised to be held this Evening, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, at Seven o'Clock, will be held at the Mitre Tavern, in Fleet-Street, at the same Hour; where they are desired to attend, on Special Affairs.

By the Grand Master's Command.

JA. HESELTINE, G.S.

No record of the business transacted at this meeting has been traced.

The Opposition Meeting, it will be observed, was held within two days of the Bill being accorded a second reading. Notice convening this meeting appeared likewise in *The Daily Advertiser*, while a brief reference to the business transacted was published shortly afterwards in *The York Courant*.

The Public Advertiser.

Monday, March 9th 1772.

Free and Accepted MASONS.

Such Members of the antient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, as are desirous of opposing the Bill now depending in Parliament for their Incorporation, and wish to support the Interest of the Fraternity on its original and excellent Principles, are earnestly requested to meet at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, This Day, at six o'Clock in the Evening, on Special Affairs.

The York Courant.

Tuesday, March 17th 1772.

London, March 10.

Last Night was held at the Devil Tavern, Temple-Bar, a numerous and respectable Meeting of Free and Accepted Masons (Major-General Salter in the Chair) who unanimously resolved, That the present Application to Parliament, for an Incorporation is absurd, and has a direct Tendency to the total Ruin of that ancient and honourable Fraternity; in Consequence whereof a Petition is now prepared, and ready to be presented to the House of Commons, to pray their Rejection of the Bill now depending.

G.L.

Before the text of the Petition against Incorporation is given, mention must be made of two Press reports of the final debate.

The Westminster Journal & London Political Miscellany on April 4th, 1772, informed its readers that Mr. Onslow, Member for Guildford, in bringing in the Petition against Incorporation,

. . . urged many pleasant and many solid arguments in favour of the opposers. Among the first he observed, that if the Incorporation was allowed, there was no knowing where applicants would stop for similar distinction; the Bill of Rights Club, which deserved so pecularly well of Government, might apply for a Charter to sow sedition; the Greasy Clubs of every tavern through the Kingdom might apply for a Charter to neglect their business; and even the Maccaronians at the worst end of the town apply for a legal right to degrade the dignity of manhood. Among the solid reasons against the incorporation, he observed, that granting the Free Masons a Charter was in fact to pass a general bill of naturalization for foreign Papists, and, in all probability, giving the Pretender himself the citizenship of a Country where he was prosecuted under the penalties of high treason. Mr. Dillon, on this, moved for postponing the consideration of the Charter for three months, and his motion being carried, the measure may be deemed virtually rejected, as in three months the Parliament will be under prorogation.

The London Evening Post on Thursday, April 2nd, 1772, published this paragraph:—

Minutes of the Two Houses

April 1.

This day his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the bills that laid ready.—Adjourned to Friday.

The COMMONS.

Deferred the Committee of the whole House on the bill for incorporating the society of Free Masons.—Passed the bill for regulating the admission of freemen into corporations.

The Free and Accepted Masons who had petitioned the House of Commons to incorporate them (finding the opposition to the bill which was brought in for that purpose to be too great for them to overcome) sheltered themselves yesterday (being April Day) from the ridicule which they most naturally endured from a debate on the subject, by deferring the said bill for three months; their Deputy Grand Master, C.D. Esq; at whose particular request it was so deferred, declaring it was his intent, by thus deferring it, to put it off for ever.

Having regard to the length of some of the earlier literary efforts on the part of the Opposition, the text of the Petition presented to Parliament by the "numerous and respectable brethren" who disapproved of the proposed Charter is commendably brief. A contemporary copy of this Petition may be seen in the Grand Lodge Library—Portfolio of Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Volume 8. In this copy the names of the signatories have been re-arranged in more or less alphabetical order. In the list printed below this arrangement of names has been preserved, the use of brackets indicates words inserted in pencil in eighteenth century script in the Grand Lodge copy, while the use of italics indicates matter not to be found in this copy, but added here for the purpose of this Paper in those cases in which the Petitioner is still capable of being identified.

To

The Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament Assembled

The Humble Petition of Major General John Salter Past Deputy Grand Master of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons Richard Ripley Esquire and Fleming Prinkstan Esquire Past Grand Wardens and other persons Members of the said Society whose Names are hereunto Subscribed on behalf of themselves and many others being Members of the said Society Sheweth

That Your Petitioners observe by the Votes of this Honourable House That a Bill has been presented for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons and for other purposes

That in the Opinion of Your Petitioners the said Bill if it should pass into a Law will not in any respect contribute to the well governing of the Society to which Your Petitioners belong but on the contrary will be very detrimental and oppressive to them and many others of the Society and cannot possibly be attended with any good consequences to the Public

Your Petitioners therefore Humbly Pray this Honourable House That they may be at Liberty to be heard by themselves or Counsel against the said Bill and that the same may not pass or that the House will grant such other Relief as to them shall seem meet

And Your Petitioners shall pray

N	Daniblian	Ladas	Additional
Name	Description	Lodge	particulars
Abington, Robert Adams, H. Albwin, Robert Alsager, Richard		Mourning Bush	
Ancell, John Anderson, John Asher, John Austin, William	,	Stewards L.	
Austin, Witham			
Backers, Andriese			? Backus, G.—No. 1114. (Antients), later Caledonian Lodge
Backers, Andricus Bactyficur, Bern ^d .	P.J.G.W.	Stewards	Steward 1752
Joachim Bailey, William		Caledonian	
Baker, John			
Ball, William Barrett, Henry		L. of Peace	
Barrington, Thomas Baxter, G.			
Beale, William		L. of Peace Braunds Head L.	
Beckett, John Beech, James		Mourning Bush	
Beque, T. R. Berger, Nich ⁸ .			
Beverly, Jacob			
Bird, Samuel Blackmore, William			
Blissand, William Blower, Thomas		Swan L.	
Bowyer, Richard		No. 48 (Antient)	Identification doubtfut
Boytoult, Leonard Bradshaw, James			
Broak, John Bredel, Andw.		Three Tons Spittlefields	
Brice, Thomas		Star, Coleman Street	
Briscall, Samuel Briscall, John		Shakespeare	Classical rema
Brockbank, John Broderick, William		Stewards L.	Steward 1771
Brooks, Robert Harwing Brounsdon, C.		Mourning Bush Do.	
Bucky, John			
Burgess. Charles Bush, Atkinson		L. of Freedom	The contract of the contract o
Butler, Joseph.		No. 31A (Antient)	Identification doubtful
Caddley, D.		Mourning Bush	
Calling, Thomas Camroux, John Lewis		Do. Three Tons	
Candler, Fred	(Antient only	St. Albans L. No. 50 (Antient)	J.G.W. (Antients)
Carter, Thomas	(Antient only Token ho. Yd.)		j.o., i (imiteme)
Chapman, Sam ¹ .	(no Mem. Mas ^r . of the H ^o .)	Mourning Bush	
Chapman, Thomas Cheetham, Abram.		Do.	
Clarke, George	P.G.W.	St. Albans L.	
Clarke, William Clough, John		No. 3B (Antient)	Identification doubtfut
Cock, James Colombe, Nich ^s .		No. 3n (Antient)	raeminication admorph
Coast, Francis Cook, John			
Cordell, James			
Corner, Henry Cornish, James			
Costa, Igmerba Coxwell, Edward			
Creighton, James		Three Tuns	
Crespel, James Critchley, John		Manning Dool	Steward 1768 Steward 1773
Crozier, William Cruikshank, Robert		Mourning Bush Old Caledonian L.	Siewara 1775
Annual Communication and American Communication (Communication Communication Communica			

Name	Description	Lodge	Additional
Davis, Peter	Barrier in Communication of Communication (Communication)		particulars
Davis, Charles		Sea Captains L.	
Davis, Richard		Swan L.	
Davis, James		Shakespeare	
Dean, Humy		L. of Sincerity	
Delaporte, Peter			
Desortembee, Paul		Three Tons Spittlefields	
Desious, John Bernard		Caledonian L.	
Desormeaux, James			
Lewis			
Devese, Felix		Braunds Head L.	
Dickey, Wm Junr.		Lebeck L.	
Dickson, Robert			
Donaldson, William Donueld,			
Dove, Alex ^r .			
Driver, I.			
Duckett, John		Braunds Head L.	
Dudmar, Thomas			
Duploin, Frans.		Three Tons Spittlefields	
Dupree, James		Crown & Magpye	
		Aldgate	
Dupree, Isaac			
D'Valengen, Fras.		TY 10 32	
Dutton, Ben	M.D.	Half Moon Cheapside	
Edgar, Francis			
Edwards, Richard		Braunds Head L.	
Elliott, George		Marriners Lodge	
Entwistle, Thomas	(Relieved at Com.		
23110010010, 1220000	of Ch.)		
_		GU AU T	
Farrer, James		St. Albans L.	
Footman, John		Mourning Bush	
Foreast, John		Three Tons Spittlefields	
Fremont, John Frenaux, Step ⁿ .		Do.	Steward 1770
French, Hugh		150.	Sieuaru 1770
Flench, Hugh			
Gally, George		St. Albans	
Gamage, Abraham			
Gandol, I.		G. 433 T	
Gapper, William		St. Albans L.	
Gardiner, Robert			
Garrett, Richard		I of Dagge	
Gloster, William		L. of Peace Braunds Head L.	
Good, Thomas Goodall, William	,	St. Albans L.	
Golden, Robert June.		ot. Arbans D.	
Grant, James	LL.D.		
Gray, George		Caledonian L.	
Green, James		Three Tuns	
Grojan, T.		Kings Arms	
Gwynn, John			¥
Tradden William		Mourning Bush	
Haddan, William Hammond, John		wontinue Dasii	
Hammond, John Hance, John		Kings Arms	
Hardy, Joseph		Crown and Anchor	
Harrison, Edward		Swan L.	
Harrison, Jas.		Stewards L.	Steward 1771
Hart, Abm.		\mathbf{D}_{0} .	Steward 1758-9
Harwood, William		Three Tuns	
Haslam, John		Mourning Bush	
Hawkins, William		Do.	
Hawkins, John			Change of sale
Heineken,		L. of Sincerity	Steward 1765
Henderson, Robert		Caledonian	
Hetzer, Sam Hewitt, Alex ^r .		Dundee Arms	
Hewitt, Alex. Hoffman, Luder		Caledonian L.	
Hopkins, Joshua			
Horkins, John			
Hore, Matthew			
Howell, Charles		***	
Hughes, John		Kings Arms	
WT 1 79		Mary Bone St.	
Humphreys, R.			

Name	Description	Lodge	Additional particulars
Jeyes, Thomas Johnston, Francis Jones, John		St. Albans	Steward 1768
Jones, Tim Jones, Robert Jones, Sam¹. Jones, David		Corner Stone	identification doubtful
Ireland, Sam		King's Head, Hampstea	d
Kauffelin, I. T. Kennedy, William Keightley, Edward King, Joseph		White Horse Spittlefield St. Albans	s Steward 1769
King, William Kirkby, William Kitton, Richard		Crown & Magpye Aldgate Mourning Bush	
Lacon, Thomas Lamb, Aaron Lane, John		Stewards L. St. Albans Shakespeare	Steward 1769
Lang, Tuder Lang, John Langstaffe, Francis		Old Caledonian	
Le Sueur, Daniel Levesque, James Levesque, Abraham		Three Tuns	* Levecque (No. 125 Antients)
Levesque, John Lightfoot, William Linstrom, Nichas.		Mourning Bush Braunds Head L.	
Littleton, Edmd. Lloyd, Thomas		St. Albans L.	
Lloyd, John Loud, Eman ¹ , Ludby, Thomas Lusancey, Henry		Braunds Head L. St. Albans L.	
Mackenzie, John Mackford, Dan ¹ . Marriott, Samuel	(No Mem.	I. of Peace Old Caledonian Do.	
Martin, Thomas Mason, Joseph Mason, D.	Mas ^r . of the H ^o .)	Do. Do.	
Matiguer, William Menche, John W ^m . Meryotte, Nicho ^s . Meollett, Amos		Star, Coleman Street	
Merryman, Harman Midgway, Milham, Francis		Mourning Bush	
Miln. James Middleton, John		Kings Arms	
Moon, Phil ^p . Morgan, K. T. Mulhausen, Englebert		Mourning Bush Caledonian L.	
Nabby, J. Nix, John Norton, Thomas		Mourning Bush Stewards L.	Steward 1765
Parry, Joseph Paterson, William Paul, Job W ^m , Peachy, Job		Mourning Bush	Steward 1769
Peacome, Jos. Pearce, Anthy. Pemberton, Wm.		Swan L. Caledonian L.	
Pemberton, George Penkstan, Blackwood Perrott, J. Percival, James		St. Albans & Stewards St. Albans L. Mourning Bush	
Perry, Jos. Pesor, Pier		Ancient French I	

	,	2000	9
Name	Description	Lodgc	Additional
Pickersgill, Thomas Pinkstan, Fleming Pohl, Sam ¹ , Poole, Robert Poynter, James	P.S.G.W.	St. Albans L. St. Albans L.	particulars Steward 1746
Prichard, Thomas Prichard, William Pudney, John James		Braunds Head L. L. of Sincerity	
Quighley, John Quighley, James		No. 27A (Antients) Do.	
Ranshall, Daniel Ranshall, John Rennald, Pat		Castle Three Tuns	
Reed, Amplias Reeves, Thomas		Mourning Bush	
Rice, Samuel Richards, Joseph Richford, Thomas Ripley, Thomas		Mourning Bush Braunds Head L. Mourning Bush No. 31A (Antients)	Formerly a Modern
Ripley, Richard Esq ^r . Roberts, William Robinson, William Robinson, Samuel Robinson, James Romer, John	P.S.G.W.	Shakespeare St. Albans L. Shakespeare Dundee Arms Swan L.	Mason
Rose, John Rose, W. Russell. George Ryam, Phil ^p . Ryley, John		St. Albans Half Moon, Cheapside Caledonian	
St. Croix, N. Dee Salter, John	Major Generat P.D.G.M.	Old Caledonian L. Shakespeare	
Saubere, Jos. Schombert, John Schue, William Scott, John Henry Scott, Robert	P.S.G.W.	Stewards L. Shakespeare Mourning Bush and Shakespeare	
Sefton, Robert Selton, Henry Fras. Settree, Thomas		St. Geo. L. Exeter Stewards L. and Old Kings Arms	Steward 1769
Sharp, William Shirley. Thomas Short. Robert		Castle Tavern L. of Truth No. 102 (Antients),	Identification doubtful
Silva, James Jun ^r . Smith, Richard Smith, Alex ^r .		Amsterdam Esperance L. of Freedom L. of Sincerity	
Smith, Saml. Smith, Thomas Spencer. Christopher		L. of Peace Kings Arms	
Spicer, Richard Staines, James Stanton, Joram Stevens, John		St. Albans 1 Mourning Bush L. of Truth	
Stevenson, James Stewart, Daniel Stewart, Schumaker		Braunds Head L.	
Philp. Stockford, James Stone, William Stone, Francis Styles, John Summerfield, Richard		Mourning Bush Castle L. Crown and Anchor Mourning Bush Do.	
Thompson. David Tinn, William Torban. Ja ^b . Trueman, Robert Tude, Geo.		Three Tons Spittlefields Sea Captains L. Braundshead	

Name	Description	Lodge	Additional
Valeuzin, Fra ³ . Van Meuzin, Henry Vander Lauen, I. N. Vaughan, Henry Vaughan, William Vidal, Emericie, Jun ¹ .	M.D.		particulars
Walker, John Wathall, T. Ward, William Ward, Henry Warner, D. Waylett, James Webb, James Webster, J. Wheeler, John Whishaw, Hugh Whitehead, James Wilbraham, William Wildsmith, John Williams, John Williams, John Williams, Thomas Williams, Thomas Williams, Thomas Williams, James Winder, J. Wintle, James Woolsey, James Wortiman, Stepp, Wright, J. Wright, Richard Wright, David	(No such Mem.)	Shakespeare Shakespeare Star, Coleman Street Mourning Bush Stewards L. and St. Albans L. of Freedom Mourning Bush Stewards L. Globe Lodge Mourning Bush Stewards I Swan L.	Steward 1757 Steward 1759
Yeatman, William		L. of Freedom	

The original number of Petitioners, whose names are given above, was 305; but, according to the Solicitors' bill of costs, by the time the Petition was formally presented to the House of Commons this number had increased to 314. The large proportion of foreign names will be noticed.

The inclusion of representatives of the "Caledonian Lodge" and of the "Old Caledonian Lodge" affords a reminder that at the period in question there were two London Lodges bearing the same name. The older of the two Caledonian Lodges, constituted in 1761, was removed from the Roll in 1785; the younger, constituted in 1764, is still in existence and is now numbered 314. The loyalty of the latter Lodge is clearly demonstrated by the fact that it was awarded the Freemasons' Hall Medal in 1781 in spite of its stout opposition ten years earlier to the proposed Incorporation.

That this Petition may have been signed by persons who were Antient Masons, and even in some cases by individuals who were not Freemasons at all, is suggested in a note (quoted below) addressed to the Grand Secretary by Brother Preston on March 11th, 1772. In this connection the words inserted in pencil against the names of Thomas Carter, Samuel Chapman, Samuel Marriott and William Williamson should be carefully noted.

Preston's note reads as follows:-

Wednesday morning

11th March

Mr. Preston presents his best wishes to Mr. Heseltine—Informs him that several persons signed the Petition against the Incorporation who were antient masons, and many without being examined or known to be masons—Some Brethren who attended the meeting on Monday will attest this to

be the truth—It may not be now necessary to communicate this to Mr. Dillon The Bearer has been sent to Mr. P. with the above information.

Mr. Heseltine,
Doctors Commons.

The meaning to be attached to the series of twenty ticks following the word "America," and the two sets of four ticks assigned to Barbados and Bengal, is not apparent.

In a letter addressed to the Provincial Grand Master of Bengal a few days later the Grand Secretary wrote:—

To the P.G.Mr. & other P.G. Officers at Bengal.

In my last Letter of the 7th Febry. Ulto. I promised to write you again shortly and very fully as to the event of the Incorporation. The matter is now depending before the House of Comons, and tho' undetermined yet I much fear it will not succeed, for the House seem to take it up on this ground. That to comply with our request would be giving encouragement to many other Societys to make similar applications, and that the event might instead of a benefit become the foundation of dissentientions and suits at Law between the Body and its Members, particularly among those who are not governed upon principles so charitable & praiseworthy as ours and that though it wd. always be at the option of the Legislature to grant or reject the requests of the persons making application—yet this instance as to the Free Masons wd. be pleaded as a precedent, & might in some cases become a party affair in the House of Comons.

Br. who will deliver this in person will be able to give you information upon every other masonic Business, as he has been prest, at most of our Grd. Lodges for sometime past.

&c.

Drs. Comons 21 March 1772.

Towards the end of the year the Grand Secretary again wrote to the Provincial Grand Master of Bengal:—

To Sami. Middleton Esqr. P.G.M. of Bengal, &c.

The affair of Incorporation was in the last Session of Parliament brot, into the House of Comons but rejected. The Scheme is therefore dropped as we cd not witht, an Act of Parli, accomplish our wishes. The affair of Building a Hall &c. is notwithstanding to be prosecuted with vigour—and I flatter myself that by the contribus, to that Fund at our next G.L. the Society in gen!, will be convinced of the possibilty of accomplishing it. At last Anniversary on St. Johns Day His Grace the Duke of Beaufort late G.M. resigned the Chair & proposed as His successor in the Office of G.M. The R. Honble, Lord Petre who was approved of and installed in ample form and he appd. The Honble, Chas, Dillon his D.G.M. Sir Peter Parker S.G.W. and Wm. Atkinson Esqr. Junr. G.W. Rowld, Berkeley Esqr. was again elected G.T. and I had the honour of being appointed G.S. for the ensuing year.

Drs. Comons 20th Deer. 1772.

Having regard to the suggestion that other Societies of a secret or convivial character might make similar application to Parliament for incorporation, it is interesting to observe in the notes left by Brother Makins distinct evidence of activity amongst these other Societies in the months of March and April, 1772,

at a time when the proposed Charter of Incorporation for the *Moderns* was under consideration in the House of Commons. Brother Makins has left on record brief references to the public announcements of meetings held by the Libertonians, the Sols, and the Bucks.

Hitherto the records quoted have related solely to the *Moderns*. Without a doubt, the *Antients* must have watched with considerable anxiety the persistent efforts of their rivals to obtain official recognition. In the Minutes of the *Antient* Grand Lodge no mention is made of the proposed Incorporation of the *Moderns*. Accordingly, the following two contemporary references to the *Antients*, published in *The Middlesex Journal*, or Chronicle of Liberty, at the beginning of April, 1772, are deserving of special note.

The Middlesex Journal; or, Chronicle of Liberty.

Thursday, April 9 to Saturday, April 11 1772.

At a meeting of the antient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, under the York constitution, held at the Half Moon, Cheapside, on Wednesday evening last, Lawrence Dermott. Esq. in the chair, a letter was read from his Grace the Duke of Athol, wherein he thanked them for the great honour they had conferred upon him, by continuing him Grand Master for the year ensuing; and he likewise acquainted them, that he was of opinion (and it is the opinion of the Society in general) that the MODERN MASONS are acting entirely inconsistent with the antient custom and principle of the craft.

A motion was likewise made, that a Chaplain be appointed to that Society, and was carried in the affirmative; when the Rev. Dr. Grant, Lecturer of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and Curate of Whitechapel, was unanimously chosen.

Saturday April 11—Tuesday April 14 1772.

To the Antient Fraternity of Free and Accepted

Masons, according to the old Constitutions.

Whereas a Paragraph appeared in the Middlesex Journal of Saturday last, setting forth, "That the Duke of Athol in his Letter to the Grand Lodge, declared, that in his Opinion the Modern Masons were acting entirely inconsistent with the ancient Custom, &c. of the Craft. The said Paragraph must have been inserted by some malicious Person, who could have no other Motive than to cause a Disturbance among the People.

I do therefore declare the same to be false, for throughout his Grace's Letter, there is not the least Hint concerning the Gentlemen under the Modern Grand Master.

April 13, 1772.

W. DICKEY, G. Sec.

While referring to the Antients, mention must be made of a reference to the proposed Incorporation of the Moderns which appeared in the Introduction to the 3rd Edition of Ahiman Rezon, published in 1778. The relevant passage reads:—

Although falsehood found admittance into the calendar, yet a true and memorable transaction is omitted, viz. That the Modern Masons petitioned parliament to grant them a charter of incorporation, in order to give them the power and pleasure of punishing every Freemason in England, that did not pay quarterage to them. Had they obtained the charter, it would have shut out all Masons of the neighbouring kingdoms, as they could receive no manner of benefit therefrom.

The wisdom of parliament treated the petition with just contempt: And it was reported in the public papers, that the honourable Speaker of the House of Commons said: "That if the petition was granted, he made no doubt the chimney sweepers would soon apply for a charter."

It is remarkable, that the said petition was presented on (fool's day) the first of April, 1770.

It will be noted that the writer of this Introduction fell into error in giving the date of the final rejection as April 1st, 1770. The 1788 Edition of Preston's *Illustrations* gives 1771 as the year in which the Parliamentary Bill was presented and rejected, while by a curious coincidence Gould falls into a like error a century later.

The year 1771 is also mentioned in the course of a reference to the proposed Incorporation on page 158 of *Pictures of England and Italy*, by M. D'Archenholtz, published in Dublin in 1790, and referred to by Brother Chetwode Crawley in his *Contemporary Comments on the Freemasonry of the Eighteenth Century* (A.Q.C. xviii., page 211).

In justice to three members of this Lodge it must here be recorded that the correct date is given by the late Sir Alfred Robbins in his article published in *The Freemason* on August 11th, 1906; by Hughan in *The Freemason* on October 6th, 1906, and by Brother Songhurst in his notes in A.Q.C. xxx., at page 241.

In the latter half of April, 1772, a disappointed supporter of the intended Incorporation freely circulated amongst Lodges this anonymous printed letter:—

Right Worshipful Master and Brethren,

The long projected Scheme for incorporating our Fraternity being now defeated, must occasion disagreeable Reflections to all who consider how weak the motives have been for the Dissentions which have for some Years subsisted in the Grand Lodge:—and I have the greatest Hopes that every good Mason will exert himself in endeavouring to heal the Wounds which the Craft has in that Time received: but, as it can hardly be expected that those who have been the Opposers of the Incorporation through all its Stages, should now relinquish their former Conduct, I shall address the Promoters of the Bill more particularly.

If those who signified their Approbation of this Application to Parliament, will but look with a retrospective Eye on the Proceedings of the Grand Officers (and I trust they will do it impartially, now that the Tinsel of a Charter no longer dazzles their Optics) they will find themselves to have been egregiously duped: it appears in this Light to me, who have given it every Support in my Power: and I rejoice in being at length able to distinguish the Truth.

To enter into a Detail of their Conduct, would lead me into a length of Epistle far too great for my present Purpose; and I shall therefore leave the more remote Parts of it to your own cool Recollection, and be at present-contented with observing, that their causing the Bill to be deferred for Three-Months (which is the same in Parliamentary Custom as deferring it finally) in direct Opposition to the Oppinion of a respectable Meeting summoned by them for the Purpose of Consultation, was treating the Members of it in a most unworthy Manner: Must it not fill every honest Heart with Indignation, to find their Advice disregarded, without one Attempt having been exhibited to comply with their Desires? I would not think so meanly of Masons as to suppose the Contrary.

My Brethren, we have been shackled too long: but the Time is at Hand, that will enable us, by a short Exertion of Resentment, to free ourselves from those Fetters which have been forged for us. Rouse Yourselves, therefore, like Britons:—and by doing Justice to yourselves at the ensuing Quarterly Communication, on the 29th Instant, in the Election of a Grand Master, convince your present Rulers, and leave it upon Record, that you will not let those who trifle with you escape with Impunity.

A Petitioner for Incorporation.

The Minutes of the Lodge of Friendship No. 6 for June 10th, 1772, reveal the fact that the same fate was accorded this anonymous communication as befell the unsigned letter received by this Lodge in January, 1770:—

Rec^d. a Letter of 14 April last sign'd a Petitioner for Incorporation; The same was Read, and order'd to be burnt by the Tyler.

At the meeting of the Committee of Charity held at the Horn Tavern on Friday, April 22nd, 1772, the Hon: Charles Dillon presided over the representatives of fifty-three Lodges. At this meeting Brother John Johnson of the Stewards Lodge moved:

That the humble and affectionate thanks of this Comittee be given to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort our present Grand Master, the Hon^{ble}. Charles Dillon Deputy Grand Master, and to Rowland Holt Esq^r. late Senior Grand Warden, for their great attention and regard to this Society in promoting to the utmost of their power an Incorporation thereof, a measure replete with the utmost good consequences to masoury in general, strongly recommended from the Comittee of Charity, and approved of by a very numerous Majority in Quarterly Communication. This motion was duly seconded and on putting the Question it passed in the affirmative, one Bro^r. only dissenting.

The G.S. then made a motion that the thanks of this Comittee be transmitted to Brother Matthew Brickdale Esq^r. of the Lodge of Friendship for his zeal in promoting in parliament the Bill for Incorporating this Society, which motion was duly seconded, and on putting the Question it passed in the affirmative, one Bro^r. only dissenting. Bro^r. Anderson of the Caledonian Lodge thereupon made a motion that the thanks of the Comittee be also transmitted to Bro^{rs}. Sir Watkin Williams Wynn Bart, and William Hodgson Esq^r, the Grand Wardens for their great zeal in promoting an Incorporation which was seconded but as this motion was apparently made in an ironical manner and with a view rather to insult than to compliment the Brethren, a previous question was moved that Brother Andersons motion should not be put up, which was seconded and passed in the affirmative.

At the meeting of Grand Lodge held a week later, according to the official Grand Lodge Minutes:—

1772 April 29.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort proposed The Right Honourable Robert Edward Petre Lord Petre to succeed Him as Grand Master for the ensuing Year, which proposal was duly seconded.

Brother Edwards late S.G.W. proposed Major General John Salter past D.G.M. to succeed His Grace the Duke of Beaufort as G.M. for the ensuing Year, which proposal was also seconded.

Brother Birch of the Royal Lodge proposed His Royal Highness Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland to succeed His Grace the Duke of Beaufort as G.M. for the ensuing Year, which proposal was likewise duly seconded: but Brother Birch afterwards withdrew such his proposal—

Whereupon

The Question was put on the propositions in favour of Lord Petre and General Salter, when there appeared a very great Majority in favour of Lord Petre, and His Lordship was accordingly proclaimed Grand Master elect, and being present, received the Compliments of the Grand Lodge on the occasion.

Lord Petre, whose admission to the Craft had been sponsored by the Grand Master himself, was initiated in the Lodge of Friendship on March 13th, 1771.

With the resignation of the Duke of Beaufort the agitation in favour of incorporation subsided. The other official schemes, relating to the erection of a Hall and administrative offices, proceeded to fruition with the assistance of a

loan of £1,000 from the Charitable Fund, and in 1776 there was brought into use the Hall recently abandoned as part of the rebuilding scheme in connection with the erection in Great Queen Street of the Masonic Peace Memorial.

It is satisfactory to note, from the Minutes of the meeting of Grand Lodge held on April 18th, 1777, that:

. . . Brothers Ten Broeke, Vestenburg, & Muller late Members of the Caledonian Lodge, held at the Half Moon, Cheapside, who were some time since expelled this Society, had petitioned to be reinstated, and were ready to make acknowledgment of their error, and Bror. Ten Broeke being admitted into the Grand Lodge, made a genteel apology for himself and the said two other Brethren.

Ordered thereupon that the said three Brethren be reinstated to their respective ranks and situations in this Society.

This narrative of events may not inappropriately be brought to a conclusion with an extract from *The Leeds Intelligencer*, dated November 30th, 1773:—

London. Nov. 25

Last Friday a numerous and respectable body of Free and Accepted Masons met in Quarterly Communication at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, when the sum of 1861. 1s. 6d, were subscribed by sundry Lodges for the relief of distressed brethren, and upwards of 1001. for building a Hall for the Grand Lodge. Several resolutions were entered into for supporting the dignity of the Society, and the whole business was conducted with the greatest regularity and decorum.

A Correspondent observes, that he attended the above meeting, and was extremely happy to find that all the differences which have for some years prevailed in that respectable Society, are now amicably adjusted, and the greatest harmony seems to reign amongst them.

Peace and harmony once more prevailed.

CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing narrative contemporary records have been left as far as possible to speak for themselves. An attempt will now be made to formulate certain conclusions in the hope that these may be treated as a basis for discussion.

Before a definite opinion can be formed as to the propriety or otherwise of the proposal to incorporate the Society, it is necessary to consider in some detail certain of the legal aspects of incorporation. A comparison between the works of modern authors and the 1793 edition of Kyd on *Corporations* shows that the law relating to Corporations has altered little in the last two centuries.

As distinct from a corporation sole (e.g.), a Bishop), a corporation aggregate is an artificial body of persons, legally recognised, and possessing an entity distinct from that of its individual members. That which distinguishes a corporation from a mere voluntary association of individuals is the legal recognition accorded to the former. This legal recognition may arise at common law, or be acquired by royal charter, by authority of Parliament, by prescription, or by custom.

Incorporation for the Society at common law or by custom could not be claimed. Incorporation by prescription presupposes the existence of a lost grant or charter—a presumption which the Grand Master's supporters must evidently have realised was devoid of all foundation. Unable to claim incorporation at common law, by prescription or by custom, the promoters of the Duke of Beaufort's scheme were therefore faced with the two remaining alternatives—incorporation by prerogative of the Crown, and incorporation by Statute. Petitions for incorporation by royal charter are considered by the King in Council; incorporation by authority of Parliament necessitates compliance with all the

formalities of statutory procedure. It is true that before the Privy Council advise His Majesty in such matters opportunity is afforded, by public announcement in *The London Gazette*, for opposers to state their objections; but it is manifest that less publicity attends the preliminaries to incorporation by royal charter than attends those connected with incorporation by authority of Parliament. Accordingly, the method of procedure selected in the first instance by the promoters of the scheme need occasion no surprise.

Attention has already been directed to certain major points of difference between the draft of the proposed Royal Charter and the text of the Parliamentary Bill; the former, it will be remembered, provided for the incorporation of Grand Lodge, as distinct from the Society at large, while the latter contemplated a Corporation embracing such "regular Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of England" as "shall desire to be Partakers of the Benefits of this Act." Apart from any limitation expressed in its Charter, no special limits are placed upon the number of persons composing a corporation aggregate, provided that the number is definite or capable of being ascertained. No person can be made a member without his consent; but an application for membership made by a person possessed of the required qualification may be rejected, by ballot or otherwise, by the whole or a portion only of the Corporation, without any reason being assigned.

Even aliens may become members of an English corporation, unless the constitution of the corporation otherwise provides. In this connection it will be recollected that one of the objections to the earlier proposal to have the Society incorporated by Royal Charter was that incorporation by this method would result in the exclusion from the Society of all members of foreign nationality, whereas incorporation by authority of Parliament would not have this effect. If this distinction exists, or existed at the period in question, it has eluded the researches of more than one student. Nor is it correct to assert that incorporation leads to the automatic naturalisation of such aliens as are, or may become, members; for the members of a corporation retain their individual personalities, and consequently their respective nationalities as well.

Another objection advanced by the opposition would appear to have been founded upon a misconception—namely, the argument that incorporation would necessitate the exposure of all Masonic secrets. The books of a corporation are, as a general rule, open to the inspection of the corporators only. If the Society had been incorporated, the terms of its charter would have been available for public reference; its rituals, on the other hand, would have formed no part of its constitution. Apart, therefore, from any Order for Discovery made by a Court of competent jurisdiction in litigation in which the Society, if incorporated, might have been involved, its rituals, it is submitted, would have been no more open to public inspection than are those of the present day.

Of the remaining objections, already summarised on a previous page, the following are of little substance and require no comment; that incorporation is inconsistent with the nature of a Society denominated "Free," that incorporation is inappropriate to a Society composed of men of all trades and professions, and that trade flourishes most in those centres of industry where the workers are not incorporated.

Incorporation certainly simplifies the formalities connected with litigation and the transfer of property, but the Society has survived two centuries without experiencing any undue inconvenience arising from the lack of a corporate personality.

The temptation to misapply the Fund of Charity towards the cost of incorporation may have been great, but this objection was capable of remedy by the raising of a special fund.

It is true that the Lodges likely to benefit most by an incorporation were those in and around London; but it is not true to state that an incorporated

Society domiciled in this country would possess no power to impose taxation upon Lodges or individual members abroad, or that incorporation would necessarily result in the imposition upon Lodges overseas of rules and regulations inappropriate to them by reason of their location. It would have been competent to the Society, if incorporated, to pass appropriate regulations, differentiating if need be between London Lodges, Provincial Lodges, and Lodges abroad. That it was intended to recognise existing and future Lodges overseas may be inferred from the fact that the proposed Charter and Parliamentary Bill contained clauses, without words of territorial limitation, authorising the constitution of subordinate Lodges; while the measure introduced into the Lower House contained a clause specifically according recognition to all existing Lodges, and (as has already been noted) omitted the words "of England" from the title of the proposed Corporation—an omission attributable in all probability to a desire on the part of those responsible for the Bill to remove all possible doubts in this connection.

That there was a risk of secession may be gathered from some of the contemporary records already quoted: but, in the absence of further information, it is difficult to gauge accurately the precise extent of this danger. It does, however, seem likely that the promoters of Incorporation were actuated to some extent by a desire to gain an advantage over their rivals, the Antients, by acquiring official recognition for their own Society—a motive attributed to them by The Newcastle Journal as early as November, 1768. It is difficult to judge what effect such recognition, if it had been accorded to the Moderns, would have had upon the subsequent history of the Craft as a whole. The effect might have been very far-reaching.

In the printed Case of the Caledonian Lodge will be found arguments directed to show that the meeting of Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges held on January 26th, 1769, was unconstitutional. The grounds upon which this argument was based have already been summarised. A feeble attempt was made to justify the unusual character of this meeting, but the contemporary Book of Constitutions contained no rule capable of being invoked for the purpose of establishing the regularity of this gathering.

Allowing for the exaggerations of an interested party in the description of the Deputy Grand Master's conduct, when presenting the case for incorporation as well as when dealing with the alleged contumacy of the Caledonian Lodge, it can hardly be denied that the words and actions of this distinguished and highly placed official displayed distinct bias, and exhibited an entire lack of those qualifications so essential in one who may be called upon to preside over an assembly possessed of legislative and disciplinary powers.

It now remains to consider briefly the conduct of the Caledonian Lodge and the justification, or otherwise, for the entry of a caveat.

It will be recollected that the earliest public announcement of the proposal to incorporate the Society was that made by the Deputy Grand Master at a meeting of the Committee of Charity held at the end of October, 1768. Grand Master's intention was formally communicated to Grand Lodge a week later, when certain financial proposals were adopted; but according to the official Minutes no formal vote on the question of incorporation was taken at this meeting. In spite of this fact the Deputy Grand Master, at a meeting confined to Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges, and convened by public advertisement at twentyfour hours' notice, intimated to those assembled that the Charter might be ready Such an announcement may well have occasioned surprise within three days. and feelings of uneasiness in the minds of those who genuinely doubted the propriety of incorporation. It may perhaps be fairly assumed that the Caledonian Lodge, at the outset at all events, was actuated by proper motives. to their first manifesto their desire was, not to prevent an incorporation at all costs, but to prevent such a step being taken by unconstitutional means and without mature consideration. On this assumption, it will be appreciated that

their fears were by no means lessened by the unconstitutional nature of the gathering at which the intimation was given by the Grand Master's Deputy that the Charter might be ready within three days. If the Deputy Grand Master was in earnest in making this announcement—and of the contrary no one could be certain—the time available for action was strictly limited.

A written protest signed by the representaives of no less than fifteen Lodges was drawn up at this meeting and, though publicly tendered to the Deputy Grand Master, was by him peremptorily declined. The rejection of this protest must greatly have increased the misgivings of the representatives of these fifteen Lodges. Denied a hearing by the Deputy Grand Master, what action could these brethren take to prevent a premature incorporation?

The course adopted by the Caledonian Lodge, in pursuance of a resolution passed unanimously at a regular meeting of the Lodge, was certainly as unexpected as it was original; but the expedient was simple and straightforward. The entry of a caveat did not necessarily imply defeat of the Grand Master's proposal; it amounted merely to a precautionary measure designed to prevent completion of the formalities of incorporation until such time as the arguments of the contending parties had been judicially considered by a competent tribunal. The caveat certainly gave pronounced publicity to a purely domestic matter, but incorporation could not have been secured without ultimate recourse to civil law with its attendant publicity. Public litigation between members of the Craft has always been discouraged, but membership of the Craft does not, and cannot, deprive a citizen of his constitutional rights. In the opinion of the present writer, the entry of the caveat was constitutional, both masonically and otherwise.

The subsequent conduct of the Caledonian Lodge, and of certain of its members, cannot be so readily defended; tempers were lost, a general lack of tact was displayed, and unnecessarily forceful language was employed—criticisms which may be directed with equal truth at certain of those who favoured incorporation.

Time will not permit of detailed consideration of the many minor incidents with which this narrative abounds. Those to whom this Paper is communicated will be in a position to consider the evidence for themselves at leisure, to formulate their own conclusions, and to include in fascinating speculation upon the many possible consequences of incorporation of the Craft.

APPENDIX.

Lodges in favour of Incorporation.

Number (1755 enumeration, unless otherwise stated)	Name of Lodge	Place of Meeting	Remarks
1	Lodge of Antiquity	London	
3	Lodge of Friendship	London	Unanimous
23	Lodge of Philanthropy	Stockton-upon-Tees	Unanimous
25	King's Arms	London	Resolution against Incorporation subsequently rescinded
54		Derby	
59	Royal Cumberland	Bath	Nem. Con.
64	St. Paul's	Birmingham	Unanimous
67	5986, 54.600 (310) (210) (210)	Plymouth Dock	
(or 237)			*
146	Lodge of Love and Honour	Falmouth	
149	Sea Captains'	London	2 members identified as having signed the Petition to the H. of C. against Incorporation

Number (1755 enumeration, unless otherwise stated)	Name of Lodge	Place of Meeting	Remarks
167	Perfect Friendship	Carmarthen	Unanimous
182*		Cambridge	Unanimous
191	_	Lowestoft	
200	Moira	London	Resolution against Incor-
200		230111012	poration subsequently rescinded
225	St. John's	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	
261	_	Whitehaven	×
263	Restoration	Darlington	Unanimous
270	British Union	Ipswich	
282	Royal Navy	Deal	
311	Royal Edwin	Lyme Regis	
315	St. George's	Taunton	
369	_	Carlisle	
372	Union	Bristol	Unanimous
405	Castle Tavern	Dartmouth	" Entire approbation "
(1770) 408	Jerusalem	London	Majority 27—4
415	Mona	Holyhead	
430	_	Scilly Isles	
	_	Boston, U.S.A.	"All eager for it" and
			"Unanimous in
			Quarterly Communication
*			assembled."
_	_	Barbados	"Very ardently wished
			for "
_	_	Bengal .	"Very cordially join in
			the proposal"
·	(·	North America	"Wished for for 20 years
			past '
	* See commen	ts by Bro. Covey-Crump.	

Lodges sending non-committal replies.

241	Angel	Credition	
338	Lodge of Amity	Poole	
340	Rose and Crown	Sheffield	

Lodges against Incorporation.

		8	
9	Dundee Arms	Wapping	Majority 30-8
13	Mourning Bush	London ·	30 members identified as having signed the Petition to the H. of C. against Incorporation.
25	King's Arms	London	Resolution against Incor- poration subsequently re- scinded
26	St. Alban's	London	19 members identified as having signed the Petition
34	Corner Stone	London	1 member ditto
70	Stewards'	London	13 members ditto
182	Scientific	Cambridge	Unanimous
200	Moira	London	Resolution against Incorporation subsequently rescinded
221	Shakespeare	Londen	10 members identified as having signed the Petition
313	Royal	London	Resolution against Incorporation passed "Nem. Con."
325	Caledonian	London	8 members identified as having signed the Petition

Lodges to which Petitioners against Incorporation belonged.

	Louges to which	retitioners against	Incorpo	ration belonged.	
Number of		Meeting Place	Number	Present Name	Number
Petitioners	Name of Lodge		(1770)		
		G . T 1	,		
	'	Country Lodges ($M_{ m c}$	oderns).		
2	Dundee Arms	Wapping	9	Old Dundee	18
1	Mariners'	Wapping	203		
1	St. George's	Exeter	213	St. George's	112
			7 : \		
		London Lodges (Ma	oderns).		
31	Mourning Bush		13	Emulation	21
1	Globe		16	Globe	23
3	Castle		21	Castle	26
5	King's Arms		24	Old King's Arms	28
19	St. Alban's		25	St. Alban's	29
1	_	White Horse.	30		
		Spitalfields			
1	Corner Stone		31		
1	_	King's Arms,	43		
	T 1 6 71 1	Marylebone Street			
4	Lodge of Freedom		50	0 10 17	
13	Stewards'	11.16 31	60	Grand Stewards'	
2	_	Half Moon,	70	Constitutional	55
3		Cheapside Star, Coleman Stree	et 71	Howard Lodge of	56
J	_	Star, Coleman Stree	26 11	Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love	30
12	_	Three Tuns,	73	Discherry nove	
		Spitalfields			
11	-	Braund's Head,	74	Felicity	58
		New Bond Street		,	
2	_	Crown and Magpie,	84		
		Whitechapel			
2	_	Crown and Anchor,	115		
		(?) (303, 339	or 357)		
2	Sea Captains'		119		
1	Antient French		153		
10	Shakespeare	T 1 1 m	179	Shakespeare	99
1	_	Lebeck Tavern,	200		
	0.1.1	Strand	400		
. 6	Caledonian		208	0.1.1	404
8 5	Caledonian		263	Caledonian	134
2	Lodge of Peace		$\frac{316}{325}$		
-	Lodge of Truth	1	or 392)		
1	_	King's Head.	336	St. John's	167
•		Hampstead	7,00	ize. wonn a	107
4	Lodge of Sincerity	a.u.a.pstetta	358		
1	L'Esperance		369		
	•				
		London Lodges (An	tients).		
1	-		5c	Albion	9
2			27A	///	
1			31 A		
			2.00		9

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Grantham for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. Flather, seconded by Bro. Firminger; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. W. Covey-Crump, W. J. Williams, G. P. G. Hills, G. Y. Johnson, H. C. de Lafontaine, S. L. Coulthurst, and C. F. Sykes.

Bro. DAVID FLATHER said: -

It gives me very great pleasure to propose "That our very grateful thanks be accorded to Bro. Ivor Grantham for his paper."

At the same time, we heartily congratulate him upon the splendid contribution he has made to our knowledge of that most interesting and critical period, during which the Incorporation of the Society was under consideration,

and I would also like to congratulate him, on your behalf, for the masterly way in which he epitomised the paper so as to reduce it to the requisite proportions for reading aloud.

I would first refer to Bro. Grantham's introduction to his paper, for he has struck a sad chord in the memory of us all, in that he refers to the preparatory work done by two of our recently deceased Brethren, but while we deplore their loss, we are forcibly reminded of the truth, that it is not only the building of the superstructure which is honourable to the Builder, but, that by clearing the ground and establishing strong foundations upon which others may build, we can contribute effectively towards the success of those who follow us.

Bro. Grantham's paper is so complete and so fully documented, that it is difficult to suggest any addition to it. It would, however, be interesting if we could gather from the records of both London and County Lodges what actually took place on receipt of the communication from Grand Lodge on the subject of the proposed Incorporation. The following extract from the Minutes of the Rose & Crown Lodge, No. 340, Sheffield, will, I hope, be of interest:—

April, 1769.

Lodge opened upon the 3 Step Bro. Jas. De La Pryme D.M.; present 14 members proceeded to Business, the Writting Sent down from the Grand was read over as also the Case & Memorial of the Caledonian Lodge it was thought proper by the Master, Wardens and the majority of the members, that the following Queries should be sent to the Grand before the Lodge would Signe their proposals signed by the Worshipfull Master, Senior & Junior Wardens, and Secretary, and are as follows:—

1st Why has not the Grand Lodge sent down to the Lodges, the real uses and what particular Benefits they can Expect to reap from an Incorporation.

2nd What Benefit can the Lodges in the Country held under the Warrant of the Grand Lodge Expect from this Incorporation.

3rd How far may the Grand Lodge by Virtue of their power of making by Laws oblige a Lodge at a greater distance than 10 miles from London in Taxing the Sd. Lodges towards defraying the extra Xpenses of the Grand, and why the manner of such taxation is not laid before the said Lodges distant more than 10 miles from London.

4th What are the new regulations, made in the Grand Lodge.

Closed the Lodge in due form.

It is interesting to see that the communication from the Caledonian Lodge was received at the same time as that from the Grand Lodge.

I do not find any further reference to this matter or to communications from Grand Lodge until three years later, when the following Minute appears:—

A.M.5772

Business 14th February, 1773.

The Lodge open'd by the right Worshipfull Master upon the Second Step, Present 12 members A Letter received from the Grand Lodge for Subscriptions Towards the Building a Hall and procuring Jewels for the use of the Grand Lodge was read and Duly attended to, a Book agreeable to the Dictates of the Grand Lodge lay open on the Table for Subscriptions, the Lodge then closed in Due form.

Again open'd upon the Third Step and Bro. Benj. Withers was raised Master, the Lodge then Clos'd in Due form.

John Creswick, Master.

The next reference to the affairs of Grand Lodge occurs twelve months later:—

February 25th, 1774

Opened upon the second Step of Masonry.

At a Special Lodge then called to take into consideration. A Letter from the Grand Lodge wherein we are desired to contribute and subscribe towards the Purchase of Ground and building a Hall thereon; after sufficient deliberation it is resolved Nem Con that no subscription or contribution shall be entered into for the above purposes on account of several reasons to the contrary (viz.)

1st The Grand Lodge neglecting to answer the sev'l Queries proposed to them in April 1769 respecting the incorporation of the Society of Free & Accepted Masons.

2nd That as the Bill for this incorporation never passed into an Act we presume that a sufficient and proper Conveyance cannot be made to any Person or Persons so as the whole Community shall be benefitted thereby &

3rdly We cannot conceive what advantage the Building of this Hall can be to Masonry in General

Notwithstanding it resolved that the Annual Subscription to the Grand Lodge shall be continued.

After these resolutions the Lodge closed in due form.

Thos. Smith,

Master.

These resolutions were embodied in the following letter written by the Secretary, Bro. Thomas Lambert, and copied by him into the Minute Book:—

Copy of Letter to Bror. James Heseltine, G.S. dated 10th March 5774

Bror. Heseltine,

In conformity with yours in the name of the Right Worshipfull Grand Master the members of this Lodge have met and maturely considered the contents of that Letter and upon such consideration cannot perceive that the building a Hall for the Grand Lodge will in any manner redound to the benefit or advantage of this Lodge, or to the Good and Honour of Masonry in General;

Resolved therefore Nemine Contradicente, that no Subscription for the purposes mentioned in the said Letter shall be enter'd into by this Lodge.

Notwithstanding we mean to continue our annual Subscription to the General Fund of Charity as usual, and did some time ago give directions to a Brother belonging to our Lodge to pay our said Annual Subscription into your Hands, but find from the last Quarterly Communication it has not yet been paid which has been owing to our said Bror, being upon a journey into the West at the time we expected he would be in London.

I must also beg leave to observe to you, that upon receiving a Letter from the Right Worshipful Grand Master at the time a Bill was proposed to be laid before Parliament for incorporating the Society of Free and accepted Masons, and also for building a Hall for the Grand Lodge; in which letter we were solicited to subscribe towards the carrying these purposes into execution; we thought it necessary in order to clear up some doubts we had herein to address the Grand Lodge for an answer to such Questions as we

then by our letter proposed, to which letter dated April 5769 I refer you; which the Grand Lodge was not so kind to condescend to answer nor had we ever an answer thereto which we cannot help thinking a contempt and neglect of that attention that ought to have been paid unto us.

I am,

Your most obedt.

Humb. Servt.

T. Lambert.

Secy.

Although there is no record of any further discussion with Grand Lodge on this matter, it would appear by the Minutes of the 3rd April, 1774, that a reply was received from Grand Lodge in which a demand for a list of members of the Lodge had been made. After full discussion of this letter it was decided to furnish the required list of names; together with certain money which was claimed for dues.

The Lodge, however, seem to have felt rather guilty for refusing to contribute to the building of the Hall, and held two special meetings to consider the question, and on 13th May, 5774, "it was agreed that the Lodge do subscribe One Pound One Shilling towards the building of an Hall and this to be remitted the first opportunity".

Incidentally, it is interesting to learn that the Lodge expenses for these two special meetings amounted to 19/4d.

The money for the Subscription was entrusted to Bro. Ben Withers, who was on a journey to London, but he omitted to hand it over; ultimately it was, on the 8th July, 1774, paid to Bro. Heseltine and a receipt obtained.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said: -

The monograph presented to us by Brother Ivor Grantham deals so fully and clearly with the subject that except for supplemental extracts from minutes and old letters we are left with little to do but to thank him and congratulate ourselves on his achievement. The narrative throws light upon the character and conduct of the actors who participated in the proceedings. One outstanding result is the clear demonstration that it is futile and mischievous for any attempt to be made by officers of a Masonic Society based on Brotherly love to attempt to dragoon their Brethren into a forced acquiescence with propositions which, however honestly intended, fail to find well-nigh unanimous support.

The paper, however, entices us to consider what is the legal status in the present day of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons under the Government of our Most Worshipful Grand Master.

Is it not the case that our Society is in fact a Corporate Body acting in that capacity under the express sanction of our Most Gracious King?

It is clearly not necessary to the existence of a Corporation that a Charter or Act of Parliament should be produced stating that the grantees are thereby constituted a Corporation. Bro. Grantham has told us that the recognition of a corporation aggregate may arise at common law, or be acquired by royal charter, by authority of Parliament, by prescription, or by custom.

What is prescription? "Prescription is when a man claimeth anything for that he and his ancestors or predecessors or they whose estate he hath, have had or used it all the time whereof no mind is to the contrary". ("Termes de la Ley," as quoted in Stroud's Judicial Dictionary, page 1540.)

That such a claim has been made by Freemasons for more than two hundred years past is so patent that no one acquainted with the facts will be so hardy as to deny it. The claim and the recognition of its validity are two different things, but the claim has been made and reiterated in printed and authoritative documents going back to A.D. 1723, and the Old Constitutions carry the claim back much further. Bro. Grantham states that prescription presupposes the existence of a Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it has been lost grant or charter. found convenient in most cases where prescription is claimed to set up (what is known in many instances to be purely imaginary) the existence of such a document. But I make this further proposition that if the King, from whom or from whose predecessors a charter of incorporation is supposed to have come, formally recognises the existence of a corporate body and at the same time confers new privileges upon it, no further proof of incorporation is needed and the Courts are in duty bound to take notice of a body so authenticated. All the cases dependent upon the theory of a lost grant from the Crown are cases where the Crown was either not a party to the proceedings or being a party put the claimant to the proof of his title. In the nature of things neither of those conditions arises when the Sovereign actually recognises the Corporate existence of the entity upon whom he confers further privileges.

If, however, the theory of a lost grant had to be set up on behalf of Grand Lodge there would not be any insuperable difficulty having regard to the allegations in the Old Constitutions as to King Athelstan and others.

The expression "incorporated" occurs in the Articles of Union dated 25th November, 1813, but that refers to the incorporation together of the Modern and Antient Masons.

In order that I may no longer keep the Brethren in suspense it is well that I should at once divulge what foundation there is for my allegation that the King has recognised the Corporate existence of our Society and at the same time conferred on them further privileges. On 18th June, 1919, King George V. set his hand and privy seal to a grant of Arms particulars of which now follow. The original grant and exemplifications are in the custody of Grand Lodge.

His Majesty's signature, "George R.I.," and his seal appear (as is usual) at the head of the document; which then proceeds thus:—

George the Fifth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King Defender of the Faith Emperor of India To our Right trusty and well beloved Counsellor Sir Edmund Bernard Talbot (commonly called Lord Edmund Talbot) Knight Grand Cross of Our Royal Victorian Order and Deputy to Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin Bernard Marmaduke Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal of England Greeting.

Whereas Our Most Dear Uncle His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn Knight of Our Most Honourable Order of the Garter Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England hath by his Petition humbly represented unto Us that the said United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England has long borne certain armorial ensigns on its Common Seal Shields Banners and otherwise but that the same have not been duly established and recorded in Our College of Arms and that to commemorate the long association of His late Majesty King Edward the Seventh Our most Beloved Father with the said Grand Lodge as Grand Master thereof and also similar close association of many other Royal and Illustrious members of Our Family and further to distinguish the said

Grand Lodge as the governing body of Free and Accepted Masons of England and the Branches of which exist throughout Our Dominions the said Grand Lodge is desirous that the Armorial bearings hitherto borne may be duly established and that there may be added to the Arms a bordure indicative of the Arms of England and the said Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn as Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England therefore most humbly prays Our Royal License and Authority that the United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England may bear and use certain Armorial bearings on its Common Seal Shields Banners or Otherwise.

Know Ye that we of Our Princely Grace and Special Favour have given and granted and by these presents give and grant unto the said United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England Our Royal License and Authority to bear on its Common Seal Shields Banners or otherwise according to the Laws of Arms the Armorial Ensigns following viz:—

(Here follows the Heraldic description of the Arms. They are also emblazoned in due form.)

The same being first duly exemplified and recorded in Our College of Arms otherwise this Our License and permission to be void and of none effect.

Our Will and Pleasure therefore is that you Sir Edmund Bernard Talbot commonly called Lord Edmund Talbot deputy of our said Earl Marshal to whom the cognizance of matters of this nature doth properly belong do require and command that this our Concession and Especial Mark of our Royal Favour be registered in Our College of Arms to the end that Our Officer of Arms and all others upon occasion may take full notice and have knowledge thereof and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Saint James this 15th day of June 1919 in the 10th year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command

Edward Shortt.

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

C. H. Athill

Norroy and Registrar.

The Exemplification of the Arms is contained in the same Case. It is given under the hands and Three Seals of

H. Farnham Burke William H. Weldon Garter. Clarencieux

C. H. Athill

Norroy

C. H. Athin

and bears date 9th July, 1919.

It is a most ornate document; but the Grant itself bearing the Sign Manual and Seal of our Most Gracious King is for us more important.

The grant might perhaps be safely left to speak for itself, but one important point is that it confers authority on the United Grand Lodge to use the Arms as then authorised on the Common Seal. The right to use a Common Seal is probably the most distinctive privilege of a Corporate Body.

To test the status of our Society let us for a moment imagine a Petition now being made to the King for a Charter of Incorporation. Would not an appropriate answer be that the Petitioners appeared to be forgetful of the fact

that the King had some years ago in a very formal manner conferred on the Society the right to use Arms and a Common Seal and that such right had been exercised by the Society in accordance with the grant and therefore such a Petition was derogatory to the aforesaid grant, both in its express terms and in its implications?

What is the use of a Common Seal? Its main function is therewith to seal documents of importance whereby the entity using the Seal confers rights on grantees or enters into binding contracts. Let us for a moment suppose that the United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England entered into a Contract under that name to purchase fittings for the new Building and executed that Contract by affixing its Seal. Could it be maintained with any prospect of success that the party contracting to supply the goods could not sue the Grand Lodge by its said title for the price of the goods or that Grand Lodge could not maintain an action for breach by the Vendor of the contract to supply? What is the nature of the entity upon whom the King conferred the right to use a particular Common Seal? Can there be any other answer than that it is a Corporate Body? We need not stay to discuss whether it became such by Common Law or by Prescription or otherwise. It is enough that it exists. power to possess and use a Common Seal is incidental to a Corporation (Sutton's Hospital Case 1612, 10, Coke's Reports 23a, 30b). Upon no other footing can the grant of a Seal be explained than that it is intended to be used as an attribute of a Corporation.

The existence of a Corporation being conceded it follows from the case last quoted that a Corporation has the right to do those things and to be under those liabilities which are incident to its working capacity.

In Halsbury's Laws of England, vol. 8, 358, section 804, it is stated that a non-statutory Corporation (speaking generally) can do everything that an ordinary individual can do unless restricted directly or indirectly by statute.

In Attorney General v. Chester Corporation (1849), I. Hall & Twells 46, a Charity founded in the twelfth century and commonly known as "The Master Brethren and Sisters of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist", whose lands with the mastership of the hospital were subsequently granted by the Crown to the Corporation of Chester, was held not to be a Corporation the leases of the hospital lands never being granted under a Corporate Seal but in the private name of the master for the time being and sealed with his own private seal the brethren and sisters being stated to consent. That case shows very emphatically how important the existence of a Common Seal is.

In the case of Lloyd r. Loaring (1802), 6 Vesey 773, the case of the status of a private Lodge came before the Lord Chancellor Eldon, who held that a Lodge of Freemasons was not a Corporation. This, however, is a very different case from that of the Grand Lodge with the special rights conferred by the Sovereign.

The Lodge then referred to was "known by the name of the Caledonian Chapter No. 2, being No. 2 on the list of the Societies of Royal Arch Freemasons".

These observations should perhaps be regarded as a series of questions, rather than of assertions. It can, however, be no answer to those questions to say that the King's Warrant, being merely an authority for a grant of arms and for the use of them in certain ways, is not a Charter of Incorporation. That is not alleged. What is alleged is that it recognises the existence of a Corporation and enlarges and legalises its privileges in a manner which is entirely inappropriate to a non-corporate body. The grant distinctly states that it is made "further to distinguish the said Grand Lodge as the governing body of Free and Accepted Masons of England". Is not the word "body" synonymous with "Corporation"?

Bro. C. F. SYKES said: -

In this paper Bro. Grantham has presented to us a very complete story of the Moderns' attempt at Incorporation. It is an account replete with interest, and though it will necessarily be impossible to read it at length in Lodge, I am sure its subsequent publication in the *Transactions* will afford great satisfaction to all who will have the privilege of reading it.

In the text of the proposed Royal Charter it may be worth while to point out that the term 'Past Grand Officers', in the sentence stating the constitution of Grand Lodge, applies only to the four previously named Grand Officers. Past Rank at the time the proposed Charter was prepared was allowed only to the offices of Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens. Consequently the other specified Grand Officers were members of Grand Lodge only during the periods they actually served in their respective offices. On relinquishment, their membership of Grand Lodge ceased unless they were otherwise qualified. The Grand Treasurer, Grand Secretary and Grand Sword Bearer were not definitely recognised as members of Grand Lodge until 1741, and twelve years more elapsed before the Grand Treasurer was declared a Grand Officer by virtue of his office.

The proposed Royal Charter specified the constitution of Grand Lodge, definitely enumerating the offices and stating an obligation to elect and appoint to these offices. What would have been the position on the creation of new Grand Offices? The Grand Lodge was given "full power to make, constitute and ordain such Statutes, Bye-laws and Ordinances as shall appear to them to be good, and necessary and expedient for the Government, Order and Regulation of the said Society". A new bye-law would thus legalise the new office, and I suppose the obligation to appoint to that office would be similar to that for the offices specified in the Charter. Had the Charter been obtained and subsequent events remained the same, what then would have been the procedure relative to the office of Grand Chaplain, created in May, 1775, vacant from 1777 to 1780, filled in 1781, vacant again in 1782, 3 and 4, and once more filled in 1785? Would the bye-law legalising the office in 1775 need to be cancelled in 1777, re-enacted in 1781, cancelled again in 1782, and re-enacted once more in 1785?

With regard to the making of new Bye-laws, etc., the Bill is definitely clear that such made at one meeting were not binding until they were confirmed at the next meeting. The Royal Charter is not so clear that confirmation would be necessary at the subsequent meeting. It appears to me that a new bye-law could be agreed to, afterwards read over and approved at the same meeting.

Two of the figures associated with the Incorporation proposals—the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, and Thomas French, Grand Secretary-had been concerned, with others, in 1767, in irregularly obtaining by purchase the Charter of Lodge No. 3, meeting at the Sun and Punch Bowl, and using the Charter thus obtained as authority for a Lodge known as the Lodge of Friendship. irregularity was reported to the Committee of Charity, which deferred a decision as to the illegality or otherwise of the action, "but as a mark of high respect to His Grace the Duke of Beaufort and the Noblemen and Honourable Gentlemen meeting under the name of the Lodge of Friendship and in consideration of their being very young masons [it was ordered], that the Constitution of No. 3 shall remain with them, even tho' it should appear upon further enquiry that this affair hath been transacted contrary to the Constitution, but at the same time resolved. that this shall not be looked upon as a Precedent for the future on any account whatever". At the next meeting of the Committee of Charity this action was confirmed, except that part relating to Bro. French. He was not exonerated until he had formally apologised in Grand Lodge.

At the meeting when French made his submission the Duke of Beaufort was elected Grand Master. A year afterwards the office of Grand Secretary became vacant, and the Duke appointed French to that office.

It would be interesting to learn if any others specially concerned in urging Incorporation were associated with the Duke of Beaufort and Thomas French in their action regarding the acquisition of the Charter of No. 3.

It is reasonable to suppose that the circumstances attending the irregularity and the manner in which it was subsequently dealt with would be better known and understood by the London Brethren than those of the country. I wonder if it had any influence on opposition to Incorporation. Certainly the opponents were very largely London Lodges and Brethren.

Bro. G. Y. Johnson, of York, writes:-

In the first place, may I congratulate Bro. Grantham on his excellent paper? He has made very good use of the papers left by the late Bro. Makins, far better than I could have done personally. He has placed all the evidence before us.

In tracing the history of a dispute it is always difficult to find the commencement, and I find that in the preface of "An Address . . . by Thomas Edmondes" it is stated that Earl Ferrers, the Grand Master, resigned because there was opposition to the building of a hall. As Earl Ferrers resigned in 1763, the opposition must have commenced on or before that date. The paragraph is as follows:—

Some undiscerning persons, during this recess, took the opportunity, I believe, from misrepresentation, privately to oppose the design of a hall, and dispersed the indigisted motion among inferior lodges, that the charitable fund in the grand treasurer's hands, would be exhausted and lost in the undertaking. This, however, as being totally false and ill-grounded, might have been refuted, but so ungrateful and ungenerous a presumption being partially given out, and communicated to Earl Ferrers, he became very justly dissatisfied, and withdrew, at least for that time, his glorious intended munificence; so the whole design was thereupon frustrated.

By the way, this Address by Thomas Edmondes was delivered in 1763, but not published until 1766, three years afterwards; the reason that it was then published was, in our modern phraseology, 'for propaganda purposes', showing that the opposition must have been increasing. The paragraph is as follows:—

I have often since been strongly solicited to lay the address before the public, notwithstanding the little prejudice, raised by ill-founded opinions, relative to the building, with an intent, not only to clear up to general satisfaction, the grand intentional scheme (communicated by the address only to the gentlemen who were then at the lodge,) but to manifest such a conviction to the world, that Masonry in itself is an exalted and desirable science.

I have read through the paper and made comparisons with Bro. Makins' papers and the only point 1 can raise is that Bro. Grantham states, after the Grand Lodge Meeting of 28th October, 1768, the Grand Secretary wrote to the Grand Master and the Grand Master did not reply until 11th February, 1769—"a somewhat tardy acknowledgment". The letter from the Grand Secretary to the Grand Master is undated, but Bro. Makins has a note to the effect that it follows a letter dated 14th January, 1769, that is about ten weeks after the Grand Lodge Meeting. The Grand Master's reply to this letter is dated 11th February, 1769, about four weeks afterwards. The delay, therefore, seems to have been on the Grand Secretary's part and not on the Grand Master's.

Throughout the dispute the opposition expressed fear that the Charity Fund might be used to defray the cost of incorporation or of the building of the new hall.

That this fear was well founded is shown by the Grand Lodge Minutes of 18th April, 1777:—

Bro. Bottomley made a motion that £1000 should be borrowed from the Charitable Fund of the Society at the Interest of £4 per cent.

This was carried.

It is interesting to note that at the same meeting the expelled members of the Caledonian Lodge were reinstated.

In the Grand Lodge Minutes of 12th November, 1777, the following motion was carried unanimously:—

That the Debt of £1000 due from the Hall to the Charity Fund, be annihilated, and that the Interest due thereon to the Charity Fund do from henceforth cease.

Both these Minutes are well-known and they show that the opposition were justified in their fear that the Charity Fund might be raided.

It has been a great pleasure to me to listen to Bro. Grantham's paper.

Bro. S. L. COULTHURST writes: -

Bro. Ivor Grantham is to be congratulated in placing before us a subject of unrecorded Masonic history of vital importance and interest to the student. He solicits contributions from sources which he has not had the opportunity of investigating—Private Lodge records, which may add in some small measure information not found elsewhere. This prompts me to submit the following:—

From the Minutes of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Cheshire:

1769 March 28. A grand quarterly Communication was held at the Coach & Horses Northgate Street Chester The Prov Grand Master (Alderman John. Page) The Deputy (Ed Orme) and Provincial Grand officers, together with the Masters, Wardens of the four Chester Lodges. Each Master delivered a list of his Lodge and the Prov Grand Secretary read the plan sent to each Lodge, for "obtaining His Majestys Patent to Incorporate the said Society into a body incorporate for ever" which was done. The Prov Grand Master desired the Master of each Lodge to comply with the directions therewith sent out, which they promised to do.

Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity (Ancients), Wigan, Lancs .: -

Jan. 1770. It is reported that "the Modern Grand Lodge have petitioned Parliament to grant them a Charter of Incorporation, in order to give them the power and pleasure of punishing every Freemason in England that does not pay fees to them.

These two extracts are the only references I have yet found referring to the subject amongst the various Lodge records of Lancashire and Cheshire that I have investigated.

Formation of the Grand and Royal Chapter of Royal Arch Masons.

One is prompted to enquire, was it by coincidence or design that the Grand and Royal Chapter came into being and activity during the troublesome years of the attempted Incorporation of Grand Lodge, the leading personages being substantially the same in both projects? There is no doubt that the Grand and Royal Chapter, first issuing R.A. Warrants in 1769, was a protective measure against the Antients, and it provided means whereby the Modern Mason could become a Royal Arch Mason without being driven to the rival camp for the purpose. One is inclined to go further and speculate that the Moderns being then provided for, both in Craft and R.A. Masonry, would have greater power if they could become an incorporated society and thus induce a stronger following, and so weaken their Antient rivals.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, mentioned as a strong supporter of the scheme and who signed the important Bond, was present at the Provincial Grand Lodge (the Royal Chester Lodge) held at Chester, March 28th, 1769—the same day that the question of Incorporation was discussed as in the above extract of Minutes. He became a joining member of the Lodge the same day, and for a large number of years members of his family became members of the same Lodge at Chester.

Sir John Chetwoode, High Sheriff of Cheshire; John Stanley, Esq., of Hooton: John Conway Glynne, Esq., of Harworden, eldest son of Sir John Glynne (his brother Stephen was grandfather to Mrs. William Ewart Gladstone): Philip Egerton, Esq., of Egerton and Oulten: Rt. Hon. George James, Earl of Cholmondley, and many others of the local gentry, were members of the Royal Chester Lodge at this period. Sir Watkin William Wynn was head of the wealthy family at Wynnstay. He married Lady Henrietta Somerset, fifth daughter of the Duke of Beaufort, and he died in 1789.

JOHN ALLEN was so closely associated with all the legal side of Grand Lodge activities now under review that some further notes may be of interest.

He was the son of Richard and Rachel Allen, of Bury, Lanc., a family whose names appear in the Registers of Bury Parish Church from 1617. He was born in 1741, appointed the fourth Prov. Grand Master of Lancashire (created 1734) in 1769 at the age of 28, and held the appointment until his death in 1807.

He was an Attorney of Clements Inn, and spent his time between London and Manchester. He developed into one of the greatest Provincial Grand Masters of the eighteenth century, and during his 38 years of Provincial Grand Mastership constituted a larger number of new Lodges in his Province than any other P.G.M., in face of an almost equal success on the part of the Antients.

He is recorded as being in almost constant attendance at Grand Lodge and very often in office. Speaking of him in *Provincial Warrants* (A.Q.C., 1928), Bro. Carter says:—

Active as was Dunckerley in the group of Provinces of which he accepted responsibility, and undoubtedly beneficial to the Modern Grand Lodge as was his influence, yet when one comes to look at the Provincial developments in Lancashire, his importance somewhat pales.

Great as he was, he cannot rightly be given the position of "Father of the present race of Provincial Grand Masters" as Sadler claims.

In 1784 he subscribed £25 to the New Hall Fund, and received the Hall Medal.

I have no record where he was initiated, and shall be glad to know of it. He joined the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1 in 1768, and acted as Secretary. J.W. and S.W. in 1769-1770. Served as Grand Steward 1769. Grand Stewards' Lodge 1769 to 1771; rejoined 1784, and declined in 1795. County Stewards' Lodge, joined April 11th, 1791. Crown and Rolls Lodge No. 16 (now Globe No. 23), joining member. Brittanic Lodge No. 33.

In the Royal Arch he was exalted in London Chapter, November 13th, 1765. Founder and Scribe E. of the Grand and Royal Chapter, 1767, and signed the Charter of Compact as Grand Scribe E. This was missing for many years and was discovered amongst his papers after his death, and is now the cherished possession of Supreme Grand Chapter.

In 1778 or earlier he was appointed "to be our Inspector General and to hold the Great Seal of our Order in Commission".

He was 1st Grand Supt. of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1778 or earlier.

He secured four out of the first six Royal Arch Warrants for his own Province of Lancashire, No. 2 for Manchester, No. 4 for Burnley, No. 5 for Colne, and No. 6 for Bury. The last three are still working.

At Grand Lodge Quarterly Communication on April 27, 1774, a Resolution was passed: "That Brother Allen do prepare the proper conveyance of the Property in Great Queen Street".

He was present at the Ceremony of Laying the Foundation Stone of Freemasons' Hall as Prov. Gr. Master of Lancs., and was also present at the opening ceremony on May 23, 1776.

. He was Treasurer many years for Royal Somerset House Lodge No. 4, and his name also appears as a member of the Committee of the Girls' School.

It is to be hoped that the activities of this brother will be more fully recorded as they so fully deserve.

Bro. Covey-Crump writes:-

In very cordially supporting the vote of thanks, may I avail myself of the opportunity to correct a slight error (in column "thirteen") that, in the list of fifteen Country Lodges which in 1769 sent replies in favour of the Incorporation Scheme, occurs the name and then number (182) of what is now the Scientific Lodge (88), at Cambridge; and, a little further on, a letter in support of that concurrence is reproduced as emanating from Edward Barnes, writing (presumably as Secretary) on behalf of "Lodge 182, at the Three Tuns Tavern, Cambridge".

I do not dispute the authenticity of the document, but would point out that the real Lodge 182, which subsequently became known as "Scientific Lodge" (now 88), and of which I am a P.M., had removed from the Three Tuns in 1761: and after a short sojourn at the Black Bear had, during the ensuing eight years, been holding its meetings at the Sun Inn—a tavern now defunct but which stood in Trinity Street, on part of what is now Whewell's Hostel, belonging to Trinity College. In April, 1769, the W.M. was Bro. William Tireman, and the Secretary was Bro. John Harrison. The proposal for Incorporation was received from the authorities of Grand Lodge, was discussed on April 18th, and at the next meeting was unanimously turned down. As I have failed to discover the name

of Edward Barnes in its list of members, I can only surmise that he wrote on behalf of a different Lodge, which undoubtedly did then meet at the Three Tuns, in Peas Hill, but had certainly no right to allege itself to be "Lodge 182". That the Lodge at the Sun was the legitimate one is provable by the fact that, owing to a schism between the Lodges at the Sun and the Black Bear (in 1761), the former was acknowledged by Grand Lodge to be the true and regular one. May I add that, although the "Scientific" declined to support the Incorporation Scheme, it did in 1774 subscribe to the Building Fund for the Hall in Great Queen Street?

Bro. W. K. FIRMINGER writes:-

The Lodge must congratulate itself on a complete treatment of so important a subject as that of the proposed Incorporation of our Society. The matter was one which particularly lends itself to be dealt with by professional lawyers who, like Bro. Daynes and his continuator, possess the sense of history. Of our late Bro. Daynes, as we listened to the paper to-night, we could feel "he being dead, yet speaketh ''. The completion of his work could not have been placed in fitter hands than those of our Brother Grantham. He would have us impute the imperfections of his paper to himself and its merits to others. This is true modesty, but I more than suspect that what our Brother would consider to be "imperfections" are indeed some of those lucunae in regard to which he, after having taken much trouble to inform himself, has discovered that the documents he has been in search of are not to be found in the archives where they might be expected to be. Anyone who has engaged in research work cannot but be aware, firstly, that "imperfections" of this kind are evidences which go to show that the treatment of the subject has been as complete as circumstances perhaps will ever allow, and also that next to a happy discovery of historical materials, this placing on record of an unsuccessful hunt for them is of value. I take it that what Bro. Grantham has told us of the missing Caveat is an instance of a praiseworthy "imperfection".

Bro. Grantham's paper in its full form in print is a lengthy one. He is to be congratulated on the skill by which he has abridged it, so as to be able to read the salient portions in Lodge to-night. In writing a paper that was bound to be so lengthy, the writer must have placed himself under a self-denying ordinance, and resisted a temptation to tell us things about persons and lodges which are of interest and importance, but not directly relevant to the subject of the proposed Incorporation. For my own part, I venture to think that the subject also requires to be viewed together with the wider context of Masonic history of the times. The Caledonian Lodge, for instance, seems to have had an active interest in the almost contemporary troubles of the Lodge which is now Antiquity No. 2.

Then, too, we should notice that several of the movers for an incorporation were associated with one another by membership in a Lodge which, at a meeting held at the *Thatched House* in St. James' St. in March, 1767, resolved to be called in future the Lodge of Fellowship. On that occasion Bro. the Hon. Charles Dillon, who seemingly had served the office of Worshipful Master for the space of one week, resigned his office in favour of the Duke of Beaufort. I must crave the pardon of the Brethren who are familiar with the story of the transaction by which the constitution of Lodge No. 3 passed into the hands of a body of young and highly connected Masons, if I repeat facts which are familiar to them.

Those who have studied our Bro. Henry Sadler's Thomas Dunckerley will perhaps recollect that in 1755 the Lodge meeting at the George, Grafton Street, near Newport Market [now Lodge of Friendship], made good its claim to be placed as No. 3 on the Grand Lodge list, thereby defeating the claim to that position made by the Lodge at the Fish and Ball [now Fortitude and Old Cumberland, The victorious Lodge was in fact the third (the Apple Tree, in Charles St., Covent Garden), which had been one of the four time immemorial Lodges which in 1717 had co-operated in the formation of Grand Lodge. While meeting at the Swan at Hampstead in 1733, it appears to have amalgamated with itself the Lodge at the Castle, Highgate, which in 1731 appears to have been founded as a "county" counter-part to two sister Lodges-the Bear and Harrow and the University Lodge-perhaps after the precedent of the Lodge at the Gold Spikes at Hampstead, of which Bro. Anthony [Brown], Viscount Montague and Bro. Lord Teynham were Musters in succession. After a brilliant period of working under Master Clare (died 1751), this Lodge, which had moved from the Shakespear Head, Marlborough Street, held its meetings in 1761 at the Sun and Punch Bowl, High Holborn. Six years later the Lodge seems to have fallen into decay. Now I think that what happened was not without at least one precedent. I surmise that about the year 1728 the Lodge that met at Free Masons' Coffee House, New Belton St. (Q.C.A., x., 43), had fallen into abevance. No doubt the existence of its Constitution provided an opportunity of providing an important Lincolnshire Brother, Sir Cecil Wray, with a Master's Chair and a sphere of work in London, and also Bro. Sir Robert Lawley with the means of organising his Grand Stewards. Instead of constituting a new Lodge, the expedient seems to have been adopted of bringing in new members into a Lodge no longer able to support its existence. On the 23rd of February, 1767, the Lodge at the Punch Bowl admitted the following brethren:—

Bro. the Hon. Charles Dillon

- ,, Roland Holt
- ,, Thos. Dunckerley, Esq.
- .. Thos. French
- ., Capt. Bernard
- ,, James Galloway
- .. Robert Brown
- ,, John Errington, Esqr.
- ,, Henry Errington, Esqr.

On the 4th of March, the Lodge resolved to transfer its venue to the Thatched House in St. James St., and with the consent of the officers and brethren the Master resigned his office, and Bro. Dillon was set in his place with Bros. French and Galloway as respectively his Senior and Junior Wardens, and Bro. Dunckerley as P.M. Fourteen brethren, including the Duke of Beaufort and Lord Wenman, were elected joining members, and the Punch Bowl brethren resigned on the ground that the Thatched House was too far from their several places of abode. These brethren, who seeded in goodwill, a few months later were constituted in what is now the Lodge of Honour and Generosity, No. 165, after having, so Bro. Sadler tells us, made a clear profit of twenty-six guineas by the sale of their regalia. Bro. Sadler could not see (p. 121) "either harm or illegality" in this transaction, but at a significantly large meeting of the Committee of Charity held on 8th of April, 1767, on the recommendation of Bro. Salter, the D.G.M., in the Chair, it was resolved that "as a mark of high respect to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort and other noblemen and Honourable Gentlemen who meet under the name of the Lodge of Friendship, and in consideration of their being very young Masons, that the Constitution, No. 3,

should remain with them, even tho' it should appear upon further inquiry that this affair hath been transacted contrary to the constitutions—but at the same time resolved that this should not be looked upon as a Precedent for the future on any account whatever'.

We can thus see that the project of incorporation, set on foot by Lord Blaney, came to be championed by the members of the Lodge of Friendship. Now as to their youth and some other particulars.

- Henry [Somerset], 5th Duke of Beaufort, was born 16th October, 1744. He was a nephew of Henry the 3rd Duke, who had been one of the principal supporters of the Jacobite cause in England, but died on 24th February, 1746.
- 2. Charles Dillon [12th Viscount in Sept., 1787] was born 6th November, 1745, and was the son of Henry, 11th Viscount, Col. Proprietor of the Regiment de Dillon in the French Service, who in October, 1744, married Lady Charlotte Lee, eldest daughter of George Henry, 2nd Earl of Lichfield. Dillon, I believe, attained the honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society before he had passed the age of twenty-two.

In Bro. Grantham's paper, Bro. Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, the 4th Bart., is referred to. He was the eldest son of that ardent Jacobite of the same name, who died 26th Sept., 1749, in consequence of injuries sustained by a fall from his horse. In 1769 he married Lady Henrietta Sommerset, a sister of the Grand Master Duke of Beaufort. I pass on to notice Robert Edward, 9th Baron Petre. He was born in 1742, and his mother was Lady Anna Maria Barbara Radcliffe, daughter of that third Earl of Derwentwater who was executed in 1716 for his share in the famous "15", and who by some guessers was identified with "Harnouester", the first Grandmaster in France. The mother of the ill-fated Earl of Derwentwater was Lady Mary Tudor, a daughter of Charles II. by Moll Davies. Perhaps I have said enough to show that the insinuation made in Parliament to the effect that the incorporation of the Masonic Society might afford a precedent for an incorporation of Jacobites could seem to have some foundation.

The Radcliffes and the Petres were already connected, by the marriage of Lady Mary Tudor Radcliffe, sister of the 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, to William Petre, of Stanford Rivers. Dr. Radcliffe, who appears as a member of the Lodge at the Ship without Temple Bar in the 1725 list, appears in the Register of English Roman Catholic Jurors, 1715 (Estcourt and Payne's edition, p. 176) as once occupying a house in Bloomsbury Square, which the famous Jacobite, Doctor John Meade, afterwards tenanted, and this appears to be the house that belonged to Lady Mary Radcliffe [Lady Petre]. It stood at the corner of Powis Place, in Great Ormonde Street, and in that street, in 1722, Dr. Stukeley was residing.

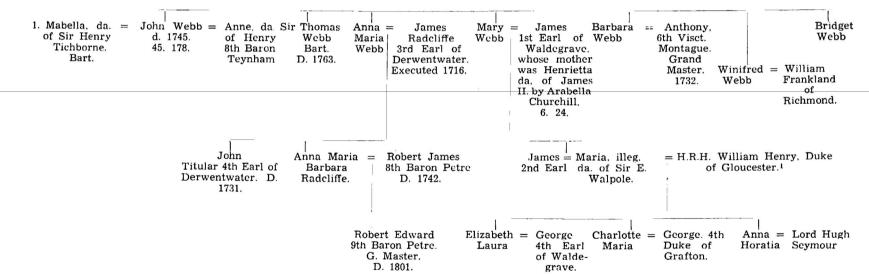
As to Lord Teynham in the genealogical table, I find that one of his descendants was named "Cadwallader Blaney". Evidently there was a rather compact group of noblemen-masons. The Lord Teynham who was Master of the Lodge at the Golden Spikes did not conform to the Church of England, although his father had done so. His son conformed and the family became Anglican. Dillon conformed in 1767. The Erringtons who appear in the paper were, I take it, members of the well known Yorkshire Roman Catholic family. Henry E. comes into Miss Petre's Life of the ninth Lord Petre.

¹ A member of the Lodge at the White Bear at Bath. His mother was a daughter of Charles II. by Barbara Villiers, and sister to the First Duke of Grafton.

by Barbara Villiers Duchess of Cleveland.	y = Thomas [Lennard] Earl of Sussex.	Lady Anne = Henry [Roper] 8th = (1st Wife. Cathe Lord Teynham. of Philip [Smythe Strangford	Lord reynnam, baron reynnam. Charles Baron. 117, 217-18. 4th Duke, D. 1727. D. 1731. D. 1756.	Sir W. W. Wynn. Bart.	t Lady Barbara Arthur Dillon. Lee. Created Comte by Louis XIV Jacobite Earl. d. Proprietor of the Regement de Dillon.	Lady Henry Charles Charlotte 11th Visct. 10th Visct. Lee Dillon D. 24 Oct., D. 3 Sep. 1741.	Henry Arthur, nch Major - General Abp. of Toulouse. of first in French and then in the English Service.	² Pr. Grand Master of Hereford, 1789.
King Charles II.	Sir Edward Lee = Lady Charlotte Henry 1st Lady Anne Fitzroy of Ditchley, 4th Fitzroy. Duke of Grafton. Bart. Created Killed 9th Oct., Earl of Lich-field. Charles, Marquis of Mondatons	Charles 1 = Henrietta 2nd Duke. D. 1757.	(Natural son) Charles (2nd) = Frances = (1st) Henry, 3rd Fitzroy. Scudamore. Duke of Beaufort. D. 1745, Feb. 24.	Frances = Charles: Henry, 5th Lady Duke of Duke of Henrietta = S Norfolk. Beaufort. G. Master.	Edward Visct. George Henry = Frances. da. of Admiral Robert Quarrendon. 2nd Earl John Hales. Bart., John Henry 4th D. 1713. of Lichfield. and Jacobite Earl Lcc. Earl of Lichfield. 38.	Dinah, da. of = George Henry Lady Sir Thos. Frankland 3rd Earl of Frances and 4th in descent Lichfield, Lee.	Charles Henrietta Maria. Charles Constantine LieutGen. in French Deputy G. Master. Phipps. 1st Lord Service. Governor of Mulgrave. Charlotte Frances Sir Thomas Webb, 6th Bart. of Odstock.	¹ Made a mason at the Horn Tavern. Feb. 8th, 1730.

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Sir John Webb Bart. = Mary, da. and heiress of John Blomer of Hatherop, whose mother was Maria Browne, da. of Anthony, 2nd Visct. Montague.

(1) Helen, da. of Sir = Sir John Webb = 2. Barbara, da. and sole heiress of John Richard Moore d. 1745. Lord Belasysc. 2nd son of Visct. of Fawley, Hants. Bart. Fauconberg.
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Numbers under names refer to pages in Grand Lodge Minutes and Lists, Q.C.A., x.

¹ Made a Mason in 1766. Died 2 Aug., 1805.

Bro. Grantham writes: - "The older of the two Caledonian Lodges, constituted in 1761, was removed from the Roll in 1785; the younger, constituted in 1764, is still in existence and is now numbered 314". To Brethren who study the 1885 edition of Gould's History (vol. ii., pp. 422-23), a difficulty will Referring to William Preston, Bro. Gould writes:-" Soon after his arrival in London, a number of Brethren from Edinburgh attempted to establish a Lodge (in London) under the sanction of a constitution from Scotland. Lest, however, such a grant should interfere with the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England, it was agreed (1762) to refuse their request. But the Grand Lodge of Scotland offered to recommend them to the [Antient] Grand Lodge of England, who granted them a dispensation to form a Lodge and make masons. Preston was the second person initiated under this dispensation, and the associated brethren were afterwards constituted into a lodge (No. 111) by the officers of the Antient Grand Lodge in person, on or about April 20, 1763. After meeting successively at the Horn Tavern, Fleet Street; the Scots Hall, Blackfriars: and the Half Moon, Cheapside, the members of No. 111—at the instance of William Preston-petitioned for a charter from the 'Regular' Grand Lodge, and the lodge was soon after constituted a second time in Ample Form, by the name of the 'Caledonian' Lodge, under which name it still exists (No. 134), on May 21, 1772 ". Bro. Gordon Hills, in his Prestonian Lecture (A.Q.C., xli., p. 165), writes: -- "Brother Preston and some other members, dissatisfied with the status of their governing body, soon became members of a Lodge meeting at the Talbot, in the Strand, under the other [Modern] Grand Lodge of England, and prevailed on their friends of No. 111 of the Ancients to transfer their allegiance to the older Grand Lodge. So, under the Grand Mastership of Lord Blaney, and for a second time, the Lodge was constituted in ample form as No. 325 'the Caledonian Lodge', under which name it still flourishes as No. 134 on the Roll of Grand Lodge to this day". The founders of Preston's Mother Lodge had been Scotch, but, if we could set "Mac" before their names, Ephraim Gottlieb Muller, Tenbrocke, Vestenburg, De la Coste, Vierol are not convincing as Scotchmen. The place of their assembly is the Half Moon, in Cheapside. This was the tavern which, after the Fire of London, replaced the Mermaid. The present Mecca Café represents the entrance to it from Cheapside, while the mark of the Saddlers Company, to be seen on Nos. 44 and 44A, Gutter Lane, perhaps represents the back entrance. The Horn, in Fleet Street, is represented to-day by Anderton's Hotel.

The 2nd Duke of Grafton was "admitted and sworn" in the Horn Lodge, Westminster, now No. 4, on Feb. 8th, 1730, the Duke of Richmond presiding (A.Q.C., xxxix., p. 109).

Our Bro. Grantham's associations are to our unmeasurable regret leading him beyond the seas, but we do not doubt that his residence in a land so rich in the vestiges of a mighty past will effect perhaps a change in the selection of his subjects of research, but not an abeyance in his contributions to the labours of our Lodge. We wish him God-speed.

Bro. Ivor Grantham writes, in reply: -

For the patient hearing and friendly reception accorded to this paper I express my thanks.

As Bro. Firminger has correctly surmised, the temptation to embark upon side issues was great; but biographical sketches of persons and historical notes of Lodges were deliberately omitted, in order to avoid undue interruption of the narrative and to keep the length of the paper within due bounds. Additional details of this nature are nevertheless most welcome by way of comment; and

my thanks are therefore due to the Master and to those other brethren whose valuable contributions are printed above.

Bro. Johnson, from the manuscripts left by the late Bro. Makins, has gleaned further facts which throw an interesting light upon the initial and final stages of the dispute.

Bro. Coulthurst, in the course of his comments, alludes to the fact that the *Modern* Grand and Royal Chapter was established at the period of the proposed incorporation of the *Moderns*, the promoters in each instance being substantially the same, and advances the suggestion that both projects may have been intended to strengthen the position of the *Moderns* in their struggle against the *Antients*—an inference which I too feel inclined to draw.

Bro. Williams, in somewhat dramatic fashion, advanced the proposition that our Society is in fact already a corporate body, and in support of his ingenious theory quoted the grant of arms to the United Grand Lodge of England in the year 1919. Neither this grant, nor the authorities referred to by Bro. Williams, had escaped my notice when this paper was in course of preparation; but this grant of arms in no way purports to confer incorporation upon an unincorporated body, nor, in my view, are there any passages in this instrument which presuppose or recognise a corporate nature already existent either in the Society at large or in its governing body. Incorporation cannot be thrust, unsought, upon any body of persons; and Freemasons since 1770 have formulated no request for such a change in status. The possession of a seal is likewise no criterion of incorporation. The Inn of Court to which I have the honour to belong is not an incorporated body, and yet this Inn, like the three other Inns of Court, is in possession of a seal. If Grand Lodge, or the Society at large, is in fact already a corporate body, it is singular that it is still requisite for property belonging to the Society to be legally vested in Trustees. It is true that incorporation may be acquired by prescription, as is mentioned at the conclusion of my paper; but no such claim was made in the eighteenth century when every possible argument was being advanced in furtherance of the plan. Presumably it was realised at that period that any such claim was devoid of all foundation. It can hardly be suggested to-day that the passage of time since then has in any way affected this issue.

Bro. Sykes has raised a series of interesting questions with respect to the appointment of Grand Officers. He draws attention to the fact that the proposed Royal Charter specified the constitution of Grand Lodge and enumerated the offices to be filled; Bro. Sykes then asks: "What would have been the position on the creation of new Grand Offices?" It is true that Grand Lodge was to be given "full Power to make, constitute and ordain such Statutes, Bye-Laws and Ordinances as shall appear to them to be good, and necessary and expedient for the Government, Order and Regulation of the said Society "; but statutes, bylaws and ordinances enacted by virtue of this provision would have had to be consistent with the terms of the Charter, and a regulation purporting to extend the number of Grand Officers would, I suggest, have been inconsistent with the Charter and therefore ultra vires. Had the Charter been granted. occasion would no doubt have arisen before long for the conferment of honours upon deserving brethren; the offices in Grand Lodge being limited to those specified in the Charter, one may well picture the creation of some honour analogous to the present-day London Rank. Bro. Sykes writes: "Had the Charter been obtained and subsequent events remained the same, what then would have been the procedure . . . ? " in certain specified circumstances. Such an hypothesis opens up a vast field for speculation, into which I must resolutely decline to be drawn.

Re-iterating my thanks for the reception accorded to this paper, I leave each of my readers to include in this form of speculation to his heart's content